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AN OUTLINE HISTORY
OF
The Church by Centuries
(FROM ST. PETER TO PIUS XII)

BY
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Fifth Revised Edition

B. HERDER BOOK CO.
15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS, MO.
AND
33 QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON, W. C.

1946

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Printed in U.S.A.

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*With filial gratitude
the author dedicates
this book
to
The Catholic Church
his spiritual mother
and to
The United States of America
his native country*

Acknowledgment

The author wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to the Most Reverend John B. Peterson, Bishop of Manchester, N.H., for the Foreword; to the Right Reverend Monsignor Patrick J. Barry, Rector of the Brooklyn Diocesan Seminary, and to the Reverend Thomas J. McMahon of Dunwoodie Seminary, for professional counsel; to Gertrude A. Trageser, Ph.D., for the years of skillful, painstaking collaboration which have made this book possible; to Augusta Adrian and Helen Meyer for invaluable daily assistance; to Katharine Maynard for editorial supervision; to Helena Gedney for the maps; to Jean Beattie for the statistical tables.

He also acknowledges with gratitude helpful suggestions made by the Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. McDonnell, Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith; by the Reverend John Tracy Ellis of the *Catholic Historical Review*, Florence D. Cohalan of Cathedral College, New York, Joseph M. Egan, Chaplain, U.S.A.; by the Reverend Gerald G. Walsh, Edward A. Ryan, Charles W. Reinhardt, W. Eugene Shiels, Joseph D. Ryan of the Society of Jesus; by the Paulist Fathers, Theodore C. Petersen, J. Elliot Ross, Eugene Burke, C. E. Llufrío, Vincent F. Holden; by President George N. Shuster of Hunter College, Mother Margaret Williams of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Frances S. Childs, Ph.D., Elizabeth M. Lynskey, Ph.D., Louisa Byles, M.A., Agnes Condon.

The author also thanks the library staffs of the Catholic Unity League, Fordham University, Manhattanville College, the Catholic University of America, Union Theological Seminary, New York Public Library, and Columbia University for courtesies received; and he thanks the B. Herder Book Company and J. B. Ballou of the Vail-Ballou Press for their patient coöperation.

Foreword

The appearance, during an epochal world convulsion, of a modernized manual of Church History is indeed timely.

School curricula are in revision, with accent upon the "practical"; as if this could make the world the wiser. In such adjustments the value of the study of history could be underestimated. No intellectual discipline, however, is more interesting, instructive or profitable. It offers the intensely human interest of biography, in the passing across its stage of those who shaped the world's destinies for good or ill. It teaches lessons of lasting worth taught by that best of teachers, experience. It is profitable, for history is at once factual and prophetic, a truth summed up in the saying: "history repeats itself." No present moment can disdain its debt to the past.

Often has the work of masters of historical science been timely, not only in narrating past events, and verifying their causes and effects, but even in forecasting the future or at least in mapping its possible trends. Such was the work of Eusebius of Caesarea, the "father of church history," who in the fourth century, at a transitional time when the old world order was yielding to the new, wrote abundantly of the past and preserved for the guidance of posterity priceless treasures and lessons of Christian antiquity. Such too, was the work of Cardinal Baronius who during the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century called upon the past to vindicate the challenged papal claims and so confounded the uncritical and partisan Centuriators of Magdeburg. Post-reformation apologetics was gratefully his debtor. Father McSorley would disavow the coupling of his repute with that of these immortals. No more indeed is intended than to note the fact that after a decade of devoted research he offers the fruits of his labors to students and readers in the midst of another critical world up-

heaval, as momentous as the revolutionary passing of the sceptre of Rome from imperial to sacerdotal hands, or the equally revolutionary attempt to wrest it from them by the founders of new faiths.

The author marshals his facts mnemonically with engaging pedagogical appeal, and with a commendable spirit of historical criticism, the spirit evidenced first in the *Annals of Cesare Baronius*, and splendidly exemplified by Pope Leo XIII who fearlessly opened the hitherto hidden treasures of the Vatican archives to any who might wish to explore them. He cites his facts, gleaned from the findings of friend or foe, with the impartiality which Leo commended. He allows the facts to tell their own story. The story is not without comfort and encouragement for the student of our troubled times. Indeed, no sincere student of Church History can be anything but optimistic. The gates of hell shall not prevail.

Western civilization, and the Catholic Church which nurtured it, face common problems in the world-wide cataclysm which now affects mankind. They share common foe and fate, for they are virtually inseparable. The history of the Church is so closely woven with that of Christian civilization that the one cannot be fairly told apart from the other. Apparent differences are like those between the outer and under sides of a tapestry. The human weaving seems indeed confused, but a glimpse of the promised pattern is ever reassuring, reminding us that "there's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." Father McSorley fears not to trace the rough and seamy side and to tell of the trials and treason suffered by the Church from those, within as well as without, for whom she had made the place that honored them. Her vicissitudes were ever brightened by the recurring vision of the pattern drawn by the divine designer.

The story is thus not unlike that told by the chroniclers and prophets of Israel. Their repeated refrain was that denial of God abandoned one to one's own wrecking resources; while to serve God was to reign. It thus proclaims the truths, too long obscured in our secular schemes of education but never needed more than now, that the hoped-for brotherhood of men can never be realized

without recognition of the fatherhood of God; and that only in such humble recognition can there ever be a reign on earth of justice, charity and peace. Theories which deny God's being and His creative and provident intervention in human affairs abandon men to the "struggle for existence and survival of the fittest," the reign of animal selfishness, jealousies, enmities and ceaseless war. History, modern and ancient, secular and sacred, consistently attests to this. In this sense is this handbook both timely, and encouraging.

Timely too is the merited attention given to the progress of the Church in the United States and elsewhere on this hemisphere, an element inadequately treated by compilers who, not without racial bias, drew chiefly upon European sources. The seed sown by missionaries in our Western continents was indeed abundantly watered by martyr blood and yielded generous fruitage. In the United States, however, the even greater progress and tenaciously vigorous growth were due to the zeal and sacrifices of confessors, pontiffs and others of lesser rank, who, with scant material resources but with the rich spiritual treasury of their own ardent faith and that of their various immigrant peoples, reared the splendid edifice, material and spiritual, of which our Church is proud today. It is time that this page of history were scientifically told to the rising generation, heirs of as noble a line of spiritual forbears as grace any page of history.

The timely and scholarly efforts of Father McSorley thus merit a welcome in our schools and among those who wish to solve the baffling problems of today in the light which the past casts upon the future.

+ John B. Peterson
Bishop of Manchester

March 28, 1942.

Preface

This book has been written because years of experience with students ecclesiastical and lay have taught the author the extent to which an understanding of the Church's doctrines is conditioned by a knowledge of her history. The necessary knowledge will be attained elsewhere by those who have already completed their introductory studies and by those who are preparing to become specialists. But the present volume, it is hoped, will prove helpful to the general reader and to the student who has not yet learned to find his way about in a discouragingly vast field. The author has undertaken no independent research. He has simply gathered pertinent data from widely scattered sources and arranged them within the compass of a single volume in a form that promises to aid both the imagination and the memory. He sets up in outline the historical background against which the activity of the Church must be seen, if we are to understand her mission and her achievement. Despite his own limitations, he believes that the first stage of many a student's progress will, by the use of this book, be rendered less laborious than it would otherwise have to be; from this point on, the student will be conducted by more learned guides through more scholarly works. Recognizing the likelihood that errors will necessarily occur in pages so crowded with specific events and with dates as the following, the author asks general pardon for all mistakes and begs the favor of prompt correction.

The question of divisions will always plague the writer of a text on history; yet some breaking up of the long and complicated story is inevitable. To help the student visualize the time relationship of contemporaneous events, the following chapters display their contents within a framework of centuries; but, as institutions and movements must be followed through successive

stages of development, this book employs also the topical method, so that a particular subject, for example, the papacy, or marriage, or the Church-State conflict, may be traced through the whole period of its history.

The story is divided for convenience into four periods of five centuries each; and each century is given a separate chapter. The First Period comes to an end after the fall of the last Western emperor in 476; the Second and Third Periods correspond to the earlier and latter halves of the thousand years commonly known as the Middle Ages; the Fourth Period, which begins with the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution and is not yet terminated, includes our own time. Since the text is intended particularly for the use of American students, the sections dealing with the Church in the United States are fuller than the others.

The large print contains what seems to be the minimum amount of information necessary for a true outline of Church history; and some readers will perhaps be content with this. Students seeking for a more detailed account, and for illustrations and proofs of general statements, will find these in the small print. Those who wish to go further into the matters discussed may make use of the notes and of the references.

A word to teachers! No student should be required to memorize the numerous details of the text, which includes a great many items inserted as convenient signposts. It will be enough if the student is able to give an intelligible account of the matter under discussion, providing illustrations and proofs of what he says. He should also, however, with the aid of the notes and the bibliography, be able to indicate the approaches he would employ in pursuing further investigation.

* * * * *

The history of the Church is the story of an imperishable society, gifted with supernatural powers and commissioned to guard and to interpret infallibly the Christian revelation.¹ Divinely

¹ Doctrinal infallibility is the result of a special divine assistance which preserves the Church from liability to error in her formal dogmatic teaching on matters of faith and morals. It does not extend to disciplinary decrees and ecclesiastical policies; nor does it imply the impeccability of any priest or prelate, or the inerrancy of the pope in his

protected from destruction, this society during its nineteen hundred years of life has entered into a vast variety of relationships with men of every race and tribe and tongue—men good and bad, high and low, both inside and outside the Christian fold. Church history shows this society at work, unfolding Christ's revelation, and attempting to convert the world. It tells of the effort to spread a better knowledge of divine things, to clarify and elevate moral ideals. It tells also of the intrusion of unworthy men into high ecclesiastical office, of schismatical defiance of authority, of heretical rejection of truth, and of schemes to deprive the hierarchy of their divinely given rights.

To obtain a realistic view of the Church's history we must learn something of the conditions under which she has lived and carried on her work; we must keep in mind her contacts with the world, with nations and rulers, with pagans, Jews, Mohammedans, Oriental schismatics, Protestants. We must also become acquainted with the Church's official organization, with doctrinal and spiritual developments, with theological controversies. In harmony with these requirements, the present volume presents two main themes—the world as background, and against that background, the Church. Being only an outline, this book does not attempt to treat with thoroughness the countless problems that have to be touched upon; it aims, however, to offer an adequate preparation for deeper research.

* * * * *

Intelligent examination, logical deduction, honest statement are indispensable requisites if one is to profit by the study of history. The long chronicle of twenty centuries raises many a problem; and the student should approach these problems as one who loves truth, who fears no fact, and who abides strictly by the evidence. But he must also keep in mind the distinction between the divine and the human factors—between the element protected

private opinions or personal pronouncements. Moreover, infallibility is to be distinguished from inspiration and from revelation, for its purpose is to *preserve* the revelation made by Christ, which is incapable of real increment or substantial addition. The apostolic deposit of faith is capable of development, of unfolding. What is obscure may be made clear; what is implicit may become explicit; but no new revelation is ever added.

by Christ's guarantee and the element left subject to the play of human freedom. Remembering this distinction, he can afford in every matter to "hew to the line of right, let the chips fall where they may." His investigation will show that the Church has never imposed false dogma on her children; that all justifiable indictments lie not against the Church herself, but against individual churchmen.

Acknowledgment

(for the Fourth Revised Edition)

The preparation of this edition called for the correcting of erroneous dates and other inaccuracies, the rewriting of obscure or defective paragraphs, the recasting of the whole treatment of Poland, the selecting and reproducing of appropriate illustrations. For assistance generously given, the author wishes to thank several friends already named in the Acknowledgment of the first edition, and also: Robert Swickerath, S.J.; Professor Oscar Halecki, formerly of Warsaw University; three groups of alert, well-trained students and their reverend professors—William F. King, of the New York Archdiocesan Seminary, Francis X. Glimm, of the Brooklyn Diocesan Seminary, Walter Gouch, of the Paulist House of Studies.

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INTRODUCTION

The Beginnings of Christianity

THE history of the Catholic Church may well begin with a word about the world into which the Founder of the Church was born. In the year 63 B.C. Pompey had conquered Palestine, the narrow country at the east end of the Mediterranean, between Syria and Egypt; and by grace of the Roman Emperor, Herod the Great ruled there as king from 37 to 4 B.C.¹ At his death Palestine was divided into three provinces which fell to his sons—Judea to Archelaus, Galilee to Herod Antipas, and Iturea to Philip. In A.D. 6, the Romans expelled Archelaus and placed his territory under procurators, one of whom, Pontius Pilate, took office in A.D. 26.

The Jewish people at this time included some four million persons; and of these about one million lived in Palestine. Outside of Palestine the remainder of the Jews—known as the Dispersion (Diaspora)—was scattered through the world. Syria possessed two populous Jewish centers, Antioch and Damascus. Babylon had a large number of Jews; Egypt about one million; Asia Minor nearly two hundred thousand; Rome nearly ten thousand. Judaism was dominated by two leading parties, the Pharisees and Sadducees; and there were several minor groups.

The Pharisees, five or six thousand in number, were strict legalists, maintaining an exaggerated standard of legal purity and insisting upon the minute observance of the Mosaic Law. They were aggressive in imposing literal obedience upon others, and were scornful of persons not learned in the Law. They had built up a system of traditional commentaries which often served as an excuse for lax observance of the Ten Commandments.

¹ He was called "the Idumean" because he came from Idumea, or Edom, a part of Arabia adjoining the Dead Sea.

Their doctrine included belief in the resurrection of the dead, and in the judgment to come.

The Sadducees, a smaller but more influential party, were composed largely of priests, aristocrats, and rich persons, under the leadership of the high priest and his associates, with few followers among the common people. They were severe in their system of punishments, rejected the interpretation of the Law put forward by the Pharisees, and did not believe in the resurrection of the dead. The Sadducees, who were not popular, leaned towards religious indifference, whereas the Pharisees were concerned to preserve the traditional form of worship. Intellectually they were Hellenists, admiring Greek culture, which the Pharisees despised.

The Essenes, a religious group in number about four thousand, and probably confined to Palestine, lived in a community with headquarters at Engaddi, on the western shore of the Dead Sea. They abstained from commerce, devoted themselves to agriculture and manual labor, depended upon the community for the necessities of life, ate at a common table, possessed no slaves, and observed obedience to their superiors. They believed in the life to come, but not in the resurrection of the body.

The Herodians, who were a political, not a religious party, pursued a friendly policy towards foreigners, thus following the Sadducees rather than the Pharisees.

In the Greco-Roman world the old pagan faith had been in great measure replaced by cynical unbelief; and the official religion superimposed the obligation of emperor-worship on an amalgam of notions introduced from Egypt and the Orient. In addition to degrading elements, however, Paganism contained also noble doctrines which helped to arouse a consciousness of sin, a sense of the importance of the life to come, and a craving for spiritual purification.

Various forces were working upon man: on the one hand, his native tendencies to immorality, cruelty, superstition; on the other, his irrepressible groping for spiritual ideals—truth, justice, and purity. Moreover, mankind was unconsciously influenced by the fragmentary knowledge of the primitive revelation scattered through the world.

“The fulness of time” having come during the reign of Augustus, God sent His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Who was born of the Virgin Mary at Bethlehem. We have a very imperfect chronology of His life; but we do know that He died during the pro-

curatorship of Pontius Pilate which lasted from A.D. 26 to 36. Building on this fact and other available data, experts have constructed different theories.²

Our Lord passed most of His life as an obscure Galilean peasant. He devoted probably three years to His public ministry traveling about the towns and villages of Galilee and Judea, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, exhorting sinners to repentance, teaching the love and mercy of the Heavenly Father, prescribing faith and a fixed line of conduct as conditions of admission to the Kingdom of Heaven, instituting certain sacramental observances for the remission of sin and the sanctification of the soul. He made Himself the friend of sinners, spoke words of comfort to the unhappy, and worked miracles in behalf of those who were afflicted with illness, blindness, paralysis, leprosy.

He set forth as virtues to be cultivated by His disciples, poverty, humility, and childlike simplicity; and He incurred the hatred of the Pharisees and Sadducees by His denunciation of hypocrisy, oppression, injustice, formalism. His enemies, conspiring against Him, put pressure on the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, to order His execution. On the night before His death He spoke a message of farewell to His disciples, instituted the Blessed Eucharist, and promised to abide with His followers until the end of time. The next day He was crucified at a place called Calvary near Jerusalem; and, after three hours of agony on the Cross, He died. On the third day after His crucifixion He rose again from the dead.

On the feast of Pentecost, the fiftieth day after the Pasch (Easter), He sent the Holy Ghost down upon the Apostles. Transformed into courageous and enlightened men, they then began to preach the doctrine of Christ to all the world.

² Denis the Little, who in the sixth century began the custom of dating history from the birth of Christ, thought that Christ was born in the year 754 A.U.C. (*ab urbe condita*) and so he made that the year 1 of the Christian calendar. Some Catholic scholars hold that Christ was born not later than the year 5 B.C. See Jules Lebreton, *The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ Our Lord*. (Vol. I, Introd.) The twenty-fifth of December is the day chosen by the Church for the liturgical commemoration of the Nativity of Christ; but neither Scripture nor tradition gives this as the exact day of His birth. See "The Chronology and Harmony of the Life of Christ," in the Westminster Version of the New Testament, Vol. I, Synoptic Gospels, pp. 361-70 (and ed., London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938). See also F. X. Murphy, *Catholic Historical Review*, XXIX (1943), p. 325.

Early Christian literature gives us much reliable information with regard to the life and teaching of Christ.³ We have two accounts of His life written by men intimately associated with Him, Matthew and John; and two other accounts written by contemporaries, Luke and Mark. We have also seven letters written by men personally acquainted with Him, Peter, John, James, and Jude; a sketch by Luke of the early years of the society which Christ founded; and a Book of Revelations, The Apocalypse, by John. Finally, we have fourteen letters written by Paul. These twenty-seven writings, collected, form what is called the New Testament.

In addition to the New Testament, we have references to Christ in the Talmudic writers, and a passage concerning Him in the writings of the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus.⁴ Among the pagan authors who refer to Christ within a century of His death are Pliny, Tacitus, and Suetonius; and He is referred to by several others a generation later. Adding to these testimonies the evidence that may be gathered from the apocryphal gospels and from the writings of primitive heretics, we perceive how numerous are the existing sources of information about our Lord's life and teaching.

The claim of the New Testament to be accepted as accurate is all the greater because its contents have been subjected to the most searching and prolonged critical investigation ever devoted to any group of documents. As a result of years of labor on the part of experts, the textual purity of the New Testament, except for a very small portion, is now regarded as certain. Scholars calculate that important passages about which any critical doubt still exists form not more than one thousandth part of the whole text. The accuracy of the New Testament, therefore, is guaranteed by the best scholarship of the modern world; and, compared with these books, there is no other ancient document of which we can be so sure that we have the text substantially as written by the original authors.

One might have anticipated that the Founder of Christianity would not leave His revelation to the uncertain fate of spoken messages and written records—that in order to insure permanency He would make use of the obvious means; that is to say, He would organize a society which after His death would function as a court of appeal, and decide controversies about the meaning of His doctrine.⁵ He did found a society, the Church,

³ No serious scholar now questions the historical existence of Jesus Christ; few facts of ancient history are better attested by solid proof.

⁴ The authenticity of this passage is defended by some of the ablest non-Catholic historians.

⁵ No legal document, no will or testament, no political constitution, be it ever so carefully drawn up, can fail to become the subject of misinterpretations and the occasion of misunderstandings among men. An authority with the right to decide, a court whose decision is final, there must always be, under penalty of confusion and division.

placing St. Peter at its head and promising to protect it until the end of time. He selected certain men to be its officers, commissioning them to teach and govern in His name.

Many passages in the Gospels show that the Apostles were recognized as a distinct official group. Their conscious exercise of power is plain. They legislated, judged, punished; they forgave sins; they imparted grace through the sacraments; and they ordained other men to succeed them in the office of ruling the Church.⁶ The evidence for the primacy of Peter is abundant. The chief text is the famous passage of St. Matthew's Gospel which records that Christ said to Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my Church." But in many other passages too, the New Testament makes it plain that our Lord bestowed the leadership on Peter. In every list of the Apostles Peter is named first; and in other ways he is singled out from his brethren. He is given a special pastoral charge. After the Resurrection, our Lord confirms his appointment as leader. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles show him exercising his headship when there is question of choosing a successor to Judas; when he speaks to the multitude at Pentecost and wins three thousand converts; when he is preaching the Gospel and working miracles at Jerusalem. Peter is the spokesman of the Apostles in defying the Jews; he is the superior to whom Ananias and Saphira come; he heads the mission to Samaria; he rebukes Simon Magus; he announces the acceptance of Gentile converts; he presides over the Council of Jerusalem. Throughout the New Testament he looms so large that we may say he consistently acts as superior whenever he appears.⁷

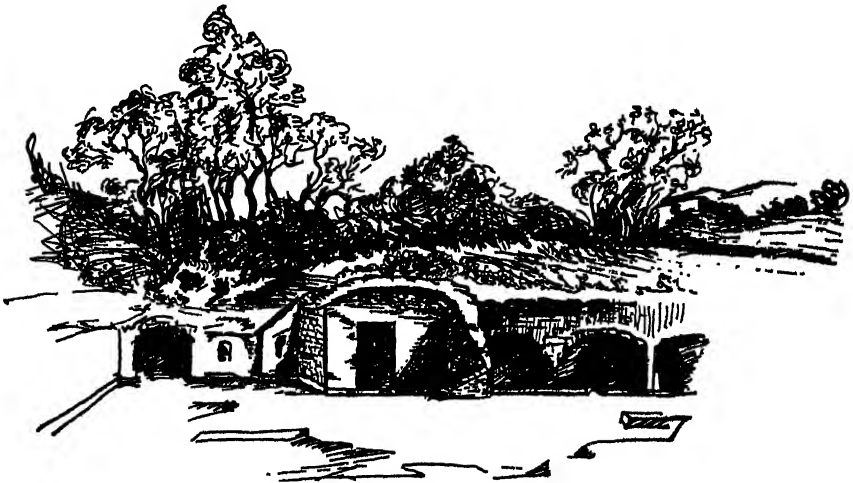
The official body commissioned by Christ to teach in His name still exists. To be sure, the Catholic Church of the present day is not in all respects the same as the Church of apostolic times; but the difference is the difference between the acorn and the oak. Cardinal Newman after a long and detailed study of this question, in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, demonstrated that in no instance had the line of continuity been

⁶ See for example, Matt. XVIII:17-18; XXVIII:18-20; John XIV:26; Acts of the Apostles, particularly in the early chapters; and many passages in the Epistles of St. Paul.

⁷ See Matt. XVI: 18-19; Luke XXII:31-32; John XXI:15-17; Acts I:15; II:14, 37-38; III: 4-7; IV:8; V:1-3; VIII:14, 19-23; X:34; XV:7. The scriptural texts upon which the historical claims of the papacy rest and the traditions which incorporate the earliest interpretation of these texts are discussed at length in *The See of Peter*, by James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis (New York, 1927). An older study by a Catholic is *The See of St. Peter*, by Thomas William Allies (London, 1850). A valuable essay on the foundation and constitution of the Church is *The Church of Christ*, by Peter Finlay, S.J. (London, 1915).

interrupted. The teachings and institutions familiar to Catholics in the nineteenth century were, he showed, the logical outgrowth of the teachings and institutions of the first centuries. Development has taken place without question; it has been enormous, amazing, almost incredible; it has affected teaching, liturgy, and discipline; but it has never destroyed the substance; and the Catholic Church of the present day is in essence identical with the Church founded by Jesus Christ nineteen centuries ago.⁸

⁸ An attempt has been made to attribute the growth of the Church to a fortunate combination of circumstances. Gibbon, for example, named as adequate causes Christian zeal, the doctrine of the future life, claim to miracles, virtues, organization. But the "Five Causes" enumerated do not really account for the conversion of the Roman world to Christianity. "How, without the Hand of God, could a new idea, one and the same, enter at once into myriads of men, women and children of all ranks, especially the lower, and have power to wean them from their indulgences and sins, and to nerve them against the most cruel tortures, and to last in vigour as a sustaining influence for seven or eight generations, till it founded an extended polity, broke the obstinacy of the strongest and wisest government which the world has ever seen, and forced its way from its first caves and catacombs to the fulness of imperial power?" Newman, *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*, chap. 10, p. 465.



ENTRANCE TO THE CEMETERY OF DOMITILLA (2nd century)



THE GREAT PATRIARCHATES

25



FIRST PERIOD

(To A.D. 500)

The Old Empire and the New Faith

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF PERIOD I

1. Founding of the Church.
2. The Papacy as supreme court of appeal.
3. Death struggle of pagan Rome.
4. Christianity dominant.
5. The Barbarian Revolution.

GENERAL VIEW

(To A.D. 500)

SHORTLY before the middle of the first century the Catholic Church made its appearance on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Within a few years the missionary voyages of St. Paul and other apostles had carried the new faith abroad into the various communities established by the Jews of the Dispersion. From these early centers the Gospel ramified among Jews and Gentiles in all directions, usually making its way along the great trade routes which facilitated communication throughout the Roman Empire.

That Empire reached its zenith about the end of the first century, when it included an area extending from the British Isles to the valley of the Nile, and from the mountains of Armenia to the western ocean. Within the imperial jurisdiction, until the middle of the third century, Christianity, although intermittently persecuted, was for the most part allowed to spread unchecked. Episcopal sees grew and multiplied; bishops attained an authoritative influence in their own churches and over the surrounding districts; and, as occasion required, the pope exercised his universal authority.

Concurrently with the spread of the Gospel, there came a clarification of its significance. Under the care of the hierarchy, doctrine was formulated and sacramental discipline organized. To the carefully preserved records of Christ's life and teaching made by the Apostles and their immediate disciples, the Church added numerous other books written to instruct converts, to defend doctrine and usages attacked or misunderstood, and to refute the errors of the heretics who from time to time appeared—reactionary Judaizers, Oriental Gnostics, puritanical Montanists. Justin wrote his *Apology*—a brief for Christianity; Origen

and Clement of Alexandria interpreted the Scripture; Irenaeus established tradition as a rule of faith; Eusebius told the history of the Church; Tertullian formulated a Latin terminology for theologians; and Cyprian of Carthage preached the ideal of Church unity.

During the third century the Empire had to fight for life, ever more desperately, against barbarian hordes pounding at the frontiers. Gradually the emperors, anxious to consolidate their defenses, came to the conclusion that the Roman state was not large enough to shelter two antagonistic religions. The old Roman gods must either conquer or submit. Decius, Emperor and Pontifex Maximus, therefore decreed the destruction of the Christian Church—"Delenda est"; and Rome entered again into a life-and-death struggle, as when that same fateful sentence had been passed on Carthage four centuries earlier, in the days of the Punic Wars. This time, however, it was the Empire that went down to defeat. Despite the fury of the persecution, Christianity continued to live and grow. By the beginning of the fourth century Christians formed so large a percentage of the population that a compromise became imperative; and in 313 the Edict of Milan gave freedom to the Church in the hope of restoring peace to the Empire.

Christianity continued to develop its doctrine and its discipline. Councils of bishops met to define the faith more precisely, to check heresy, to direct the organization of the rapidly growing Christian community. The Church was sometimes assisted and sometimes hindered by friendly or meddlesome emperors—Constantine the Liberator, Constantius the Arian, Theodosius the Great.

The Council of Nicaea (325) supported the orthodox faith against the heretical Arians. As stubborn Nestorians and Monophysites, self-sufficient Pelagians, and contumacious Donatists raised controversial issues, the teaching of the Church was gradually shaped by "The Three Cappadocians" (Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil), the two Cyrils and Chrysostom in the East, by Jerome, the incomparable Augustine, and Pope Leo I in the West, by the prelates assembled at Ephesus (431)

and at Chalcedon (451), and by the Theological Schools of Alexandria and Antioch.

A significant phenomenon that appeared first in the days of persecution was the formation of little groups which took refuge in the desert or the wilderness, devoting themselves to an intensive cultivation of the spiritual life. In later days multitudes followed their example, moved now chiefly by a desire to escape the allurements and shun the scandals of the world; and the "religious" vocation gradually assumed distinctive forms. Towards the close of this period monastic life weakened notably in the East; but it attained new vitality in the West, under St. Martin of Tours.

The history of the fourth and fifth centuries clearly demonstrates the fact that but for the universal authority exercised by the Bishop of Rome, Christianity could not have continued as an undivided faith; nor could spiritual interests have maintained their supremacy. Pope Leo I, the Great, man of action and scholar as well, who withstood Attila the Hun in his march on Rome, also defined the Catholic faith on the two natures of Christ in a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople. Pope Gelasius made plain the claim of the papacy to supremacy in the field of religion.

Meanwhile both in the religious and the political sphere, East and West were drifting apart. The Acacian schism of 482 divided Constantinople from Rome for forty years. The emperors attempted to dominate theology and Church discipline, but made little effort to defend the West against its invaders. Alaric the Goth sacked Rome in 410; Attila the Hun came to its gates in 452; Gaiseric the Vandal plundered the city in 455.

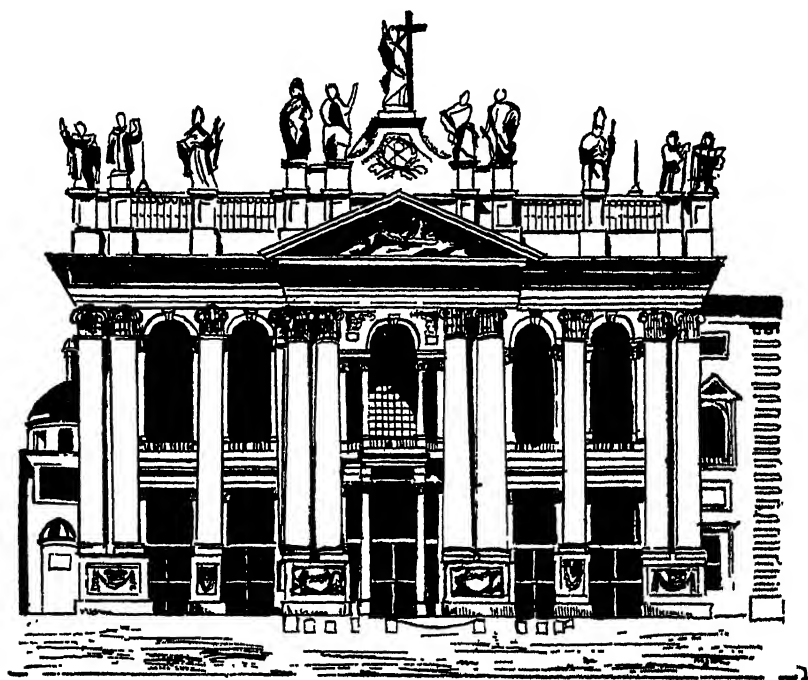
Eventually the barbarians close in. The last Western emperor is deposed in 476; Italy falls under the control of a German governor, Odoacer, and then into the hands of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (East Goths). Before the century ends however, on a red-letter day in 496, the barbarian king, Clovis, having received Christian baptism, takes on himself the defense of the Catholic faith.

CHRISTIAN ART

Although the Roman catacombs contain most of the earliest Christian paintings that have survived, the cradle of Christian art was not Rome, but the East. Actually Christian art developed from Greco-Roman forms, modified by Asiatic influences and affected by contemporary religious, political, and social conditions; and its first definite phase is known as "Byzantine."¹

Not until after the Edict of Toleration did Christians build their churches freely; and the first edifices kept fairly close to the classical style of pagan buildings, varying widely in almost every respect except in the features necessitated by the very nature of the Christian ritual.

¹ Frescoes which have been called "Oriental forerunners of Byzantine painting" and employing the same themes as those used in the catacombs have recently been discovered at Doura on the Euphrates (a town destroyed in A.D. 245).



THE LATERAN BASILICA

Omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput

Built by Constantine in Lateran Palace; rebuilt and dedicated to St. John Baptist (10th century); restored by Clement V, decorated by Giotto (14th century); altered by later popes

CHAPTER I

(The First Century)

The Apostolic Age

PREVIEW

THE significant events of the first century were: St. Peter's establishing of his residence in Rome, which made the imperial capital the permanent headquarters of the Christian religion; the centering of Christian life and worship in the perpetual renewal of Christ's death in the Eucharistic Sacrifice; and the missionary journeys of St. Paul—best fruits of that far-flung zeal which carried apostolic messengers into so many different provinces of the Empire.

The first attacks experienced by the young Church came from the Jews, who looked upon the Christians as a subversive, schismatical sect. Then charges of disloyalty to Caesar—similar to those made against Jesus and against Paul—stirred up the Roman officials, so that many Christians were forced to choose between apostasy and death. But good came out of evil; and those who fled or were banished helped to spread the Christian faith.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The unification of the Mediterranean world was Rome's great contribution to civilization. But the governing of that world proved to be too much for the old republican system; and, be-

ginning with Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14) the ruler appropriated to himself supreme control of religious and political affairs. The early Christian era saw the gradual disappearance of aristocracy and of constitutional liberty, and the taking over of all the functions of government by a monarch worshiped during life, apotheosized after death, and honored with the resounding titles, "Caesar Augustus," "Imperial Proconsul," "Father of his Country," "Pontifex Maximus."¹

So far as Christianity is concerned, the most important act of Roman officialdom in the first half of the century, was the decree of Claudius (41–54) forbidding Jewish worship in Rome—an edict which applied also to the Christians, inasmuch as they were then considered to be a Jewish sect. Whether during the first century the Roman governors tortured and executed Christians by virtue of their general legal right to inflict punishment on criminals, or by virtue of a specific anti-Christian law, no one can say with certainty. The phrase "Non licet esse vos"² occurs so frequently in early Christian writings that it seems to indicate the existence of an edict denying the right of life to Christians. Some scholars hold that the legal basis of the persecution was a law, or rather a legal process, devised by Tiberius as a weapon against foreigners suspected of disloyalty.

Nero (54–68), a depraved tyrant, had the unhappy distinction of being "the first who assailed the Christian sect with the imperial sword."³ To shift from himself the suspicion of having caused the great fire which nearly destroyed Rome in the year 64, he accused the Christians of the crime; and they were punished with cruel torments, "covered with the skins of wild beasts, worried to death by dogs, nailed to crosses, burned to serve as torches at night. He offered his own gardens for this spectacle."⁴ In 68, deserted by the army and condemned to death by the Senate, Nero, the last of the Julian line, committed suicide.

It was on his way to besiege Jerusalem that Vespasian (69–79),

¹ The worship of the emperor was not always insisted upon during the first two centuries; later it became part of an official civil function.

² "It is not lawful for you to exist."

³ Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, Chapter V.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. XV, chap. 44.

first of the Flavians, was called to the throne; and his son, Titus, took and destroyed Jerusalem in the year 70. Domitian (81–96), a fanatical and depraved man, slaughtered numbers of the Roman aristocracy and also ordered the execution of Christians who refused to pay him divine honor.⁵ The consul, Flavius Clemens, was martyred, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, was exiled; St. John was banished to Patmos; and The Apocalypse refers to the “blood of the martyrs of Jesus.”

Domitian was succeeded by Nerva (96–98), and this first of the “Five Good Emperors” chose as his successor the able soldier, Trajan (98–117).

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

A critical study of the available evidence shows that already in the first century the unique position of the Church of Rome was recognized by other churches. The earliest papal letter of which we have knowledge—the Epistle of Pope St. Clement (c. 96)—speaks in a tone of “authoritative direction.” Rome, the capital of the civilized world, was even now the official center of Christendom; and St. Peter and his successors in this see had begun an unbroken line of pontiffs, divinely charged with the supreme leadership of the Universal Church.

St. Peter (c. 42–67), who had received from our Lord jurisdiction over the whole Church, became the first bishop of Rome. The date of his arrival, the length of his residence, and the details of his activity remain more or less uncertain; various writers present various theories. But modern scholarship regards as certain his visit to Rome and his death by martyrdom there—two historical facts which support the claim made by the bishops of Rome to be the successors of St. Peter.⁶

⁵ Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 55.

⁶ The scriptural evidence for the primacy of Peter is given above on page 5.

“The discoveries and researches of recent years have made it necessary for all who wish to keep abreast of the advance of historical science, to withdraw to a great extent from the old Protestant position regarding the Church of Rome at the close of the

All the ancient lists of the bishops of Rome give the name of St. Linus as the immediate successor of Peter. According to Irenaeus also, who wrote in the second century, Linus (c. 67–c. 79) was chosen to be head of the Christian community in Rome after Peter's death. It is asserted, but not proved, that he was buried beside St. Peter in the cemetery on the Vatican Hill. Details of his pontificate are unknown.

Whether Anacletus and Cletus (c. 79–c. 90) are the names of one man or of two, cannot be settled decisively. Both names occur after the name of Linus in the lists of popes. In any event, a pope known as St. Cletus ordained a number of priests, and died a martyr about the year 90.

St. Clement I (c. 90–c. 99)—sometimes called Clement of Rome to distinguish him from Clement of Alexandria—is the first of the early writers called “Apostolic Fathers.” Concerning this pope little is known for certain.⁷ In his letter to the Church of Corinth—still preserved, and unquestionably authentic—he reproaches the Corinthians for having allowed a schism to exist in their church, and urges them to submit to the divinely established hierarchy, to which all Christians owe obedience.⁸

first century.” Dom Cuthbert Butler, writer of the sentence quoted, having carefully studied the views expressed by the Anglican scholar, Bishop Lightfoot, sums them up with the statement, “Three points regarding the early Roman See appear to Bishop Lightfoot to be clear:

(1) That a primacy among the Apostles was conferred by Our Lord on St. Peter.

(2) That St. Peter visited Rome and was martyred there.

(3) That at the end of the first century the Roman Church held a primacy over all other churches—a primacy which ever grew and developed as the ages ran on.”

“These,” says Dom Butler, “are unquestionably approaches which naturally lead up to Catholic teaching.” *Religions of Authority*, pp. 112–117.

For a good summary of the evidence which supports the traditional belief, see Philip Hughes, *A History of the Church*, I, 75 ff.

⁷ It is probable that the ancient building—containing a shrine of Mithra—discovered by excavations under the fourth-century basilica of San Clemente in Rome was the family home of Pope Clement.

⁸ “But the Roman community's sense of its own importance is nevertheless unmistakable, and it finds expression in the whole tenor of the letter. Rome imparts profitable instruction to the Corinthian community and regards this as her right and her duty: but one gets the impression that the Romans would have been greatly surprised had Corinth, let us say, in similar circumstances, dispatched such a letter of admonition to Rome.” Hans Lietzmann, “The Christian Church in the West,” *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, 530.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The doctrines of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century are the developed form of the primitive teachings communicated by the Apostles to the Christians of the first century.

The "form of sound words" mentioned in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy (I:13) suggests a creed; and the story of the eunuch told in the Acts of the Apostles (VIII:37) seems to indicate that it was customary to make a profession of faith as a preliminary to baptism. It is probable, therefore, although it cannot be proved with certainty, that the apostolic Church possessed a formula corresponding to the baptismal creed used in later centuries and substantially identical with our present Apostles' Creed.

Councils: After the missions of St. Paul had brought in many Gentile converts, some of the Jewish Christians insisted that circumcision was necessary for salvation; and a clamor arose. To settle it, the Apostles held a council in Jerusalem about A.D. 51 and issued a decree denying the necessity of circumcision and ruling only that the Gentiles should abstain "from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication." (Acts, XV:29.) The decree was then sent to the churches of Syria and Cilicia.

Organization: The hierarchical organization of the Church in three grades—the episcopate, the priesthood, and the diaconate—although of divine origin, is not clearly described in the New Testament. Nor does the Gospel say that our Lord indicated the precise way in which He intended His Church to be governed and administered. Yet His commission to the Apostles led to the founding of a number of local Christian communities, each of which was ruled by a bishop and served by assistant clergy, and each of which was consciously part of one great whole.⁹

⁹ This is quite in line with the activities of St. Paul as revealed in his Epistles, and with the description given by Pope St. Clement. St. John gathered disciples about him, ordained bishops and presbyters, founded new churches, and visited the neighboring districts as occasion required, always keeping Ephesus as his headquarters.

On the essential identity of the Roman Catholic Church with the religion taught

Careful examination of the earliest Christian literature—both scriptural and non-scriptural—shows that the Church as it existed from the beginning, possessed the essential features which developed later.¹⁰ Not every new church had a complete organization; but the hierarchy was there in embryo and gradually it unfolded. Each church was a social organism in which the officials exercised powers received not from the community, but from God. After the death of the first bishops appointed by the Apostles, the clergy chose successors from among themselves, in the presence of the people and with their consent.

The original method of organizing a Christian community seems to have followed a fairly definite pattern. An apostle would appear in a Jewish colony, attend the synagogue and announce the "glad tidings"—that the Messiah had come. Some of the Jews would welcome the Gospel message; but as a whole, the community would reject it, and cast out the Christians. Then the Christians would form a separate group, with a distinct system of doctrine and government; and pagan converts would swell their numbers, in some instances rapidly.

The exact nature of each sacred order was revealed by circumstances, slowly in some places, more quickly in others. The bishops performed functions not given to priests, who taught and baptized but did not ordain; and both these orders performed functions not given to deacons, who taught and baptized but did not offer the Holy Sacrifice. Then, as the labors of the deacons increased, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, and porters were appointed to aid them, although neither the titles nor the duties of these classes were always distinct.

The conditions of early Christian life sufficiently explain the comparatively rare display of episcopal and papal power. At first the functions of bishops and popes were largely implicit. Then, as differences of opinion and diversities of usage appeared, the authority of the bishop was invoked. If one community was at odds with another the ecumenical authority of the pope came into play. Naturally enough, when bishop or pope inter-

by Jesus in the Gospels and with the religion of the second generation of Christians, see Pierre Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, chap. II-III, and especially Excursus B, pp. 143-63.

¹⁰ Pope St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, describes in chapter XLII, the order of ministers in the Church, "the apostles . . . preaching through countries and cities . . . appointed the first fruits (of their labors) having first proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe." And in chapter XL, "For his own peculiar services are assigned to the highpriest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen,"

vened, some Christians, lay and clerical, would at times be disposed to question, and even to resist, the decisions which went against them, and thus to inaugurate a schism.¹¹

Marriage: The Mosaic Law allowed divorce¹² in certain circumstances; but in the course of time abuses multiplied, and at this period, with the sanction of the school of Hillel, the marriage bond was broken for trifling reasons. Hence the point of the question addressed to our Lord by the Pharisees: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" (Matt. XIX:3.) In His reply, "What therefore God hath joined together let no man put asunder," our Lord stated the principle of indissolubility; and the acceptance of that principle became a condition of membership in His Church.

A difficulty arises from a clause in verse 9 of this same chapter of Matthew: "And I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for impurity, and shall marry another, committeth adultery."¹³ Catholic teaching interprets "putting away" to mean separation from bed and board; the Greek Church, however, interprets it to mean rupture of the marriage bond, and the Greeks base their sanction of divorce chiefly on this passage.

Worship: Beyond the bare outlines, we know little with certainty about the Christian liturgy before the time of Constantine. Yet, piecing together the fragmentary information gathered from the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Di-

¹¹ Cardinal Newman (who made an intensive study of the subject) affirms that if we suppose the papacy to have been divinely instituted, yet left to develop gradually as need might arise, we can imagine no history more probable than that which actually took place. *Essay on Development*, p. 153.

¹² Marriage is of its nature monogamic and perpetual, but in the Mosaic law, both of these properties were temporarily dispensed by divine permission.

Confusion results from the ambiguity attaching to the word "divorce" which is used in the complete sense of a dissolution of the marriage bond, and also employed without qualification in an incomplete sense to mean separation from bed and board. In modern law it stands for absolute liberation *a vinculo matrimonii*, although commonly used in the wider sense of separation.

¹³ The Greek word *πορνεία* is wide enough in meaning to be variously translated as "impurity," "immorality," "adultery," "fornication." Biblical scholars have questioned the authenticity of this clause, which occurs only in Matthew, but the weight of textual evidence seems to favor it. The problem is discussed by George Hayward Joyce, *Christian Marriages*, pp. 274-296. See also in the *Clergy Review*, "A Note on Matthew, XIX, 3-12," by Robert Dyson and Bernard Leeming (Vol. XX, 283-94), and "Another Note . . .," by J. P. Arendzen (Vol. XXI, 25-26).

dache and the writings of Clement and Ignatius, we obtain a probable picture of what took place when the primitive Christians assembled for the celebration of the Eucharistic Rite.

The Christian liturgy sprang from the Jewish liturgy. The primitive Christians formed a sort of separate synagogue, and they followed the ritual of the synagogue, which included the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the chanting of Psalms, the offering of prayers, and sometimes a sermon. To this ritual, the Christians added the Eucharistic Banquet which from the very first days was the central act of worship—for the Sacrifice of the Cross had definitely taken the place of the sacrifices of the Old Law.

The faithful were accustomed to meet at night in a house which contained a supper-room (*cenaculum*) large enough for the purpose. They began by reading passages from the Old Testament, then letters received from the Apostles, and perhaps also a selection from one of the Gospels. Then followed the chanting of a psalm or hymn, and sometimes the delivery of an instruction or exhortation.

After common prayers the Apostle, or the bishop, or the priest presiding, would place some loaves and a cup of wine on a linen cloth.¹⁴ Then, all standing, the priest called upon the assembly to give thanks to God, alluded to the closing scene of our Lord's life, and by pronouncing the words of Consecration in his capacity of priest of the New Law, renewed the atoning death of Christ upon the Cross. Afterwards, breaking the Bread, he gave a fragment and a sip of the Wine to each one present; and the service concluded with a psalm of thanksgiving or song of praise.

Sunday was chosen as the day of common worship for the sake of having a day dedicated to exclusively Christian services. As time went on, and the separation between Judaism and Christianity became more deliberate and conscious, the Christians abandoned the observance of the Sabbath altogether. Thus the day set apart for religious service by the Jews continued to be

¹⁴ The opinion, formerly common, that the celebration of the Eucharist took place in the early days of the Church at a banquet (*Agape* or *Love Meal*) has been rejected by Monsignor Batiffol and other Catholic scholars.

the seventh, whereas the Christians set apart the first day of the week.

Communities: From the very beginning of Christianity individuals responded to the Gospel counsels by giving themselves to ascetical practices and devotional exercises; but there is no evidence that they formed communities living apart from the body of the faithful. The primitive Church contained no organized religious orders.

Saints: Among the primitive Christians the first saints to receive public veneration were chiefly the martyrs.¹⁵ Mass was celebrated on their tombs and the names of certain martyrs were mentioned in the Mass; but, of course, only a small proportion could be thus honored. Among the first-century saints named in the Canon are the Apostles, John the Baptist, Stephen, and three popes, Linus, Cletus, and Clement.

Education: For obvious reasons Christian schools did not exist in the first century; but classes of religious instruction were formed to prepare converts for baptism. It soon became the common custom to defer baptism until maturity; and neophytes were kept under instruction for a number of years. The great Catechetical School of Alexandria is supposed to have originated in a class for the religious instruction of converts organized in the first century.

Writers: In addition to the New Testament, there are two primitive Christian documents important by reason of the testimony they bear to the faith and to the practice of the Apostolic Church.

The first of these, our earliest non-scriptural inheritance from Christian antiquity, is the letter—already mentioned—which Pope St. Clement wrote to the Church of Corinth about the year 96. Besides a reproof, the letter also contains a reference to the Sacrifice of the Mass; but historical, liturgical, and doctrinal passages occur only incidentally. Other writings attributed to Clement lack due proof of authenticity.

The second document, the *Didache* ("The Teaching") is a sort of liturgical manual which remained unknown to the mod-

¹⁵ The word "martyr" means witness in Greek.

ern world until its discovery in 1883 in a monastery library in Constantinople. In its present form it dates from the second century; but it enshrines earlier material and we are able to gather from it valuable information about the moral teachings, the religious practices, and the form of government which obtained among the Christians of the first century.

3. OPPOSITION

Persecutions: Jewish dislike of the new Christian sect caused frequent outbreaks of mob violence in Jerusalem and other cities. Herod Agrippa, in the year 42, began a more formal persecution and delivered many Christians into the hands of their Jewish enemies. St. James the Greater was slain at this time; and the faithful fled to Antioch and other places. Some seven or eight years later Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome.

The Christians, still legally classed as Jews, also incurred special distrust because of their "anti-social" aloofness from games and theaters and the common life of the people. Moreover, their habit of meeting for worship secretly in the evening or the early morning lent color to the suspicion that they were given to political conspiracies, crimes, and infamous practices.

The first persecution took place when Nero accused the Christians of causing the fire which almost destroyed Rome in 64; and the torments inflicted on the victims were so cruel that the populace began to display compassion. Then a new charge was brought, that Christians were public enemies whose existence was a menace to the State; and after the lull occasioned by Nero's death and the subsequent struggle for the throne, persecution was renewed. Some Christians apparently were among the persons put to death by Domitian, either on the charge of atheism or as tax evaders; but there is no proof that Christianity was officially proscribed until the time of Trajan.

Heresies and Schisms:¹⁶ Church history necessarily records many instances of human frailty, of human antagonisms. It tells,

¹⁶ Heresy (from the Greek, *hairesis*, a choosing for oneself) is the rejection of one or more articles of faith while accepting others. Schism (from the Greek, *schisma*, a split) is a breaking away from the Church.

for example, of the misunderstanding between St. Paul and St. Barnabas, of the quarrels that divided the Corinthians, Thessalonians, and Galatians, of the schism in Corinth which occasioned the Epistle of Pope St. Clement, earliest of the great Christian documents not included in Scripture. A display of racial prejudice brought about the appointment of the first deacons; ¹⁷ and tragedy ended the attempt of Ananias and Saphira to "hold out" a portion of the common fund.

There were divergences in belief, too. The average simple Christian was content to hold fast to his faith in the Lord God Almighty and in Jesus Christ His Son Our Saviour. But curious intellects soon raised questions about the nature of Christ and about His relation to the Heavenly Father. Some of the answers to these questions were regarded by the Apostles as dangerous distortions of doctrine.

Christianity soon came into contact with Gnosticism—a movement active in many places and in various forms. Most of the Gnostics taught that perfect faith and full spiritual power were privileges of the "Initiated" who possessed finer intellects and better education than the multitude. They also made a distinction between the Supreme God and the lesser being who created the material universe—a doctrine which tended to foster fanatical and even immoral theories about matter and the body.

Some Gnostic groups composed apocryphal gospels, borrowed the Christian vocabulary, claimed their own "esoteric" revelation, and circulated a very distorted form of Christianity over an alarmingly wide area.

The Judaizers,¹⁸ by insisting on the observance of the Mosaic Law as essential to salvation for all members of the Christian community, or at

¹⁷ In the very first days at Jerusalem "there arose a murmuring of the Greeks against the Hebrews for that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration." And seven ministers called deacons were appointed to avoid a recurrence of the difficulty. Acts, VI:1.

¹⁸ Judaic-Christians—Jewish converts to Christianity who considered themselves still bound by the Mosaic Law—were called Nazarenes in Syria; and possibly they sometimes were called Ebionites, i.e., poor people.

Apparently they relied chiefly upon the so-called "Gospel according to the Hebrews"—a document not unlike the Gospel according to St. Matthew, but extant in fragments only. One group—which denied both the virginal birth of Christ and His divinity—included the authors of the "Clementine Homilies," a summary of the sermons of

least for Jewish converts, provoked a discussion which was settled at the First Council of Jerusalem (c. 51). The council's decision not to impose the Mosaic Law, together with St. Paul's rebuke to St. Peter (Galatians: II:11), checked their activity in Jerusalem and Syria; but at a later date they gave trouble at Corinth and elsewhere.

The Epistles of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Jude reveal anxiety over the spread of notions substantially identical with certain Gnostic doctrines.¹⁹ Simon Magus (mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles), representative of a popular form of Gnosticism propagated chiefly by "Magicians" among simple, illiterate people, was engaged in teaching his theories in Samaria at the time that the Gospel was first preached there. He was not the only propagandist of this kind; in fact St. Irenaeus speaks as if all the earliest heresies had a Gnostic coloring.

The Jews: The chief opponents of Christianity during the first century were Jews who perceived in the new religion a dangerous rival of Judaism. But Jews were also the Gospel's best supporters; for Christianity made its way among the pagans not only through the medium of individual Jewish converts, but also by means of the Jewish settlements throughout the Roman Empire.

The Jews of the "Dispersion" were a numerous and fairly powerful body. These scattered communities had been founded by the Hellenizing kings who preceded the Romans as rulers of the East, because they knew that the Jews were a conservative influence, making for law and order and, as a rule, avoiding all disturbance if allowed full freedom to practice their religion. Jewish colonies were specially favored. The civil law protected their racial and religious customs; and they formed a sort of city within a city, both in the Orient and among the Greeks. When Rome took over the control of the East, Jews had developed communities in many cities; traces of early Jewish colonies have been found in nearly one hundred and fifty places. These dispersed Jews, broadened by their contact with Greek civilization, were less set in their attachment to strict tradition and the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law than the Jews of Jerusalem;

St. Peter, falsely attributed to Pope St. Clement I. "None of the Judaic-Christian communities were received as such into the oriental patriarchates. Thus Judaic Christianity died out in misery and obscurity. As the Church developed in the Greco-Roman world she left her cradle behind. Emancipation from Judaic Christianity was as necessary as from pure Judaism." Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, p. 93.

¹⁹ Especially the doctrine that both nature and the Mosaic Law were the work of inferior spirits distinct from the Supreme God who revealed Himself in Jesus Christ.

and their synagogues contained a good number of Gentile proselytes. As a rule they gave hearing to St. Paul and to other preachers of the Christian doctrine.

Throughout the Roman Empire Judaism, like other religions, was tolerated; but the refusal of the Jews to pay divine honor to Caligula (37-41) led to the massacre of many, particularly at Alexandria, and it was only Agrippa's influence with the Emperor that saved the Jews of Palestine from destruction in the reign of Claudius. After Agrippa's death in 44, the severity of the Roman procurators provoked a Jewish rebellion which ended with the taking of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), the destruction of the Temple, and the death or banishment of multitudes.

The Jews of Rome—who on one occasion attached eight thousand signatures to a document²⁰—were expelled by Tiberius in A.D. 19, but after ten years they were allowed to return. About the year 49 they were forbidden to hold religious services and many of them left the city. Because of these grievances the Jews entertained a special dislike for Rome which in contrast with Jerusalem, the Holy City, they called Babylon, citadel of the pagan world.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Judaism was classified no longer as a nation, but as one of the "privileged" religions. The heavy taxation imposed upon the Jews caused so many to abandon their religion that Domitian (81-96) decreed severe punishment for those who were found guilty of thus escaping the payment of taxes.

4. MISSIONS

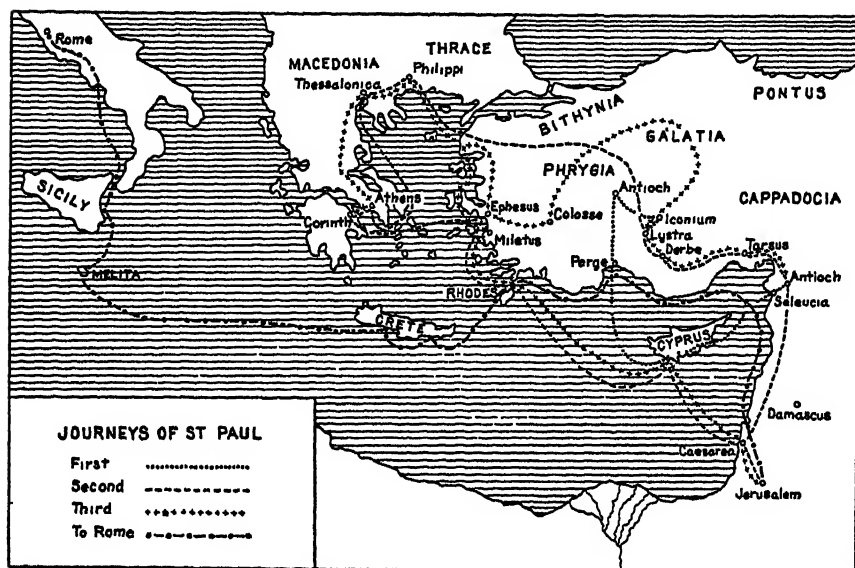
The Acts of the Apostles gives one hundred twenty as the number of disciples who gathered about St. Peter at the time of our Lord's Ascension. After St. Peter's sermon on Pentecost there were added to the little community about three thousand souls. Shortly afterwards, two thousand more converts came into the Church.²¹

When Herod Agrippa began to persecute the Christians, St. Peter was imprisoned; but, having been liberated by an angel, "he went into another place,"—probably Rome—where he presided as bishop. His early labors in Palestine are recorded by his companion, St. Luke; and he made missionary trips into Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia and other provinces. Later he went to Rome

²⁰ A petition for the deposition of the Idumean dynasty in Judea.

²¹ Acts, II:41; IV:4.

where he died a martyr by crucifixion, at some date between the years 64 and 68.²²



Saul, a young Pharisee from Tarsus in Cilicia, was on his way to Damascus to harry the Christians when our Lord appeared to him. Converted and baptized about the year 35, he remained in solitude for three years and then went to Jerusalem "to see Peter." At Antioch he was ordained; and thereafter he was officially recognized as an Apostle. In company with Barnabas, he set out on his first missionary journey (c. 45), going first to Cyprus where he converted the proconsul, Sergius Paulus,²³ and then to Asia Minor. On a second missionary journey (c. 50) he visited Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece—where he tarried a year and a half at Corinth.

A third missionary journey (c. 52) took him to Asia Minor, where he stayed over two years at Ephesus. He then visited Corinth, Macedonia, Miletus, and Caesarea. On his return to Jerusalem the Jews attempted to put him to death; but the guard of the Temple rescued him. After two years in prison at Caesarea,

²² Modern scholarship regards the arguments against the fact of St. Peter's martyrdom in Rome as negligible.

²³ After this episode—and possibly earlier—the new apostle was called Paul.

St. Paul "appealed to Caesar" and was sent to Rome where he remained in prison for two years more (60-62). Having recovered his freedom he went to the far West—possibly to Spain—then back to Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Crete. He was again imprisoned in Rome and at last beheaded, probably at the same time that St. Peter was crucified.

We know few facts about the other Apostles. St. James the Less, first bishop of Jerusalem, was stoned to death in 62. St. John was imprisoned in Jerusalem; and afterwards, while dwelling in Ephesus, he ruled over the growing congregations of Asia Minor. Among the disciples who gathered around him before his death in the year 101 were St. Polycarp of Smyrna and—it has been conjectured—St. Ignatius of Antioch.

Outside of the accounts given in the Acts there is little reliable information about the missionary labors of individual Apostles.²⁴ Dim traditions say that St. James the Greater carried the faith to Spain, St. Philip to Phrygia, St. Thomas to Parthia, St. Andrew to Scythia (southern Russia), and St. Bartholomew to India; and that all the Apostles except St. John suffered martyrdom. With regard to the Blessed Virgin there are two traditions, one of which states that she died in Jerusalem about the year 45, surrounded by the Apostles; the other that she accompanied St. John to Ephesus and died there at a later date.²⁵

Within a few years Christianity had spread throughout the Roman world. The Christian centers were Rome—the recognized headquarters of the whole Church—and the three great cities of Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria. Although the Apostles made many converts in Palestine, the majority of the people there never accepted Christianity; and the Christian community in Jerusalem faded into insignificance after the destruction of the city by Titus in the year 70.

Richest city of Asia Minor, temporary headquarters of St. Paul, last home of St. John, Ephesus was so closely associated with the writing and conserving of apostolic documents that it has been called "the cradle of the New Testament."²⁶ Its early unique eminence, however, was soon lost.

Antioch, at that time the largest city of the Empire, except Rome and Alexandria, and also the residence of the governor of Syria, soon became the chief Christian center of the East. The Church was established there

²⁴ The gap has been filled by apocryphal histories which must be read with great caution as many of them were written by the Gnostics for purposes of propaganda. These apocrypha, however, do sometimes contain an historical kernel.

²⁵ On the doctrine of the Assumption—that the Blessed Virgin rose after death, and entered heaven, body and soul—see B. L. Conway, *Studies in Church History* (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1915), pp. 71-88.

²⁶ Twelve of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament are connected with the Church of Ephesus.

by refugees from Jerusalem during the persecution of Herod Agrippa (c. 42) and Sts. Peter and Paul ministered both to Jews and Greeks.²⁷ There the disciples were first named "Christians";²⁸ and Antioch still traces the names of its bishops back to Evodius and St. Ignatius, the first and second bishops to succeed St. Peter in that see.

The Gospel was preached in Egypt as early as the year 50. According to tradition, the Evangelist St. Mark founded the Church of Alexandria. Even if that tradition is unverified, the Alexandrian Church surely dates back to Apostolic times and it early became the principal see of Egypt.

At what precise date Christianity was introduced into Rome we cannot say. Perhaps it was brought by converts from Asia Minor, possibly by soldiers shifted from Caesarea to Rome. Christians in Rome had already attained to some importance when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans (c. 58); and at least one distinguished convert—Pomponia Graecina—is known by name. In the year 64 the Roman Christians, according to a phrase of Tacitus (that need not be taken literally) formed "a huge multitude."

SUMMARY

We have seen the Christian faith in the first stages of its growth radiate into the Jewish colonies of the Dispersion. Beginning with the more important communities, the Christians announced the new dispensation in the neighboring towns and villages where little groups of disciples set up their altars within the shadow of the local synagogues. Soon, perhaps by way of the Greek colonies along the Mediterranean seaboard, the faith penetrated into Gaul and before many years it was planted also in Spain.

By the end of the century Christianity was plainly a world religion, quite independent of Judaism and aiming at the conversion of the whole human race. It had spread over an enormous territory, established settlements among many races, and won fol-

²⁷ When the Greek converts protested against being obliged to comply with the Mosaic Law, their claim was recognized by the First Council of Jerusalem.

²⁸ The significance of the name was well known to the pagans, for Tacitus, describing the persecution of the Christians under Nero, wrote: "Chrestus, from whom they derived their name, had been punished under Tiberius by the procurator, Pontius Pilate . . ."—*Annals*, Bk. XV, chap. 44.

lowers from every social class. It was entrenched at Antioch, metropolis of the East; at Alexandria, the capital of Egypt; at Corinth, chief of the Greek cities; at Ephesus, where John, the last Apostle, still lived and taught. In Rome, the capital of the Empire, Clement, the Chief Shepherd, watched over the Christian churches scattered throughout the world.

Men whose names recall the principal features of this first stage of the Church's development are St. Peter, its head, who died in Rome about the year 67, after a pontificate of uncertain length; St. Paul, his companion in martyrdom, whose tireless journeys and inspired writings provided the outlines of early Christian missionary expansion and of subsequent theological development; three officials conspicuous in the infamous annals of religious persecution, Pontius Pilate, Roman procurator of Judea until A.D. 36, and the Roman emperors, Nero (d. 68) and Domitian (d. 96).



Ewing Galloway

ANCIENT ROMAN ARCH (1st century)

In Orange, site of two famous Councils (441 and 529)

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

c. 4 B.C. Birth of Christ

14 Augustus d.

26-36 Pilate, Roman Procurator of
Judea

c. 29 Beginning of Christ's ministry

c. 33 Pentecost

41 Caligula d.

42 Persecutions under Herod
Agrippa

c. 45 St. Paul's first journey

49-50 Jewish worship forbidden in
Rome

c. 50 St. Paul's second journey

51 First Council at Jerusalem

c. 52 St. Paul's third journey

54 Claudius d.

64 First persecution under Nero

c. 67 Martyrdom of Sts. *Peter*²⁹ and
Paul

68 Suicide of Nero

70 Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus

c. 79 St. Linus d.

c. 90 St. Anacletus d.

95 Persecution under Domitian

c. 96 St. Clement's Epistle

98 Trajan, Emperor

c. 100 *Didache*

²⁹ Names of popes are in italics.

CHAPTER II

(The One Hundreds)

Expanding Christianity

PREVIEW

THE story of the second century centers around the encounters between youthful Christianity and old organized paganism. Bloody persecution, instead of checking the faith, served to foster its growth. Pagan literary attacks led Greek, Latin, and Syrian Christians to prepare a reasoned defense of their religion.

Both in quality and in quantity the Christians came to form a more significant element of the Empire. Whereas almost all the early converts had come from the ranks of the slaves, freedmen, and laborers, many recruits in the last quarter of this century were nobles.



I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Soon after the year 100 the Empire reached the height of its power; and Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, who ruled from 96 to 180, were called the "Five Good Emperors" because of their devotion to the public welfare. Trajan presided over a larger dominion than any other Roman emperor; Hadrian, who eliminated many administrative abuses, lessened the area of the Empire but strengthened its defenses by withdrawing to the west of the Euphrates and by build-

ing great walls in Germany and in Britain; Antoninus gave the Empire a long, uneventful reign; Marcus Aurelius, who began to feel the heavy pressure of the tribes upon the frontiers, drove the Parthians back out of Syria; but a little later the Germans came thrusting across the lower Danube.

Most of the time the official attitude towards Christianity conformed to the spirit of Trajan's "Rescript to Pliny." Yet for one reason or another, local governors would often take steps to suppress the Christians, and there were few districts not visited by persecution at least once in each twenty or thirty years.

Septimius Severus, who became emperor soon after the murder of Commodus (193), ruled as a military despot with the support of an army composed chiefly of non-Italians. He swept away the remaining forms of republican government; his word was law; all civil and military officials functioned as his representatives. Towards the Christians he was not in the beginning antagonistic; he may even have extended to them temporary legal recognition; and he placed Christ on his list of "lesser gods." Later he changed his policy.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Several of the eleven popes who ruled the Church in the second century were martyred; but, excepting St. Anicetus (c. 155-c. 166), St. Eleutherius (174-189), and St. Victor I (189-198), they remain rather shadowy figures with pontificates of uncertain date.

To Anicetus, St. Polycarp came in order to discuss the dispute between East and West as to the date of Easter; but no decision was reached—"Polycarp could not persuade the Pope, nor the Pope, Polycarp," says Eusebius. We read that the Christians of Gaul twice appealed to Eleutherius to check the Montanist heresy; and Victor, we know, threatened to excommunicate the Asiatic bishops for their refusal to adopt the Roman usage in the celebration of Easter.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: Documentary sources for the teaching of the Church in the second century are the older forms of the Apostles' Creed and also writings composed to explain the faith or to defend it against attacks. That we have no more detailed account is due in part to the loss of much early Christian literature, and to the primitive custom of keeping silent about sacred mysteries in order to protect them from ridicule and profanation.

The rule of excluding pagans and neophytes from knowledge of the Christian mysteries appears to have been made at a very early period and to have grown stricter during persecution. This custom, which received the name "*Disciplina arcani*"¹ many centuries later, was observed most carefully with regard to the Holy Eucharist. At times however, writers alluded to the Real Presence in veiled language, using such expressions as "The faithful will understand," or "My meaning will be clear to the initiated." At other times they spoke even more openly. St. Ignatius (c. 107) for example, in his Epistle to the Smyrnians referred to certain heretics "who deny that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ." The alternation of secrecy and of mysterious allusions gave rise to startling notions in the minds of the pagans: "The Christians eat human flesh and drink human blood." "They kill a child and eat its flesh wrapped in bread." Indirectly the record of these suspicions helps to prove primitive Christian belief in the Real Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament.

The Holy Eucharist was frequently referred to by means of allegories and symbols. One of the most famous symbols was the fish which stood for "Christ," because the Greek word for fish, *ΙΧΘΥΣ* is an acrostic formed from the initial letters of the five words, "Jesus Christ God's Son Saviour."

Piecing together all available fragments, we are able to construct a picture which shows that the Christians of the second century held substantially the same doctrine and followed the same practices as the Church of later times. This holds good with regard to all the sacraments, although, in order to avoid confusion, we must keep in mind that not until the ninth century did Catholic theology make a verbal distinction between sacraments in the general sense of "sacred signs" and sacraments instituted by Christ Himself for the purpose of sanctifying the human soul in a special way.²

¹ "Discipline of the secret."

² The Church teaches that our Lord immediately instituted the seven sacraments of the New Law; that He decided the particular grace which would be conferred through

As for the Blessed Eucharist, we find in the second century all the essential parts of our present Mass; the ritual details described by St. Clement and St. Justin "are in every respect analogous to those which we encounter three centuries later, when documents abound."³

The early rituals, both Eastern and Western—and many passages from the writings of the Fathers—make it clear that the common form of baptism was immersion, although the sprinkling of water and the pouring of water were also recognized as valid methods. Immersion continued in use until the twelfth century in the Western Church, and has never been abandoned in the Orient.

For the conferring of the Holy Ghost on those already baptized the early Church made use of a rite which included the imposing of hands and the anointing with holy oil. The fact that until the end of the second century we do not find confirmation mentioned as distinct from baptism may be due to the custom of bestowing the two sacraments at the same time.

The vigorous discussion provoked by the Montanists in the latter part of the second century shows that bishops and priests forgave sins committed after baptism. Even the heretics recognized this power, but they

each sacrament; that in the case of certain sacraments, for example baptism and the Eucharist, He determined the precise matter and the form; and that the Church has no power to change the essence of any sacrament. With regard to some sacraments, however, Christ left it to the Church to determine more precisely the matter and form in so far as they were not already determined by Him. "Historical investigation has, however, made it more and more difficult to maintain the thesis that the Church has never made substantial changes in the effective rite of some of the sacraments. Confirmation and Extreme Unction afford conspicuous examples. Hence several recent theologians of recognized competence have not hesitated to defend the opinion that the Church has authority to determine the sacramental symbols of all the sacraments except Baptism and the Holy Eucharist; and that at Trent she exercised this power as regards Matrimony." Joyce, *Christian Marriage*, p. 129.

³ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, chap. II.

St. Justin in his *Apology*, gives the following account of the Mass as celebrated in the early part of the second century: "There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length. . . . And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion. . . . This food we call the Eucharist, and no one is permitted to partake of it unless he believes in the truth of our doctrine, is baptized unto the remission of sins and regeneration, and lives as Christ has lived. For we do not receive these things as ordinary food and ordinary drink; but as Our Lord Jesus Christ became man and took upon him flesh and blood for our redemption, so also believe we, that the food blessed by the prayer which contains His words (Consecration) has become the flesh and blood of Jesus Incarnate. For the Apostles in their records called Gospels, transmitted to us the command which Christ gave them when, after taking bread and giving thanks, He blessed it and said: 'Do this in commemoration of Me.'" *The First Apology of Justin*, chaps. LXV, LXVI.

held that it did not extend to the more grievous sins, for example, apostasy, murder, and adultery.

With regard to extreme unction, we find references (in Origen, for example) to the rite of anointing the sick or the dying which accord with the direction given by St. James in the fifth chapter of his Epistle, to anoint sick persons with oil in the name of the Lord.⁴

Holy orders was administered by the bishop through the imposition of hands. The Church of the second century recognized the special authority of bishops as of apostolic (and ultimately divine) origin, although the fact of this recognition is sometimes obscured by the usage which made the names "bishops" and "presbyters" interchangeable.

Among the religious rites which conferred grace the marriage contract was included, although the Church did not until centuries later define the doctrine that marriage is one of the seven sacraments.

Councils: In certain areas the bishops met occasionally to discuss church affairs. Several such meetings took place during the "Easter Controversy." Pope St. Victor I, who assembled the earliest known Roman synod to deliberate on this question, urged the holding of councils in various places; and answering letters came to him from synods held in Palestine, Pontus, Gaul and Asia Minor. Not yet rooted in Africa, the custom of holding councils at regular intervals became established there a few years later.

Organization: The heresies of the second century indirectly helped to develop ecclesiastical organization. Each community became more and more aware of the value of a bishop to govern each definite area, and of a pope to govern the universal Church.

The controversy over the date of Easter throws light on the relationship between the bishops and the pope. Early in the century Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was commissioned by the Asiatic bishops to go to Rome and protest against the Roman custom of celebrating Easter on Sunday (instead of on whatever day of the week the 14th Nisan might fall in the old Jewish calendar). The question remained unsettled; and in the last decade of the century Pope Victor I sought the views of both East and West. The churches of Pontus, of the country around Edessa, of Palestine and of Gaul, with the bishop of Corinth, all favored

⁴ One such reference in Theophilus of Antioch (d. 181) is cited by Leclercq. See "Holy Oils," *Cath. Encyc.*, VII, 422.

the Roman practice. The Asiatics refused to adopt it; and Pope Victor threatened to excommunicate them. He did not press the condemnation, apparently because of a protest from St. Irenaeus; and for the time being the churches of Asia retained their own old usage.

Marriage: Although the law of Augustus established the validity of divorce, if formally executed before the necessary witnesses, the Church held her children to strict indissolubility under pain of excommunication; and there is no evidence of any case in which she sanctioned the rupture of a valid marriage. She did not, however, approve Tertullian's rigorous doctrine forbidding second marriage to a widow or widower. She discouraged her children from contracting marriage with heretics and infidels, but it was not until many centuries later that she made the lack of baptism an impediment to the validity of marriage.

The apostolic tradition did not require priests to refrain from marriage; and St. Paul, while recommending celibacy, regarded marriage as no impediment to the episcopate. During the early centuries clerical celibacy was practiced in some places, but elsewhere, as Clement of Alexandria testifies, the faithful were served by a married clergy.

Worship: Liturgical use varied from place to place and from period to period. The earliest liturgical language was Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine. Then Greek came into general use; and about the end of the second century Latin was introduced in the West.

Art: The catacombs presented familiar forms of pagan decoration, omitting objectionable features; as yet there existed no distinctively Christian art. Conspicuously peculiar portrayal of ideas was deliberately avoided during the time of persecution.

Communities: Persons who dedicated themselves to the ascetical life as a rule remained at home and engaged in ordinary employments. Each local church usually had a number of persons of this kind who were called "the ascetics," "the continent," or "the abstainers." Virgins of both sexes were considered to reflect honor on the Christian name; they formed a sort of spiritual aristocracy, occupied a special place in the Church, and received

marks of peculiar respect. In their form of life and also in their ideals, the primitive ascetics differed from modern religious. No definite ceremony marked entrance into the ascetical life, nor did ascetics wear distinctive clothing, although they dressed more soberly than others. They usually practiced a special renunciation, but did not devote themselves to corporal or spiritual works of mercy as these were entrusted to officials of the community—bishops, priests, deacons, deaconesses, and lesser officers. It was only later that the faithful began to look to the ascetics and the virgins for social service.

Saints: The letter written by the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Bishop St. Polycarp (155) is one of many evidences which attest to the veneration of the martyrs. At the risk of life the faithful buried their bodies, secured their relics, deposited branches of palms in their graves as symbols of victory, treasured up vials of their blood, and celebrated the anniversary of each martyr's death as his birthday in heaven.

In addition to saints already mentioned in the text, one made famous within recent years is Abercius, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, whose epitaph, written by himself, is among the most important monuments of the second century because of the witness it bears to the peculiar position of the Church of Rome, to the wide extension of Christianity, and to the faith of the early Church in baptism and Holy Communion.⁵

Education: The city of Alexandria was famous as a center of Greek and Jewish learning; and the Catechetical School founded there at an early date soon attained distinction for its careful instruction of catechumens, its zeal in the study of Scripture, and its interest in Christian apologetics. As an ecclesiastical seminary for the training of priests in the latter half of the century, it gained considerable fame under the leadership of St. Pantaenus who was succeeded by his most noted pupil, Clement of Alexandria. In another early school at Rome, St. Justin Martyr taught.

To test candidates for baptism more effectively and to train them more thoroughly, the process of instruction became more

⁵ This tablet, discovered in 1883, is in the Lateran Museum. Another epitaph (of Pectorius of Autun), almost as old and discovered in 1839, also witnesses to baptism and Holy Communion.

gradual. Beginners were instructed on the nature of sin, the necessity of repentance, the significance of baptism, the importance of good works, and the doctrine of immortality. They did not become familiar with the Sacred Mysteries until after baptism.

Writers: "Apostolic Fathers" is a title applied to the earliest Christian writers who were personal disciples of the Apostles or contemporaries of those disciples. Conspicuous among the Apostolic Fathers are St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp of Smyrna.⁶ They form the link between the New Testament itself and the "Apologists."

Beginning about the middle of the century, "Apologists" addressed the emperor, complaining that Christians were condemned without proof, and denying the slanderous accusations made against the Church. The "Apologies," on the whole, seem to have been more efficacious for the instruction of the Christians than for the conversion of the pagans.⁷

From a theological point of view, the most important writer of the second century is St. Irenaeus. Not a philosopher nor a formal apologist, he undertook to refute heresies by summarizing the tradition of the Church. In case of doubt or of conflict-

⁶ The early Christian writers—all of whom wrote in Greek until the latter part of the second century—are, in strict usage, divided into two classes: "Fathers" and "Ecclesiastical Writers," according as they possess, or do not possess, the three qualifications of orthodoxy, holiness, and approval of the Church.

"The oldest literature of the Church is, in the main lines and in most details, when considered from the literary-historical standpoint, true and authentic. . . . What the great work of Irenaeus does for us, backwards and forwards, as the relative result of the developments from 110-180, and as the key for the understanding of the inner history of the Church from 180-451, that the First Epistle of Clement and the Ignatian Epistles do for us backwards and forwards for the period from 30-110, and from 110-180. Whoever studies these Epistles attentively must realize what a fulness of traditions, pronouncements, teachings, and organizations already existed in Trajan's time [98-117], and were firmly established in individual communities." Harnack's *Chronology of Christian Literature up to Irenaeus*, cited in Butler, *Religions of Authority*, pp. 77, 97.

⁷ Aristides, an Athenian philosopher, and St. Justin, a Palestinian, addressed their Apologies to the Emperor Antoninus; and Justin incorporated in his manuscript a copy of Hadrian's letter recommending the provincial governors to deal mercifully with the Christians. Two bishops of Asia (Melito of Sardis and Apollinaris of Hierapolis), addressed Apologies to Marcus Aurelius. Athenagoras, a philosopher of Athens, addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus an Apology of which the entire text has been preserved. Other Apologies were written by St. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and by the anonymous author of the Epistle to Diognetus. The Apologies called forth answers from the pagans. The Roman philosopher, Crescens, held a public debate with St. Justin; Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, assailed Christianity in a public speech; Lucian mocked the Christians in his satires; and Celsus, having collected all current calumnies against the Christians, published them in a book called *The True Word*.

ing traditions, Irenaeus presented the See of Rome as the court of appeal, "because of that See's Supremacy."⁸ A pioneer in the organizing of the principles which constitute the Catholic rule of faith, he has been called the founder of the section of theology known as the *De Ecclesia*.

Excluding the books of the New Testament, we have at present, in whole or in part, nearly one hundred Christian writings which originated before the year 200—a dozen or more of them brought to light only in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁹ Two of these early documents have already been described, the *Epistle of St. Clement* and the *Didache*. Others are mentioned below.

St. Ignatius was the second bishop of Antioch, and his seven letters, written when he was on his way to martyrdom in Rome about the year 107, give an authoritative description of the Church during the latter part of the first century. His letter to the Church of Smyrna is the earliest document containing the phrase, "the Catholic Church." St. Ignatius is named in the Canon of the Mass.

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, famous companion of St. Polycarp and a disciple of St. John, was the author of a book on the sayings of our Lord which survives only in a few fragments. He wrote in his old age, about the year 130.

Hermas, the brother of Pope St. Pius I, about the year 150, wrote *The Shepherd*, which records the author's vision of an angel appearing in the form of a shepherd and delivering a message on the necessity of penance for sin.

St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, disciple of St. John the Evangelist and

⁸ "Propter potentiorē principalitatem," a phrase the precise meaning of which has been much debated.

⁹ See Cayré, *Manual of Patrology*, Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, and Tixeront, *Handbook of Patrology*. Among the most valuable early documents extant are: *Epistle of Barnabas* (c. 130); *Apology of Aristides* (c. 138); *Roman Baptismal Creed* (c. 140); Papias's *Commentary on the Sayings of the Lord* (c. 145); *Sources of the Roman Church Order* (c. 140); *Letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp* (155); Tatian's *Speech* (155); the writings of Miltiades (c. 160); *Letter on the martyrdoms at Lyons and Vienne* (c. 178); the *Memoirs of Hegesippus* (c. 175); the *Muratorian Fragment* (c. 180).

The Roman Baptismal Creed mentioned above was apparently used in Rome, Africa and Gaul. Early writers who refer to a "Rule of Faith" as an essential part of the Catholic tradition seem to have this creed in mind. "The form used in our day differs but slightly from that already traditional in Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century." Duchesne, *Early History*, p. 367.

For English translations of many early documents see *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. We have portions of the New Testament in second century papyri: the oldest (Rylands), discovered in 1917; the most important (Chester Beatty), discovered in 1930.

martyr under Antoninus Pius (c. 155), wrote a *Letter to the Philippians*, instructing them on the special duties of married persons, widows, youths, virgins, deacons, and clerics.

St. Justin Martyr, born in Palestine and put to death in Rome about the year 165, wrote two *Apologies* and a *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, in which he undertook to reconcile Christianity with pagan learning and to prove the Messianic character of Jesus Christ. As Justin was not well trained, his book contains several unorthodox statements.

St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, born in Asia Minor, and a disciple of St. Polycarp, was the author of several writings against the Gnostics about the year 180. In addition to his best known work, *Against Heresies*, another shorter work, a sort of manual of religious instruction, *The Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching*, still survives, having been discovered in an Armenian translation in the year 1904.

Tatian, a Syrian by birth, a student of Greek philosophy, became a convert to Christianity and a disciple of St. Justin. He made a fierce attack on Greek culture, contrasting its objectionable features with the fine qualities of Christianity. His famous *Diatesseron*, a harmony of the four Gospels, became the common scriptural text of all the Syrian churches.

Barnabas (100-130), more properly known as Pseudo-Barnabas, wrote an *Epistle*, controversial and apologetic, which is usually included among the works of the Apostolic Fathers.

It was customary in the early Church to celebrate the anniversary of a martyr's death by reading the story of his sufferings. These stories were sometimes copies of the official records at the magistrate's court, sometimes accounts written by eye-witnesses or contemporaries, and sometimes documents of a later date composed for a definite purpose, doctrinal or devotional, and likely, therefore, to be of questionable historical value. Our oldest collection of hagiographical writings contains the Acts of martyrs who suffered before the year 200. Among the more reliable Acts are the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp and the *Letters* of the churches of Vienne and Lyons.

The Canon of the Scriptures was still in process of formation. The Christians had taken over the Old Testament from the Greek version called the Septuagint (current among the Jews of the Dispersion), which included several books not used by the Jews of Palestine. The collecting of the books of the New Testament was probably under way early in the second century.

Meanwhile certain writings, such as *The Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Letter of Pope Clement*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, were read publicly in some of the churches. Eventually the books now recognized as canonical emerged as a group distinct from all others.

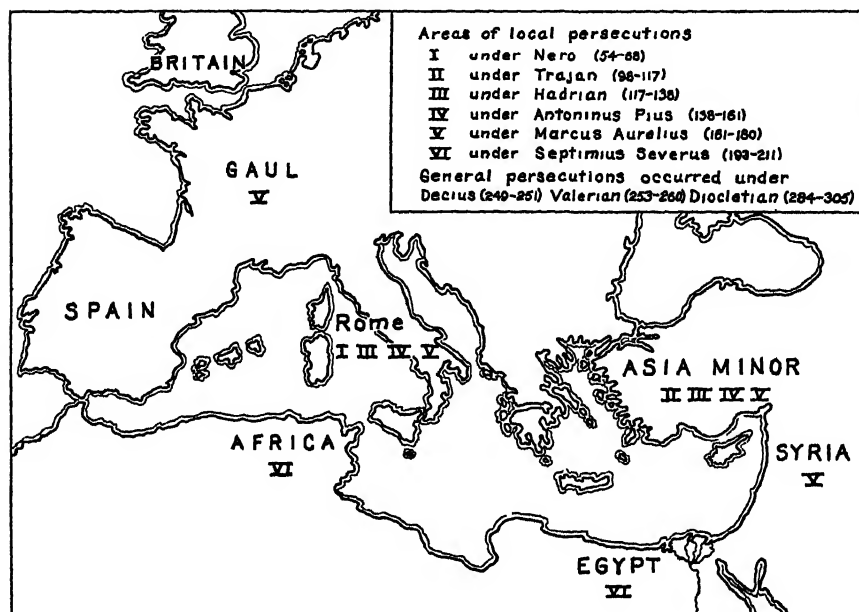
The second century was especially rich in apocryphal literature, much of it put forward as Sacred Scripture and some of it Gnostic or Manichæan in origin. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament—pre-Christian in part—included the Ethiopian Book of Enoch, the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Sybilline Oracles, the Psalms of Solomon and the Odes of Solomon. The Apocrypha of the New Testament included Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse—nearly forty documents in all. Among the most interesting items was the spurious correspondence between Abgar, King of Edessa, and our Lord, produced about the end of the second century, in which our Lord promises to send one of the disciples to visit Edessa. Another apocryphal work of the same period is the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, written by a devoted admirer of the Apostle, a priest of Asia, who was detected and deposed.

The writers of the second century often allude to earlier events assuming that those events are known to their readers, thus bearing witness to the existence of contemporary traditions; and a text otherwise ambiguous sometimes receives its one satisfactory interpretation when compared with a tradition current at the same time and in the same place as the text itself. The solidly established second-century traditions have been divided into two groups, one traceable back to the time of Trajan, and the other going as far back as the period before the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. These traditions—accepted without challenge by one reliable authority after another—help us to form a fairly accurate picture of primitive beliefs and practices.¹⁰

¹⁰ In the third century we find traditions already older and dimmer and recorded in official or semi-official fashion. In the fourth century, the traditions—now formal and official—will be perpetuated in biographies, festivals, memorial churches, monuments. Concerning the reliability of any tradition there is always room for difference of opinion among scholars; but there is no inherent reason why traditions carefully sifted and compared may not be used to considerable advantage by the scientific historian. Regard-

3. OPPOSITION

Persecutions: As the Christians grew in numbers and influence, the ill-will of the pagan populace increased; and anti-Christian demonstrations became more common.



In 112 Pliny, governor of Bithynia, asked the Emperor Trajan for official instructions on the procedure to follow with regard to the Christians, who had become so numerous that both in the cities and in the country districts the temples were being abandoned and old usages were being disturbed. Pliny reported that when accused persons were brought before him he usually condemned them to death unless they abjured Christianity. He now wished to know if the age of a prisoner should be taken into account, and also if those who abjured should be pardoned. In reply, Trajan issued his famous *Rescript*, which ruled that no search need be made for Christians; but if accused openly—not anonymously—they were to be punished unless they abjured.

ing the legitimate use of traditions, see a valuable discussion of "Criticism" by Charles De Smedt, S.J., (author of *Principes de la Critique Historique*) in *Cath. Encyc.* IV, 503 ff.

Trajan's *Rescript* became the standing rule for all Roman magistrates.

The question of the legal status of the Christians came up again when a governor in Asia wrote to ask Hadrian how he should deal with the frequent anti-Christian riots. Hadrian's reply reaffirmed the decision of Trajan, insisted upon the observance of legal forms, and prohibited mob violence. Later Antoninus reiterated the same instructions. Practically, during this period every Christian was in constant danger of his life.

Marcus Aurelius (d. 180) was moved by the calamities of the closing years of his reign and by popular clamor (which attributed the responsibility for these ills to "displeasure of the gods") to inaugurate a persecution more violent than any which had preceded it. He issued no new general edict; but he took active steps to hunt down Christians and to reward informers. Commodus, although a disgrace to the throne, was more tolerant of Christians than his father; and Septimius Severus at first was friendly to them.

Heresies: In addition to the Gnostics, the Church now encountered the opposition of Montanists and also of those early Adoptionists whose theories on the divinity of Christ foreshadowed the coming of Arianism.

Gnosticism: From Samaria and Syria Gnosticism spread into Egypt, where its leading representatives were Valentinus, Basilides, and Carpocrates. Valentinus, most popular of all heretical teachers in his day, went to Rome in the last quarter of the century and was attacked by St. Irenaeus; and another conspicuous Gnostic, Marcion, was refuted by Tertullian. A significant event was the conversion to Gnosticism of the distinguished Christian apologist, Tatian.

Among the elements common to the different Gnostic systems ¹¹ were these two doctrines: (1) That the Incarnation was merely a temporary union between a divine being and a human person (or even that Jesus was a phantom, not a real man—Docetism); (2) That the soul is in essential antagonism with the

¹¹ One Egyptian form of Gnosticism, the Ophite, included serpent worship, and paid honor to Judas Iscariot.

body, which it must attempt to annihilate and for which it has no responsibility—a theory highly encouraging to fanaticism and immorality.

The Gnostics supported their theories both by claiming the possession of secret traditions which preserved the Christian revelation in its purity and also by writing numerous books,¹² some of which were widely circulated apocryphal gospels. The Gnostic writings evoked a number of replies—for example, from St. Justin, Hegesippus, St. Irenaeus, St. Hippolytus.

According to **Valentinus** mankind is divided into three classes: material men predestined to destruction (non-Christians); psychic men who may attain salvation with the help of the Redeemer (ordinary Christians); and the spiritual, or perfect, who are destined inevitably to eternal life (Valentinians).

Basilides, who professed to follow a tradition originating with St. Peter, wrote a work of twenty-four books made up of commentaries on the so-called Gospel of Basilides. His school placed great reliance on the use of magic and gained a reputation for immorality.

Carpocrates, whose teaching incorporated elements from Plato, also practiced magic and featured belief in a hierarchy of angels emanating from God who were the creators of the visible world.

Marcion, son of a bishop of Pontus and himself also a bishop, a rich man, a skillful organizer, and extremely intelligent, won many followers in Asia Minor and then appeared in Rome where he made generous gifts to the Church. He taught that there is a diametrical opposition between the Old Testament and the New, and that the God of the Jews, Who created the world, is not the God of the Christians nor the Father of Christ.¹³ Of the New Testament he retained only a part of the Gospel of St. Luke and some Epistles of St. Paul. Having failed in his effort to get control of the Church, Marcion broke with the authorities in the year 144 and organized an independent community which spread rapidly into many countries. Marcionism imposed a rigorous asceticism on its members, some of whom shed their blood for Christ with no less readiness than the Catholic martyrs.

¹² Few of the Gnostic writings are extant. The manuscripts discovered in Egypt within recent years represent Coptic versions of Syrian books and not the writings of the Alexandrian Gnostics.

¹³ He held that the visible world was created by an inferior god, a despot possessed of very limited power, who is ignorant of the existence of the Supreme God and who, being jealous of man, expelled him from Paradise. In addition to the two deities—the heavenly Father of Jesus Christ and the Jewish god who created this world—Marcion admitted also a third deity, the evil god worshiped by the pagans.

Montanism: Montanism, to a certain extent, may be regarded as a reaction against Gnosticism. Montanus of Phrygia, whose ecstatic experience shortly after his conversion (c. 156) caused him to regard himself as a prophet, found his opportunity in the prevalent belief that Christ's second coming was at hand. He taught an austere code of conduct, denied the possibility of forgiveness for grievous sins, and warned all men to prepare for the approaching judgment. For a time he gained considerable success; and Tertullian, converted to Christianity in 197, became a Montanist less than ten years later. After the condemnation of the Montanists by Rome, the sect flourished for a short time in Phrygia and in Africa.

Adoptionism: Theodotus of Byzantium, who came to Rome towards the end of the century, taught that Jesus is but a holy man, born of a virgin, and that divine wonders were worked at his baptism. This theory—which later developed into the so-called Dynamist school of Monarchianism ¹⁴—was condemned by Pope Victor and attacked by Hippolytus. One of the sect, Theodotus the Banker, undertook to develop Adoptionism into an independent church under a "bishop," Natalis. Natalis later repented and was restored to communion.

The Jews: Jerusalem was destroyed for the second time in the reign of Hadrian. His edict forbidding circumcision, the reading of the law, and keeping of the Sabbath, together with his plan to build a shrine of Jupiter on the site of the Temple, provoked a revolt headed by Bar-Cochba, who claimed to be the expected Messiah. The Palestinian Jews received reinforcements from other countries and the war dragged on for two years. Eventually all who escaped death or slavery fled into Arabia and other places; and the Romans built on the site of Jerusalem a new city called *Aelia Capitolina* into which no Jew was allowed to enter. Within a few years, however, the anti-Semitic laws were repealed and the Talmudic School, previously established at Jamnia, moved to Tiberias, where the rabbis devoted themselves to the

¹⁴ The theories put forward by Paul of Samosata and condemned at the Councils of Antioch (264-c. 268) were a development of this primitive Adoptionism.

writing of the "Mishna" (the laws and customs hitherto preserved by oral traditions), the basis of the future Talmuds.

4. MISSIONS

By the end of the second century important Christian congregations existed in many parts of the Empire. Antioch had developed into the chief see of the Orient. The churches established by St. Paul remained active Christian centers; and other communities sprang up about them, especially in the neighborhood of Ephesus. Phrygia proved to be a most fertile ground for the seed of the Gospel; and by the year 200 almost half of that province was Christian. In Bithynia, Pliny, about 112, testified that the new religion had practically eliminated the old, "making a desert around the temples and ruining the trade in sacrificial victims." Polycarp, the zealous Bishop of Smyrna, was arrested and condemned to death at the end of a series of visits to the Christians of the neighboring towns; and we have the names of other bishops who suffered martyrdom in Asia during the latter part of the second century. At Corinth and elsewhere in Greece, Christianity flourished; in Dalmatia, too; and Thrace had a dozen bishops.

Farther east a missionary from Palestine established a church in Mesopotamia about the year 150. The faith was preached in Edessa at an early date. The history of the paschal controversy reveals the existence of many churches beyond the Euphrates in the last decade of the century.

In Egypt, Alexandria, aided by its Catechetical School, spread Christianity far and wide. In Africa Carthage seems to have become the Christian center at an early date; Christians were numerous in the provinces; and twelve martyrs—people from Scilli, a town in Numidia—were put to death at Carthage in 180.

Lyons, the mother church of Gaul, possessed many affiliates; and a letter, reporting the martyrdom of Attalus, Blandina, and others, was sent in the name of "the servants of Christ living at Vienne and at Lyons" to the Christians of Asia and Phrygia. St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, speaks of churches among the Ger-

mans and the Celts. In Italy, the faith was carried to various parts of the peninsula, although we find no definite mention of other churches than Rome until after the year 200.

Christians were more numerous in the East than in the West, and more numerous in the cities than in the country places. It is difficult to fix their number. Origen speaks of the smallness of the Christian Church; but "smallness" is a relative term. His contemporary, Tertullian, with obvious exaggeration, says that the whole Roman Empire would be depopulated, if the decrees of persecution were enforced.

SUMMARY

Reviewing the second century, we note the rapid growth of the Church and also the emergence of better organization and more definite discipline—largely the result of domestic disputes over the forgiveness of heinous crimes, over the tendency to soften the rigorous treatment of penitent sinners, over the right of the bishop to decide matters of local discipline. We note moreover, that the controversies occasioned by current false doctrines contributed to the swift development of theological knowledge, and that the prominent philosophies of the day, Platonism and Stoicism, supplied a number of valuable recruits to the Christian body.

The most striking events of this time are suggested by the names of Ignatius, martyr bishop of Antioch, who in 107 wrote letters still treasured and still instructive; Polycarp, another martyr bishop, and Justin, author of the first defense of Christianity (c. 165); Irenaeus, Father of Theologians since the year 180; Pope Eleutherius (d. 189), asked by the Christians of Gaul to condemn all Montanists; the gifted Tertullian, tragically affiliated with that very sect; the Emperor Trajan and Pliny, governor of Bithynia, both of them reluctant to hunt down the Christians; Antoninus Pius (d. 161) and Marcus Aurelius (d. 180), who for all their wisdom and goodness were persecutors.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

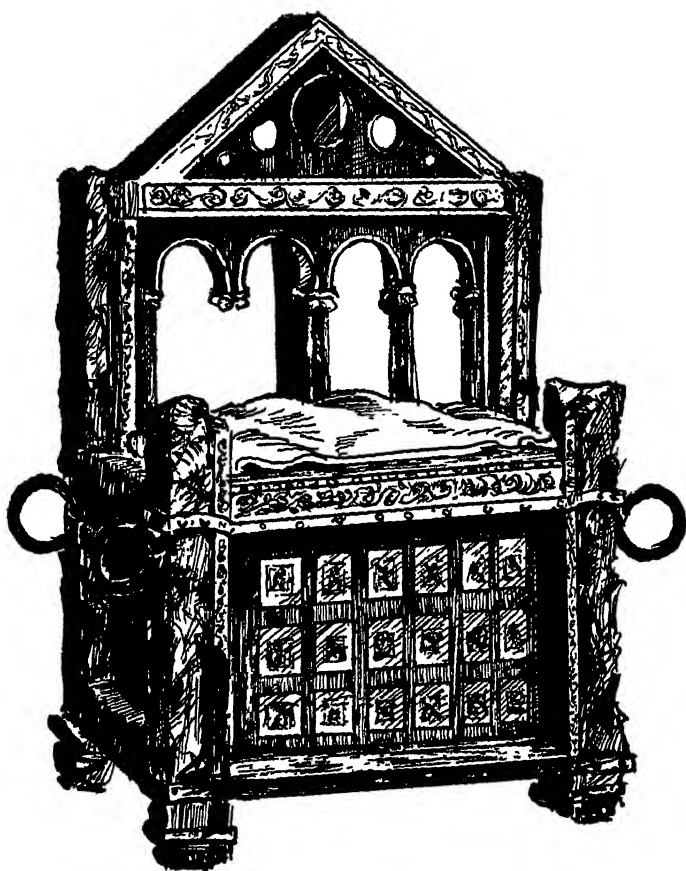
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|---|---------------------------------------|
| c. 107 Letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch | 112 Trajan's <i>Rescript to Pliny</i> |
| | 117 Trajan d. |
| c. 125 Gnosticism | 135 Jerusalem razed by Hadrian |
| c. 144 Marcion, Bishop and heretic | |
| c. 150 <i>The Shepherd of Hermas</i> | |
| c. 155 Easter controversy | |
| Martyrdom of St. Polycarp | |
| c. 156 Montanism | 161 Antoninus Pius d. |
| 165 Martyrdom of St. Justin | 165 Parthian invasions |
| c. 166 <i>St. Anicetus</i> d. | |
| 177 Appeal from Gaul to <i>St. Eleutherius</i> , against Montanists | |
| Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne | |
| 180 Scillitan Martyrs at Carthage | 180 Marcus Aurelius d. |
| c. 180 Gnostics refuted by St. Irenaeus | |
| 189-198 <i>St. Victor I</i> and the Easter Controversy | 192 Commodus d. |
| | 193 Septimius Severus, emperor |
| c. 195 Epitaph of Abercius | |
| 197 Tertullian's <i>Apologeticum</i> | |



Courtesy of New York Public Library

EARLIEST KNOWN PICTURE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN
(2nd century)

In the Cemetery of Priscilla



ST. PETER'S CHAIR (with 9th century additions)
Preserved at the Vatican

CHAPTER III

(The Two Hundreds)

Persecution

PREVIEW

A VARIETY of obstacles presented themselves during the third century, including serious disputes among the bishops, and even schisms. For a time Neo-Platonism seemed about to win the intellectuals away from the Church. Then came a period of fierce persecution—the “Age of the Martyrs.”

Nevertheless, Christianity, with its reasonable presentation of religious truth and its appeal to man's innate love of spiritual ideals, continued its progress. The patient endurance of the martyrs made a profound impression upon the nobler type of pagan; the threat of torture helped to rid the Church of weak and unstable members; refugees carried the Gospel into remote and lonely places, even beyond the boundaries of the empire.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In the year 212, Caracalla, by the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, extended Roman citizenship to practically all the free population of the empire.¹ Thus Rome spread abroad the ideal of the equality

¹ The *Constitutio* alleged as a motive gratitude to the gods and the purpose of increasing the number of their worshippers. Actually, it secured additional revenue; for the inheritance tax was payable by Roman citizens only.

of all free men—a new conception, politically speaking, and fitting admirably into the Christian doctrine of universal and inalienable human rights.

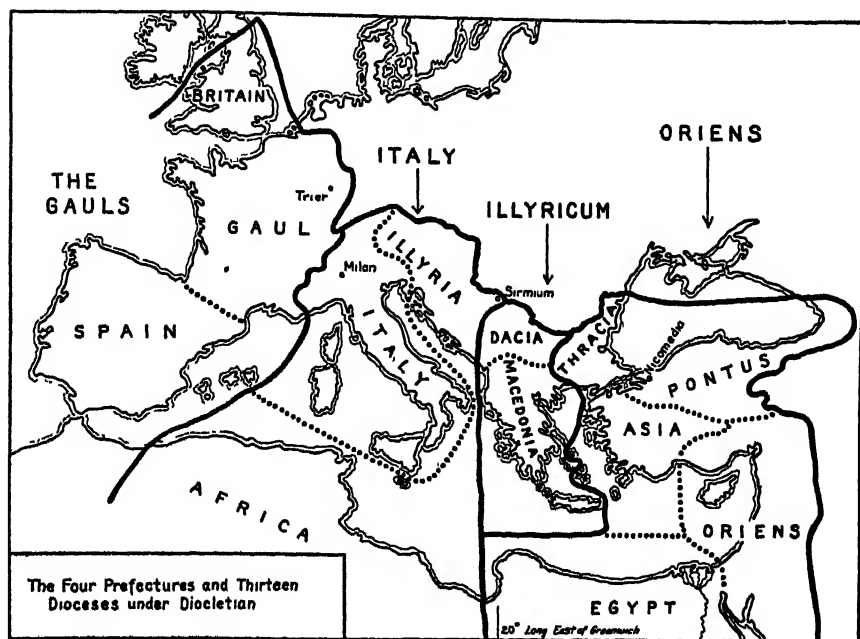
During fifty critical years (235–285) the Roman Senate recognized more than twenty-five rulers; and only the occasional victories of military emperors staved off final disaster. Goths from the north raided the Balkans in 247, slew Decius in 251, and in 270 obtained from Aurelian the surrender of Dacia. In the East, the Persians, invading Syria and Mesopotamia, captured and enslaved the Roman emperor, Valerian; and for a dozen years a rival empire existed at Palmyra—until Aurelian carried off Queen Zenobia a prisoner in 273.

As the century advanced and symptoms of internal weakness and external danger grew more acute, the emperors, bent on securing domestic unity, undertook to eliminate religious differences by persecuting the Christians. One such attempt, made by Valerian, was abandoned as hopeless at his death. Gallienus for political reasons tolerated the Christians. Aurelian, too, was tolerant at first; but later he revived the policy of Valerian and he had already begun a persecution when he died in 275.

In the last decade of the century Diocletian divided the empire into an Eastern and a Western area, subdividing these into two prefectures each. He associated a Caesar with himself in the government of the East, and placed the West also under an Augustus and a Caesar. The four divisions were Oriens, Illyricum, Italy, and the Gauls. Diocletian ruled at Nicomedia, Galerius at Sirmium, Maximian at Milan, and Constantius at Trier.² This partition had the effect of emphasizing the difference between Greek East and Latin West in political administration as well as in culture and language. It also withdrew the support of the East from the exposed frontier west of the middle Danube; and

² Oriens took in approximately all the empire east of the twentieth meridian; Illyricum included Dacia and Macedonia; Italy comprised the Italian peninsula with the middle Danube on the north and Africa on the south; and the Gauls included Britain, Gaul and Spain. After the collapse of Diocletian's organization the prefectures—divided into dioceses—remained as administrative regions with boundaries roughly corresponding to those of the original plan. Under this partition ecclesiastical Illyria became a part of the Prefecture of Italy.

it weakened the prestige of Rome which ceased to be the focus of patriotism or even the residence of the Western emperor.



By now the northern coast of Africa had been Romanized; the military stations in Germany, Gaul, Britain, and Spain had grown into important towns; and Latin, the common language of all classes, was the ordinary means of communication in the West. The Latin culture prevailed. Roman law-courts inspired general esteem by their consistent procedure and by their reasonable respect for local tradition. As a rule, the government did not interfere with religious beliefs unless they seemed to constitute a menace to public order; consequently, throughout the provinces, the old native religions had merely to clothe themselves in Latin forms and to adopt Latin names.

Great social changes were taking place. The cessation of foreign wars had brought about a notable lessening in the number of captives who could be made slaves, and thus led to the shrinking of large estates. In the latter half of the century many people drifted into urban centers for their own greater protection dur-

ing enemy raids; and some rural areas were almost depopulated.

As the end of the century approached, the growing strength of Christianity aroused apprehension. The followers of the Persian god, Mithra, the Syrian sun-worshippers, the Neo-Platonists, and the Manichaeans now made common cause against the Christians; the Jews revived their old animosity; and Diocletian decided upon the destruction of the Church.

During the first half of the century, there is little to note in connection with any of the Roman rulers except that **Philip the Arabian** (244-249), who killed his predecessor, has been—without good evidence—classed as a Christian. Philip in turn was killed by **Decius** who fell in battle in 251, after having seen the Franks penetrate the northern frontier and the Goths cross the Danube. **Gallus** the successor of Decius, was also slain in battle with the Goths.

Valerian (253-260) died a captive of Sapor, King of Persia, who was making good the Persian claim to control all Asia; and Valerian's downfall marked the beginning of a new period in the history of Rome. Pretenders to the throne—the "Thirty Tyrants"—appeared on all sides, and the net result of their struggles was to weaken the Empire disastrously. The Goths were in Greece, the Sarmatians in Illyria, the *Allemani* in Gaul and Italy, the Suevi in Spain; and Sicily was devastated by a force of rebel slaves and freebooters.

Gallienus (260-268), the next emperor, an intelligent but vicious prince, was reputed to be the ablest man of his age. He ended persecution in 261 by an edict of toleration which gave the Christians liberty to practice their religion, thus anticipating the Edict of Milan by more than fifty years. For the first time since Nero and Trajan, to be a Christian was no longer a crime.

Aurelian (270-275) was partly successful in his campaign against the Goths, but he had to surrender Dacia to them; and, as a protection against later barbarian invasions, he surrounded Rome with his famous sixty-foot wall (272).

Then came several rulers within ten years. The strenuous **Diocletian** (284-305), son of poor parents, sometimes called the second founder of Rome, dispensed altogether with the last remnants of the republican form of government and in 293 divided the Empire with Maximian, making **Galerius** the Eastern, and **Constantius I** the Western Caesar.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

From St. Zephyrinus to St. Marcellinus, fifteen men occupied the papal throne. The three most important were St. Callistus I, St. Cornelius, and St. Dionysius. Callistus faced the formidable opposition of the scholarly but heretical Tertullian and of Hippolytus, first antipope. Cornelius, who had difficulty with Novatian, the second antipope, engaged in a correspondence with St. Cyprian (over the restoration of the "lapsed"), which forms one of our most precious early Christian legacies. Dionysius clarified Christian faith during the confusion caused by the Sabellian affirmation that only one divine Person existed and by the Marcionite doctrine of three separate divine Beings.

St. Zephyrinus (198-217) re-admitted to the Church a repentant bishop, Natalis, the head of a sect which had been excommunicated by Pope Victor for holding heretical doctrines concerning the Trinity.

St. Callistus I (217-222), once a slave and later the counselor of Pope Zephyrinus, had been an overseer of a cemetery on the Appian Way belonging to the Roman Church (now the Cemetery of St. Callistus). Hippolytus and Tertullian—the one a schismatic and the other a heretic—have given a most unfavorable picture of Callistus, sharply criticizing him for laxity in re-admitting to the Church those who had committed sins against chastity. But in view of their personal hostility, their comments must be received with many reservations. Callistus died a martyr.

St. Hippolytus (217-235)—antipope.

St. Urban I (222-230) continued the policy of Pope Callistus; and the party of Hippolytus remained in schism.

St. Pontian (230-235) effected a reconciliation between the followers of Hippolytus and the Church. He presided over a synod which confirmed the condemnation of Origen's teachings. When banished to the Sardinian mines by Maximinus, he resigned the papacy in order to make possible the election of another pope.

St. Anterus (235-236) ruled about forty days, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus.

St. Fabian (236-250) collected the *Acta* of the martyrs, that is, the reports of the court proceedings in their trials. He suffered martyrdom at the beginning of the Decian persecution.

St. Cornelius (251-253), after the martyrdom of Pope Fabian in 250, was elected—against his will—by sixteen bishops, with the approval of the people. Against a rival candidate, Novatian, he was supported by St. Cyprian of Carthage, with a hundred other African bishops, by St. Dionysius of Alexandria, and by sixty bishops of Italy. St. Cornelius approved of St. Cyprian's restoration of the lapsed to communion after due penance; and the letters exchanged between Cornelius and Cyprian provide solid argument for papal supremacy. In 253 persecution broke out again; and Cornelius died a martyr.

Novatian (251-258)—antipope.

St. Lucius I (253-254) was exiled, but returned to Rome shortly afterwards and continued the policy of opposition to Novatian which had been inaugurated by Cornelius. He followed the rule laid down by Cornelius and Cyprian with regard to the re-admission of the lapsed after due penance.

St. Stephen I (254-257) is known mainly for his defense of the validity of heretical baptism against St. Cyprian who had ruled that persons baptized by heretics should be re-baptized before reception into the Church. Pope Stephen decided that Cyprian's practice ran counter to tradition. A council of African bishops, eighty-seven in number, endorsed Cyprian's practice in the year 256; and the churches of Asia Minor took the same position. The language of the letters exchanged between St. Stephen and St. Cyprian during the dispute indicates that the issue was merely disciplinary. Cyprian maintained that as bishop he had the right to settle the question for persons within his jurisdiction; whereas the pope insisted that there should be no innovation.³ Stephen was appealed to by the bishops of Gaul to condemn the followers of Novatian in that region; and he also received an appeal from two bishops of Spain who were accused of having lapsed from the faith. He provided for needy Christians in Syria and Arabia.

St. Sixtus II (257-258) resumed friendly relations with the churches of Africa and Asia Minor, which had broken off communion with Rome in consequence of the dispute between St. Stephen and St. Cyprian. He was not molested when Valerian's first edict of persecution was published; but after the second edict of 258, which ordered the summary execution of all bishops, priests, and deacons, he was seized while preaching to his people in the small cemetery of Prætextatus on the Appian Way, nearly opposite the cemetery of St. Callistus, and was put to death with four of his deacons.

St. Dionysius (259-268) was elected pope after a delay of a year, due to persecution. We have several instances of his official exercise of authority. He convoked a council at Rome about the year 260, in which the teach-

³ The African Church followed St. Cyprian's practice until the Council of Arles in 314.

ings of Sabellius and the errors of the Marcionites were condemned. He summoned Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria to make profession of the orthodox faith; and Dionysius obeyed. The pope also sent money to Cappadocia to relieve the Christians there during the invasion of the Goths.

St. Felix I (269-274) sent a letter to the East explaining the doctrine of the Incarnation. The Apollinarians later interpolated this letter (and in 431 the altered text was presented to the Council of Ephesus).

St. Eutychian (275-283). Practically nothing is known of his pontificate.

St. Caius (283-296). Nothing is known of his pontificate.

St. Marcellinus (296-304) began to rule just before the outbreak of the persecution under Diocletian. A hundred years after his death, a Donatist bishop in Africa affirmed that Marcellinus had denied the faith; but the truth of this report was questioned by St. Augustine. There remains however, a probability that during the persecution he did not behave with sufficient bravery to win the respect of the faithful.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: ⁴ Our knowledge concerning official pronouncements made at this time is derived from papal letters, preserved wholly or in part, which deal with matters of faith and matters of discipline.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Callistus I</i> (217-222)	
(?)	Pronouncement cited by Tertullian	On forgiveness of gross sins.
	<i>St. Cornelius</i> (251-253)	
251	Letter to Fabius, Bp. of Antioch	On the hierarchy.
252	Letter to St. Cyprian	On the Roman primacy.
	<i>St. Stephen I</i> (254-257)	
(?)	Fragments of letter to St. Cyprian	On baptism of heretics.
	<i>St. Dionysius</i> (259-268)	
c. 260	Fragment of letter	On the Trinity and Incarnation.

Councils: As the Church grew and episcopal sees multiplied, councils were held frequently, sometimes to enforce discipline,

⁴ Sources are listed under the name of the reigning pontiff. Most of the items will be found in Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*. . . .

sometimes to settle disputes, sometimes to formulate doctrine.

About the year 231, Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria presided over two councils which banished Origen and deposed him from the priesthood. Sixty bishops of Italy gathered in Rome (251) under Pope Cornelius to condemn Novatian, antipope and heretic. Three councils held at Antioch (from 264 to c. 268), by bishops from Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and different provinces of Asia Minor, discussed the erroneous teaching of Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, and deposed him as a heretic. At Carthage a gathering of some seventy bishops assembled before the year 220; and about a hundred bishops of Proconsular Africa, Numidia and Mauretania used to meet annually.

Organization: During the third century the Church increased greatly in size and extent. Organization became more definite and legislation more uniform; and the bishops of the different regions held frequent synods to discuss ecclesiastical affairs and to enact disciplinary laws.

Several episodes—for example, the attacks made by Hippolytus on Pope Callistus and the dispute between St. Stephen and St. Cyprian—show that confusion still existed with regard to matters of discipline. Callistus was charged with allowing the lower clergy to contract marriage and with disregarding the Pauline injunction (I Tim. III:2) by nominating bishops who had been married more than once. Before many years however, the schism organized by the followers of Hippolytus died out; and the Roman discipline prevailed.

As the course of instruction preparatory to baptism became better organized, particularly in the Catechetical School of Alexandria, it included lessons in doctrine, liturgy, and ascetics. A pagan who asked to become a Christian was put in the class of the "inquirers," given some elementary instruction, and allowed to be present at the first part of Mass; but he was dismissed from the church immediately after the sermon. Those who finished this first stage satisfactorily became "catechumens." They were allowed to remain a little longer at divine worship, but were dismissed at the beginning of the Mass of the faithful. At the end of several years of instruction, the catechumens entered the group

known as the "competent." They were then baptized and incorporated in the body of the faithful.⁵

The penitential discipline developed into a graded system. Those in the lowest degree, the "weepers," were excluded from the Mass and placed at the entrance of the church to ask the prayers of the faithful. Out of this lowest class, the penitent was graduated into three successively higher classes as in the catechumenate. The duration of penance corresponded to the gravity of the offense. Murderers received a sentence of twenty years, and apostates were sentenced for life.

Marriage: Callistus was reproached for having sanctioned marriage between slaves and members of the Roman nobility in defiance of the civil law. Here again his policy was finally accepted; and, despite the prohibition of the state, the Church continued to authorize this type of marriage.

The Church had to rule on another issue raised by the fact that Roman law recognized not only marriage, properly so called, between social equals, but also a second type, "concubinage," in which the wife came from a lower social grade than her husband. Concubinage was sometimes temporary and sometimes permanent. The Church condemned the temporary form as immoral, but in the case of two persons free to marry, recognized permanent concubinage as a real marriage, because it included the agreement of a lasting union—even though the state denied to the "natural" children of a *concubina* the civil rights enjoyed by the children of a wife (*uxor*).

Worship: By the third century the patriarchates of Rome, of Antioch, and of Alexandria had well defined liturgies of their own, different from one another and also from the more simple ritual of the primitive Church. The special liturgical characteristics of the great churches were imitated by the lesser churches in their vicinity.

The early Church is sometimes called "the Church of the Catacombs." Ordinarily however, religious meetings took place in the house of some wealthy Christian, and not in the catacombs, which were originally used as burying places. During the persecutions of

⁵ The three classes were sometimes also called "hearers," "kneelers," and "standers."


the third century, the catacombs were enlarged, made more secret and used as underground chapels. The passages of each catacomb formed a complicated labyrinth, in which, to lessen the danger of discovery still further, some stairways were destroyed and some corridors blocked up. Entrance was effected by means of openings concealed in neighboring sandpits.⁶

Burial in catacombs is, in all probability, of Jewish origin; and Jewish catacombs existed in the countries where the Jews of the Dispersion settled—at Rome, for example, in southern Italy, and at Carthage. It is of interest to note that in the vicinity of St. Peter's tomb on the Vatican, the faithful were buried, not in catacombs, but in graves close to the surface, because the soil on the right bank of the Tiber is alluvial, and catacombs could be excavated only in soil of volcanic origin.

Art: Of the numerous examples of primitive Christian art discovered in the catacombs within the last one hundred years—assigned to the third, and even, in some cases, to the second century—a large proportion are in the cemetery of St. Callistus, which includes a well-preserved papal crypt. Symbols which appear frequently are the anchor, the palm, the dove, the olive branch; a praying female figure (orant), representing the soul of the deceased; the Good Shepherd carrying the lamb; the Fish; the Monogram of Christ; ⁷ and representations of the Eucharist. One of the oldest paintings, in the cemetery of Priscilla, shows the Virgin with the Child on her lap and the Prophet Isaiah pointing to the star above her head.

Communities: In view of the fact that the School of Alexandria exalted the virtue of self-control and emphasized the necessity of complete victory over the flesh, Egypt logically became the scene of the earliest monastic movement. The first attempt to organize the practice of prayer and renunciation into a systematic order of

⁶ Many details of Wiseman's story, *Fabiola*, correspond to actual conditions in the catacombs of the third century.

⁷ The most common form of the monogram is , a combination of the first two letters of the word "Christ" in Greek. Constantine made this an official part of the imperial standard and it was very popular in the fourth century. Another form, which dates from the latter part of the third century, is a combination of the initial letters of the two words, "Jesus Christ," in Greek. Some Catholic writers have shown a tendency to exaggerate the dogmatic content of the catacomb frescoes, whereas some Protestant writers minimize it unreasonably.

life was made by hermits who took refuge in the Egyptian desert; and their leader was St. Paul of Thebes, who sought safety in a cave during the Decian persecution and lived there for ninety years.

The pioneer monks, therefore, were persons who fled to the desert for safety in times of persecution. But as men gradually developed a sense of the superiority of renunciation as compared with self-indulgence, "the religious life" attracted more and more followers for its own sake. From Egypt the movement spread to Palestine and Syria—with certain variations of custom and rule.⁸

Saints: ⁹ In addition to the saints already described in the text, several others deserve particular mention:

St. Cecilia (d. c. 222), patroness of Church music, one of the most popular of the early Christian martyrs, died at an unknown date, probably in the first half of the third century, and was buried in the catacomb of Callistus. The Acts of her martyrdom, compiled in the fifth century, contain many details not supported by historical evidence.

St. Lawrence (d. 258), archdeacon of Pope Sixtus II, was tortured in an attempt to force him to surrender the Church money which he had already given away to the poor. The gridiron on which he was burned to death is commemorated in the "Escorial," the royal palace of the Spanish kings—built in the shape of a gridiron.

St. Agatha (d. 250), one of the best known and most widely venerated of the early martyrs, according to tradition was put to death at Catania during the persecution of Decius. The two versions of the Acts of her martyrdom which exist are much later compositions, and are not harmonious with each other.

St. Anastasia the Elder (n.d.) was apparently a Greek nun.

Sts. Cosmas and Damian (d. 287), twin brothers from Arabia, practiced medicine in Cilicia without compensation, and their charity won many to the faith.

St. Sebastian (d. 288), represented in later legends as an officer of the

⁸ These early religious were given various names—"hermit," "anchorite," "monk"—from *eremos* (solitary), *anachoretēs* (recluse), *monos* (alone). A monk was also sometimes called a philosopher, because of his silent, thoughtful life—and sometimes an athlete or soldier, because of the strict discipline which he observed. In Lower Egypt two monks shared the same cell; in the Theban Desert they were sometimes three in a cell; in Syria and Palestine each monk had a cell of his own.

⁹ Saints of this century whose names are preserved in the Canon of the Mass are: Perpetua and Felicitas, Cecilia, Agatha, Pope Cornelius, Pope Sixtus, Lawrence, Cyprian, Cosmas and Damian.

imperial body-guard, was set up as a target for the African archers, and finally clubbed to death.¹⁰

St. Perpetua, a noblewoman, and **St. Felicitas**, a slave, with three companions, were thrown to the beasts and then beheaded in Carthage in the year 203. The account of their sufferings tells of the birth of a daughter to Felicitas two days before their execution.

St. Susanna, a virgin martyr of the time of Diocletian (c. 295), is reputed to have been the niece of Pope Caius.

Education: The Christian schools of this period were chiefly devoted to the training of clerics in Scripture and theology. The School of Alexandria remained under the leadership of Clement until the year 202, when he was succeeded by Origen, a brilliant youth of eighteen.

Syria and Asia Minor, the most intellectual region of the Empire, contained several schools of art and philosophy. In the Exegetical School of Antioch, founded about the middle of the third century, the priest Lucian had Arius for a pupil, and apparently infected him with rationalistic ideas, thus acquiring the title, "Father of Arianism."

The School of Antioch, in strong contrast with the allegorical, speculative, mystical method used by the School of Alexandria, employed the historico-grammatical method of interpreting Scripture. Many of its representatives came into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities because of rationalizing tendencies.

Writers (*In the East*): The School of Alexandria developed several important writers in the third century.

Clement of Alexandria (d. 215) was the author of a famous trilogy, the *Exhortation*, the *Pedagogue*, and the *Stromata* (*Miscellanies*).¹¹ **Origen**, born in Egypt (185 or 186), trained first by his father, Leonidas, who was

¹⁰ Sts. Sebastian and Pancratius (Pancras) appear in Wiseman's, *Fabiola*. The historical St. Fabiola was a Roman lady who lived in the closing years of the fourth century. Having been excluded from the Church because of her divorce and remarriage, she did public penance and was received again into communion. In 395 she went to Bethlehem and became a disciple of St. Jerome in the convent over which St. Paula presided.

¹¹ For centuries Clement was venerated as a saint; and the Roman martyrology set his feast on December 4. At the suggestion of Baronius, Clement's name was dropped by Pope Clement VIII—a proceeding defended by Benedict XIV on the ground that little is known of Clement's life, his cult was never officially recognized by the Church, and some of his teachings were of questionable orthodoxy.

martyred about 202, and then by Clement, whom he succeeded as head of the School of Alexandria, continued in this office until the year 230, when having been ordained at Caesarea without the permission of his bishop, Demetrius, he was deposed and degraded. Thereafter he taught at Caesarea. During the persecution of Decius, he suffered torture but not death. Most prolific of all writers on record, he composed thousands of biblical, apologetical and ascetical treatises, including the *Hexapla*, which presented the Old Testament texts in six parallel columns—four Greek versions, and two with original text written in Hebrew and in Greek characters. Origen used the allegorical method of interpretation; and his Platonist conception of Christian doctrine influenced later Greek writers. He coordinated Christian teaching in a theological system based on Sacred Scripture and Greek philosophy, and dominated Christian thought for many centuries in the East and, at least until the coming of St. Augustine, in the West.

St. Alexander, coadjutor bishop of Jerusalem, who ordained Origen—formerly his fellow student at Alexandria—established a valuable library in Jerusalem; and **Pamphilius** founded at Caesarea a library of inestimable worth. The School of Alexandria contributed also to the intellectual life of Asia Minor where **Gregory Thaumaturgus**, a disciple of Origen, became an outstanding ecclesiastical author.

(*In the West*): Most distinguished of the Western authors of this time were Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hippolytus. Their mentality was Roman; and a practical apologetical spirit dominated their work. The first two lived in North Africa and wrote in Latin. Hippolytus lived in Rome and wrote in Greek.

Tertullian (c. 160–c. 230), a native of Carthage and the first important ecclesiastical writer to use Latin, became a Christian about 197. A little later he wrote his *Apologeticum*; and soon afterwards a work against heretics in which, like Irenaeus, he appealed to tradition and the authority of the Church. A rigorist in his moral code, he grew more and more extreme; and finally he became definitely a heretic, joining the Montanists. His writings form one of our richest sources of knowledge about the Christian life of his time; and to his legal mind Latin theology is largely indebted for its technical terms.

St. Cyprian (c. 210–258), a disciple of Tertullian, was bishop of Carthage and a leading figure in the Church. In addition to commentaries on the Scripture, he wrote a celebrated treatise, *On the Lapsed*. Despite his differences with Pope St. Stephen, St. Cyprian was a strong cham-

pion of Church unity, and his *Unity of the Church* is one of the classical works on that subject.

St. Hippolytus (d. 236) was a Roman priest who, after having demanded an outright condemnation of the Sabellians from Pope Zephyrinus, opposed the election of Callistus and allowed himself to be made antipope. There is extant a valuable work of his, *The Apostolic Tradition*, containing information about the Christian form of worship in the second century. Much of his writing consisted of homilies on the Old Testament.

The Neo-Platonist, **Plotinus**, about this time wrote a book, *Against the Gnostics*.

Among the noted documents of the period is *The Acts of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitas*, commonly regarded as the most perfect specimen of this class of literature in our possession. It was written possibly by an eyewitness, with the aid of notes provided by the martyrs themselves; and it is extant both in the original Latin and in an ancient Greek version.¹²

Also of the third century is the *Didascalia Apostolorum*—introduced to the modern world in 1854—which deals with matters of discipline, morals, and Church organization, and is sometimes described as the earliest codex of canon law. It was probably written in Greek and circulated in Syria or Palestine; and its author was apparently a Catholic bishop.

Another third-century document brought to light in a modern edition in 1843 is the so-called *Egyptian Church-Ordinance*. It contains moral regulations and legal decrees and seems to have been recognized as the canon law of the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic churches in Egypt towards the end of the century.

3. OPPOSITION

Persecutions: Determined to establish one common religion for the Empire, Septimius Severus in 202 forbade any Roman subject to become a Jew or a Christian. This edict occasioned a new outbreak of violence. With the death of Caracalla (217) came a period of peace which lasted for forty years, as Elagabalus and his successor, Alexander Severus, favored Syncretism, that is, an amalgamation of religions. Alexander even included a statue of Christ in his collection of religious images.

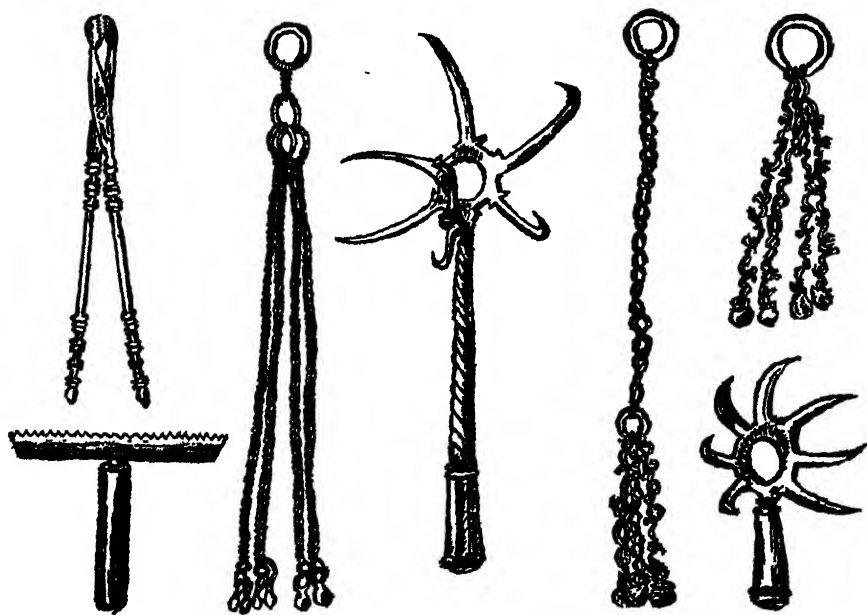
After a brief persecution under Maximin the Thracian, directed chiefly against the Christian leaders, peace prevailed until

¹² This document is now available in Latin and English in an edition prepared by W. H. Shewring (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931).

FAVSTINIANVM



INSCRIPTION WITH SYMBOLIZED CROSS
(2nd century)
In the Cemetery of Callistus



INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE

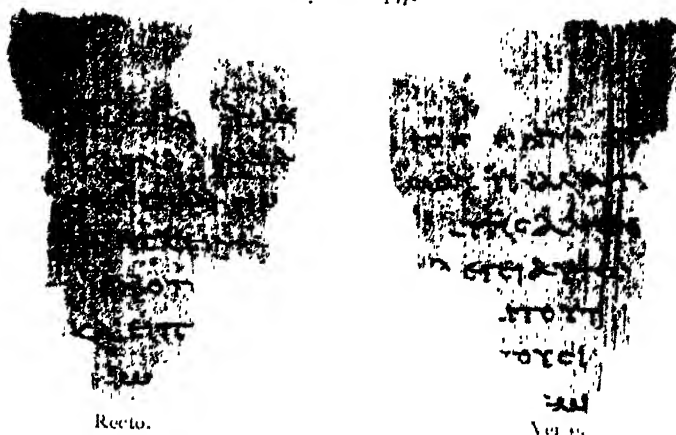


Courtesy of Edward H. Peters, C.S.P.

FROM THE CODEX VATICANUS (4th century)

Oldest extant copy of the Scriptures

P. RyI. Gk. 157.



Recto.

Verso.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress

PART OF THE RYLANDS GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

Decius in 249 undertook to destroy Christianity. All persons unwilling to sacrifice to the gods became liable to torture and death; and governors were made responsible for the carrying out of this decree in their jurisdiction. During the preceding long respite some Christians had grown luxurious and corrupt; and fear now drove many into apostasy, notably in Carthage and Alexandria. Their later attempt to return caused a dispute among the bishops as to the conditions on which apostates (*lapsi*) might be readmitted to communion.

Gallus continued the policy of Decius; then came the great persecution under Valerian, during which the Christians reconstructed the catacombs so as to make them safe places of refuge. In 257 Valerian forbade Christian assemblies and banished the clergy. In the following year, pushed on by political leaders, he issued a ruthless edict which called for the immediate death or exile of Christian members of the Roman aristocracy. The persecution raged with special fury in Africa, where St. Cyprian was among the martyrs; and a multitude suffered at Utica, near Carthage, in the year 258. The Christian poet, Prudentius, describes the death of three hundred who were buried alive in a great trench filled with quicklime.¹³

Gallienus—sole ruler after the death of his father Valerian—granted religious liberty to Christians and notified the bishops to come and take possession of their churches. A reversal of this mild policy was decreed by Aurelian in 275, but the plan was terminated by the emperor's death; and peace reigned during the last quarter century.

During the imperial attempts to effect unity, different pagan systems acquired favor by turns. Yet none of them could overcome the stubborn resistance of Christianity—not even the official Syncretism, which incorporated the Gospel of Christ in the state religion as one of many contributing elements. For a time Neo-Platonism seemed about to prevail, but it remained a philosophy rather than a religion, never attaining popularity; and

¹³ Whether or not this was the precise manner of their death cannot be determined with certainty, but St. Augustine spoke of them as the "*Massa Candida*." On the subject of persecutions, see Patrick Joseph Healy, *The Valerian Persecution* and Paul Allard, *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs*.

Mithraism, which later made its bid, proved incapable of assimilating the Greco-Roman culture. Some of these movements helped Christianity by providing pagans with a gradual ascent from their old level to the higher idealism of the Gospel.

Neo-Platonism, founded in Alexandria by Ammonius Saccas and later developed by Plotinus, was a skillful combination of Greek philosophy and mysticism which exercised considerable influence on many thoughtful men. Porphyry (233-304), who undertook to show the superiority of Neo-Platonism to Christianity in the last decade of the third century, organized a most serious attack on the Catholic Church. Incidentally, he originated the theory that the "Pauline" system of Christian doctrine, taught by St. Paul, is opposed to the "Petrine" system, taught by St. Peter.

Mithraism (a combination of Greek, Syrian, and Persian beliefs, centering in the worship of the sun-god), included many quasi-sacramental features, appealed to the mystical imagination, and, while enjoining a number of moral rules, made no great ascetical demands. Teaching the ideal of loyalty and recognizing a well defined hierarchy of rank, it became popular among the soldiers, Mithra being held up as a fit god for fighting men.

Manichaeism, named after Mani who first published his views in Babylonia and Persia about the year 242, was essentially a religious dualism, explaining the struggle between good and evil in man's nature by the doctrine of two opposing deities, God and Satan.¹⁴ It included some features of the old religions of Babylonia and Persia; taught veneration for Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, and Mani; incorporated Christian features like baptism and communion; and became popular in Armenia, Asia Minor, India and China. In the west it established headquarters in Africa; and the proconsul Julian in 296 complained to the emperor of the disturbances caused by Manichaeans.

Heresies: The migration of religious agitators to Rome was constant; and acute interest in doctrinal questions made the third century a busy time for theologians. Christians were especially interested in debating the nature of the divine Sonship of Jesus.

¹⁴ The Manichaean tendency to regard matter as sinful seems to possess an enduring vitality, and has re-appeared in one form or another through the centuries. Recently the search for literary remains of Manichaeism has been carried on with considerable success. In 1930 excavations near an old town in Fayum, Middle Egypt, uncovered seven papyrus books in the Coptic dialect containing works by Mani and his first disciples. Equivalent to 2,000 pages, they are of inestimable value for the history of primitive Manichaeism. They are preserved in Berlin and London, where in 1934 scholars commenced a complete publication of them.

He Himself had affirmed His Sonship, and St. Paul had emphasized that affirmation. But men still asked, "What was His precise relationship to His Father?" St. John had answered the question by identifying the Son and the Logos—a highly intellectual conception, rather difficult for the multitude and, in the opinion of some, an arbitrary adaptation of Plato's philosophy. Theodotus had ventured his theory of adoption; but he had been excommunicated.

Modalism: Now another school, the Modalists,¹⁵ advanced the notion that "Father" and "Son" are merely two names for one and the same Person. Condemned at Carthage and at Smyrna, they modified their teaching in such wise that their attempt to refute Ditheism without having recourse to the Logos doctrine was tolerated for a while by Pope Zephyrinus, who was no theologian. But they were attacked by Hippolytus and Tertullian; and about the year 220 Callistus condemned Sabellius, the Monarchian leader.

Later in the century Sabellianism made progress in Cyrenaica, and for a while belief in the Trinity there was reduced to belief in three aspects of the divine Unity; but the heresy faded away after its condemnation by Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria and Pope Dionysius.¹⁶

Adoptionism: About the year 268 a council composed of seventy or eighty bishops of Asia Minor and Syria deposed Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, for teaching a doctrine akin to both Adoptionism and Monarchianism.¹⁷ According to Paul, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are but a single Person, whereas in Christ there are two Persons, the Logos and the Man. Of Paul's later history little is known; ¹⁸ but in a school maintained

¹⁵ They were called Modalists because they held that God manifests Himself in three "modes"—as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the West they were called Sabellians after their chief leader. In the East they were called Patripassianists because they believed that the Father suffered on the Cross. Tertullian nicknamed them "Monarchians."

¹⁶ Pope Dionysius (259-268) criticized some of the arguments of Bishop Dionysius.

¹⁷ This council rejected the term "homousios" in the sense in which Paul had used it, although the same term (with another sense) was to become the password of orthodoxy at Nicaea.

¹⁸ Paul remained in Antioch under the protection of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, until her defeat by the Romans. Aurelian then referred the case to the bishops of Italy; and Paul was expelled.

at Antioch by Paul's followers, the learned priest Lucian had two pupils who were to become celebrated in the history of heresy—Arius and his friend, Eusebius, future bishop of Nicomedia. Lucian modified the teaching of Paul so far as to admit the pre-existence—but not the eternal existence—of Christ. This equivalent repudiation of Christ's divinity may have escaped notice, for Lucian was in good standing when he suffered martyrdom in the year 312.

Schisms: The Church was troubled not only by heretics who denied one or more articles of faith, but also by schismatics who, while professing the orthodox doctrine, refused to submit to ecclesiastical authority.

Hippolytus: A short-lived schism originated with Hippolytus, that priest who abandoned the Roman communion because he regarded Callistus, the newly elected pope, as an incompetent and unworthy man. Elected antipope by his own followers, Hippolytus championed a rigorous penitential discipline, accused the pope of laxity, and remained in schism during the reigns of Popes Callistus, Urban, and Pontian. Then, having been exiled for the faith, he died a martyr in communion with the Church of Rome. He is recognized as a saint.

The Lapsi: Considerable controversy—and at least in one instance a schism—was occasioned by Christians who had denied the faith during persecution and then sought re-admission to the Church. The *lapsi* were especially numerous about the middle of the century when the Church, after a long period of peace, was suddenly subjected to a fearful test. St. Cyprian decreed that the "lapsed" who repented and returned to the Church would have to perform the established canonical penances, even though they had received *libelli* excusing them. This decree caused a schism in 251 and five of the leaders were excommunicated.¹⁹

¹⁹ The so-called *libelli* (certificates) were of two kinds: the civil *libellus*, an official certificate that the bearer had accepted the state religion; and the ecclesiastical *libellus*, a letter given by a confessor or martyr to a lapsed Christian in order that the bishop might forgive the sin and remit the temporal punishment. There are extant several civil *libelli* of Egyptian origin.

The general name of *lapsi* comprised several groups: (1) *libellatici*, who had obtained from the civil authorities—sometimes by bribery—certificates (*libelli*) attesting their conformity to the established religion; (2) *thurificati* or *sacrificati*, who had offered incense

Novatian: Another schism was organized by Novatian who set himself up as antipope in 251 and received consecration from three friendly bishops. He proclaimed the rigorous rule that those who had lapsed from the faith during the persecution had committed an unpardonable sin and could never be restored to the Church. Novatianism was condemned by Pope Cornelius and a Roman council of sixty bishops, by St. Cyprian and the whole African episcopate, and by St. Dionysius of Alexandria. But Novatian consecrated a number of bishops and sent them to take possession of different sees already occupied; and his schism lasted for nearly a century.²⁰

The Jews: The Jews were looked upon with favor by Caracalla (211-217), who included them in his wide extension of citizenship throughout the Empire. But under his successors Jewish disabilities were gradually renewed. The fact that the Jews were not disturbed during the persecutions in the latter part of the third century led Christians to suspect them of sympathizing with, and even assisting the persecutors.

4. MISSIONS

By the year 300 the Christian faith was solidly planted in the most important centers of the civilized world and among all social classes.²¹ At Rome in the middle of the century Christians

at least once to a pagan idol; (3) *apostatae*, who had gone over permanently to the practice of paganism.

When the *lapsi* applied for re-admission to the Church, they were treated with varying degrees of severity in different places and at different periods. In North Africa and in Egypt, as well as in Asia Minor—but apparently not in Rome—it was customary to commute the ordinary punishment in the case of *lapsi* who had obtained ecclesiastical *libelli*. In other words, the *libellus* exempted the sinner from further penitential discipline. This custom gave rise to abuses; for the *libelli* were sometimes issued indiscriminately. Moreover, the authority of the bishop was sometimes ignored. St. Cyprian, commenting on these conditions, appealed to the confessors to exercise more discretion so as not to encourage the unworthy.

²⁰ "There could be no more startling proof of the importance of the Roman See than this sudden revelation of an episode of the third century; the whole Church convulsed at the claim of an antipope; the recognized impossibility of a bishop being a Catholic and legitimate pastor if he is on the side of the wrong pope; the uncontested claim of both rivals to consecrate a new bishop in any place (at all events, in the West) where the existing bishop resisted their authority." Dom John Chapman, "Novatian," *Cath. Encyc.* XI, 139.

²¹ As to the number of Christians in the whole Empire we have no certain information. The total population may have reached one hundred million. Gibbon rated the

numbered perhaps fifty thousand, including about fifty priests. Many soldiers and military officers had been converted and a little sprinkling of Christians was to be found in the imperial household itself, so that the Church possessed considerable influence.

On the southern shore of the Mediterranean ²² Alexandria was head of the thriving church of Egypt; and at Carthage, the central see of Africa, nearly ninety bishops assembled in a council held about the year 250.

Palestine remained almost completely Jewish, but the churches founded by St. Paul flourished in Asia Minor. The councils of Antioch, which brought together numerous bishops from Syria, Arabia, and the Asiatic provinces showed the spread of the faith in those regions. Farther east, many episcopal sees existed on both sides of the Persian Gulf; and King Abgar made Christianity the religion of Edessa. About the end of the century St. Gregory the Illuminator, Armenia's patron saint, revived the faith earlier established there, and became metropolitan.

Sixty bishops of Italy held a council under St. Cornelius; Milan had become an episcopal see by the year 200; Ravenna was the ecclesiastical center of the province of Emilia; Aquileia, with many Christians among its one hundred thousand inhabitants, functioned as headquarters for the churches near the head of the Adriatic.

According to Gregory of Tours, Roman missionaries sent to Gaul in the middle of the third century founded the church of Tours. Vienne and Lyons—Christian since the second century—had strengthened and extended their influence. Arles was a stronghold of the faith. At Toulouse, one of the most important cities of the Empire, a bishop had his see.

In Spain the faith spread rapidly. In fact the missionaries who built up the Spanish Church were accused of having gained a quick success by tolerating pagan customs and immoralities

Christians at 5 per cent of the total; whereas some writers have rated them as high as 50 per cent—probably a wild exaggeration.

²² The boundaries of political and of ecclesiastical provinces in this region cannot easily be indicated because of their frequent rearrangement. Roughly speaking, Egypt lay east and Africa lay west of the 20th meridian.

among their converts. Whether or not that charge was justified, the Spanish Church was distinguished for its many martyrs; and the wide extent of Christianity is indicated by the places where they suffered—Barcelona, Gerona, Saragossa, Alcalá, Toledo, Merida, Malaga, Talavera. Toledo was a diocese; so was Tarragona on the Mediterranean coast; and the Council of Elvira brought nineteen Spanish bishops together about the year 300.

SUMMARY

Looking back from the Church of the third century to the Church of the first, an observer would have noted a marked difference, both in doctrine and organization; but he would have perceived also, under the superficial contrast, a substantial identity. As the implications of the apostolic teaching gradually unfolded, the distinction between Christianity and Judaism became clear and final; attendance at the Synagogue, use of the Jewish form of prayer, and the Love Feast, were discontinued. Although several types of Christian liturgy were in use, all were closely interrelated and all of them preserved the same fundamental features. The creed, the hierarchical system, and the penitential discipline were now better coördinated; and the consciousness of jurisdiction had grown more definite, both on the part of the hierarchy, teaching and ruling, and on the part of the people, believing and obeying. New ideas and tendencies had been either approved and absorbed, or condemned and rejected.

Names that help to remind us of all this are Origen, director of the School of Alexandria and then founder of the School of Caesarea in 232; Cyprian of Carthage, champion of Church unity, at odds with Pope St. Stephen, but like him, a martyr in mid-century; St. Fabian, the pope who appointed subdeacons to record the dying words of the martyrs; Decius (d. 251) and Valerian (d. c. 260), who persecuted the Christians fiercely; Gallienus who relented and gave them peace in 261; Diocletian, second founder of the Roman Empire, but also author of the Great Persecution.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL	MISCELLANEOUS
206 Tertullian a Montanist	202 Persecution under Septimius Severus
215 Clement of Alexandria d.	212 <i>Constitutio Antoniniana</i>
217-35 St Hippolytus, antipope	
c. 218 Synod at Carthage	
c. 220 Sabellius condemned	
c. 222 <i>St. Callistus</i> martyred	
230-35 Synods at Iconium and Synnada	
c. 231 Synod at Alexandria	
232 School of Caesarea	
c. 242 Mani in Babylon	235-85 Twenty-six emperors
250-? Synods at Carthage	249 Persecution under Decius
c. 250 Neo-Platonism School of Antioch	
251 Synod at Rome	251 Goths kill Decius
251-58 Novatian, antipope	
252 <i>St. Cornelius</i> on papal supremacy	
254 Origen d.	
256 <i>St. Stephen</i> vs. <i>St. Cyprian</i>	
c. 260 <i>St. Paul</i> of Thebes, first hermit	257 Persecution under Valerian
	260 Valerian d. Persians in Syria
	261 Gallienus proclaims toleration
264-68 Synods at Antioch condemn Sabellianism (Monarchianism) and depose Bishop Paul of Samosata	
	270 Goths in Dacia
	272 Aurelian's Wall
	c. 275 Persecution under Aurelian
	293 Reorganization of Empire by Diocletian
296 Manichaeans in Africa	

CHAPTER IV

(The Three Hundreds)

The Church Established

PREVIEW

THIS century witnessed an almost incredible transformation of the Roman Empire. In the year 300 paganism was the official religion and Christianity was under the ban; one hundred years later the imperial government was Catholic. Pagans and Christians had exchanged places. Having found paganism ineffective for the establishment of political unity, the emperors pressed Christianity into service, and manifested their favor in the building of churches, the public observance of Christian festivals, the bestowal of privileges upon priests and bishops, the exemption of the Church from taxation. When the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction overlapped, Constantine and his successors solved the problem by personally undertaking the management of both. This intimate connection of Church and State involved a grave peril from which, however, the Church was guarded by the Papacy.¹

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Neither in Rome nor in Greece had religion ever been independent of the civil authority; and Constantine the Great, regarding himself as a "bishop" divinely appointed to rule over both *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium*, took charge of ecclesiastical af-

¹ An element "divinely sanctioned, which for certain reasons, did not at once show itself upon the surface of ecclesiastical affairs." Newman, *Essay on Development*, p. 148.

fairs as a matter of course. He established a tradition so solid that the first eight general councils were all assembled by imperial order—whether or not with the previous approval of the pope remains a matter of dispute.

To be sure, the emperors considered the religious jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome to be coextensive with the Empire; yet they did not consider themselves his subjects. They decided theological questions by imperial decrees, treated bishops as court officials, and in general, followed the theory that the Church was to be ruled from the throne—a policy later called “Byzantinism” or “Caesaropapism.” During heretical disturbances, orthodox bishops had to contend not only with deluded theologians and ambitious prelates, but also with highhanded emperors.

Politically, these were changeful years. Despite imperial attempts to Romanize Byzantium, Greek influence dominated the court, and by the end of the century Greek had become the official language. Eventually the Greco-Roman civilization was divided into two separate spheres, roughly corresponding to the regions east and west of a line running south from the present Belgrade (Singidunum), cutting through Dalmatia and Macedonia, and striking the African coast near Cyrene. To the east of this line the Greek culture prevailed; to the west, the Latin.

In 364 Valentinian I made his brother Valens emperor of the East, retaining for himself the title Emperor of the West. When Valentinian I set up his residence at Milan, Rome lost still more of its old prestige.

As related in the preceding chapter, Diocletian (284–305) looked upon the East as the center of the Empire and placed the seat of government at Nicomedia where he organized it as an Oriental absolutism. Under him, in 303, largely at the instigation of Galerius, began the last general persecution. Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in 305, making Galerius (d. 311) and Constantius (d. 306) co-emperors. Constantine—at first Western Caesar, then Western co-emperor with Licinius—divided the whole Empire with Licinius in 313, and finally reigned as sole Emperor (324–337). Although a pagan, he showed sympathy for the Christians.² Holding the

² According to the Christian historians, Eusebius and Lactantius, Constantine, on the eve of his great victory over his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, saw in a dream or vision the Cross of Christ with the inscription, “In this sign thou shalt conquer.” In

office of Pontifex Maximus, he spoke of himself as the instrument of God for the triumph of Christianity, gradually increased the privileges of the Christians, gave his confidence to the bishops, erected magnificent churches, and instructed his sons in the Christian religion. In 330 he established the imperial capital at Constantinople on the site of the Greek city of Byzantium, making use of a blend of pagan and Christian ceremonies at the dedication. At Adrianople in 324, Constantine crushed his co-emperor, Licinius, a champion of paganism; yet he himself troubled the Church by constant intervention, especially during the Arian controversy. He was baptized in his last illness by Eusebius, the Arianizing Bishop of Nicomedia; and legend transformed him into the central figure of many marvelous tales which for centuries obscured his story.

The Sons of Constantine (337-361): After the death of Constantine the Empire was divided among his three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius. When Constantius finally became sole ruler, his Arian wife persuaded him to favor the Arians. Baptized near the end of his life, he died on the way to battle against his cousin Julian, who had been proclaimed Caesar by the army.

Julian the Apostate (361-363), nephew of Constantine the Great, who had been educated in the pagan schools of Athens, dismissed the Christian teachers from the state schools, undertook to restore paganism by introducing Christian features into the old worship, and began the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, but could not complete it.

THE EAST

The Emperor Valens (364-378), baptized an Arian (367) was fighting the Goths in the early years of his reign; but at the first good opportunity he banished the Catholic bishops and inaugurated a persecution which lasted until his death. When he gave the Arian Visigoths (West Goths) permission to settle in Moesia and Thrace, he stipulated that Catholics should not be admitted to those provinces.

Fortunately for the Church, the next emperor of the East, **Theodosius the Great (379-395)** was baptized by a Catholic bishop soon after his accession; and in the year 380 he issued an edict—published in the West by Gratian also—requiring all subjects of the Empire to be Christians.³ He made Christianity the state religion, handed over to the Christians all

consequence, he had a monogram composed of X and R (the first letters of the name of Christ) placed on his imperial standard (*labarum*).

³ The edict directed that all should practice that religion "which Blessed Peter the Apostle delivered to the Romans, as the religion taught there by him to this day shows, and which it is known that the pontiff Damasus follows and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic purity (of faith)." Only those who obeyed this rule were entitled to be called Catholics. All others were heretics.

pagan temples which had not been destroyed, and in 392 forbade pagan worship even in private. After he caused the execution of seven thousand citizens of Thessalonica as punishment for a revolt in 390, St. Ambrose decided that he must do public penance; and he bowed to the decision. At his death in 395 the Empire was divided between his two sons. **Arcadius** became emperor of the East and **Honorius** emperor of the West.

THE WEST

Valentinian I (364-375), a sincere Catholic, nullified Julian's unjust laws, ordered the bishops of Asia to teach Catholic doctrines, punished the Manichaeans; but he also granted some favors to Arians and pagans.

Gratian (375-383) and **Valentinian II** (375-392) succeeded their father. Gratian refused to be Pontifex Maximus, extended the Theodosian edict of 380 to the West, removed the Altar of Victory from the senate house, chose St. Ambrose as his counselor, tried to suppress heresy and to destroy paganism.

Valentinian II, a boy of twelve, was dominated first by his Arian mother, Justina. Later, influenced by St. Ambrose, he became so thoroughly Catholic that Symmachus, Prefect of Rome, could not revive official paganism, although most of the senators were pagans.

Maximus (383-388), a usurper, slew Gratian and ruled briefly in Britain, Gaul and Spain, until executed by Theodosius I. His killing of Priscillian in 384 drew censure from St. Martin, St. Ambrose and the pope, but pleased others.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

More and more as the century progressed, the need of a strong central authority became clear; and it was to the Holy See at Rome that men looked for final decision in disputed issues. From Alexandria in the east, from Tours and Toledo in the west, appeals were made to the pope to settle questions of doctrine, of discipline, of jurisdiction. The place given to Sylvester's legates at the Council of Nicaea, and the exercise of authority in far-off provinces by Damasus and Siricius testify to the recognition of the Roman pontiff's position in the Church.

To be sure, from time to time the pope was intimidated by an overbearing emperor; and he often encountered disrespect or

disobedience from an Eastern patriarch. Yet the tradition of his supremacy persisted; and gradually events brought about more definite and explicit recognition of the pope as unique possessor of universal ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁴

Eleven popes occupied the Chair of St. Peter in the fourth century, beginning with Marcellinus, elected in 296, and ending with Anastasius who died in 401. The best known are Sts. Sylvester, Liberius, Damasus, and Siricius. In the latter part of the century appeared two antipopes, Felix and Ursinus—one of whom proposed to share the papal throne with Liberius, whereas the other attacked Damasus in a campaign of slander and bloodshed.

St. Marcellus I (308–309) divided the parish churches of Rome into seven regions, each with its own burial place managed by the priests of the parish.

St. Eusebius (309 or 310), who reigned only four months, was opposed by a faction under a certain Heraclius, who contested the pope's decision that apostates should be admitted to communion after proper penance. To end the dispute, the Emperor Maxentius banished both Eusebius and Heraclius. Eusebius, who died soon after his exile to Sicily, is considered a martyr.

St. Miltiades (or Melchiades) (311–314), after the Edict of Toleration, reorganized the administration of the Church and established the papal residence in the Lateran Palace donated by Constantine. At the request of Constantine in 313 he convoked a synod of eighteen bishops of Gaul and Italy to settle the Donatist controversy.

St. Sylvester I (314–335) sent two priests to the Council of Nicaea; and during his pontificate Rome witnessed the building of the basilicas of St. John Lateran, Santa Croce, St. Peter. Legend, linking the pope with Constantine, added many imaginary episodes to this simple history; and a (spurious) ninth-century document recorded the emperor's "donation" to Sylvester of "the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places and cities of Italy and the western lands."

⁴ Constantine's gift of the Lateran Palace to the pope formed the nucleus of the "Patrimony of St. Peter"—the name given to the possessions of the Holy See. Gifts and bequests augmented these properties to such an extent that the pope became the largest land owner in Italy. The papal estates included parts of Sicily and southern Italy, areas in Tuscany, and in the vicinity of Naples (with the island of Capri), lands near Gaeta, Tivoli, Ravenna, Genoa, regions of Sardinia, Corsica, Dalmatia, the Orient, Gaul, and Africa. The revenues from the Patrimony of St. Peter were used not only for administrative and strictly ecclesiastical needs, but also to maintain hospitals, poor-houses, and orphanages, to provide food and alms in case of need, to ransom hostages and slaves, and for various other beneficent and charitable purposes.

St. Mark (336) erected two basilicas with help provided by Constantine.

St. Julius I (337-352), in a synod held at Rome in 340, defended St. Athanasius against the attacks of Arians and (at the request of the Egyptian bishops) restored him to his see of Alexandria.

St. Liberius (352-366). Of Liberius we know little more than the two facts that he was exiled by the Emperor Constantius for his refusal to condemn St. Athanasius, and that after his death his orthodoxy became the subject of long and fierce dispute.⁵ During his exile Constantius placed the Roman Archdeacon Felix on the papal throne; and when Liberius returned (after his rumored repudiation of Athanasius) the emperor proposed that Felix should coöperate with Liberius in the government of the Church. But the Romans, shouting "One God, one Christ, one Bishop," drove Felix from the city; and the Senate condemned him to perpetual banishment.

Felix II (355-358)—antipope.⁶

St. Damasus I (366-384), successor of Liberius, had been a supporter of the antipope Felix; and when Damasus was elected pope, the party of his defeated rival, Ursinus, organized a riot and set up their leader as antipope. Having been banished by the Emperor Valentinian, Ursinus carried on a propaganda of calumny against Damasus who was, however, exonerated by the Emperor Gratian and by a Roman synod of forty-four bishops.

A vigorous ruler, Damasus set St. Jerome to work on the Vulgate (a revised Latin translation of the Bible), published a list of the books of the New Testament (in 374), restored many Roman churches and catacombs, and built a marble monument, "the Platonica," to commemorate the temporary transfer of the bodies of Sts. Peter and Paul to the basilica of St. Sebastian a hundred years earlier. He coöperated with Valentinian in the enforcement of an edict of 370 which forbade ecclesiastics and monks (also nuns in a later amendment) to devote themselves to the securing of gifts from widows and orphans; he supported the Christian senators in their effort to have the Altar of Victory removed from the Senate House; and, before his death, the edict of Theodosius I in 380 had made him the head of the established religion of the Roman state.

During this pontificate we come upon several evidences of the widespread recognition of papal supremacy. Damasus wrote to the bishops of

⁵ The controversy was occasioned by the statement of certain writers, including St. Jerome, who affirmed that the pope was allowed to return from exile only after he had signed an Arian formula. Such an act under compulsion would not, of course, involve papal infallibility—a circumstance overlooked by many who have attached undue importance to the controversy. A good account of the whole matter is given by Dom John Chapman, in *Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. IX, s.v. "Liberius."

⁶ This antipope Felix has sometimes been confused with an earlier Felix, a Roman martyr, and on this account has been represented as a saint.

Gaul reminding them of their obligation to obey the canons of the Church. He addressed the Eastern bishops in a tone which has been described as "wholly papal"; and they recognized his headship in the Church, although the nature of that headship was not yet clearly defined. In 379 the bishops of Spain consulted Damasus with regard to the heretical teaching of Priscillian; and a little later Priscillian came to Rome to seek the pope's support.

Ursinus (366-367)—antipope.

St. Siricius (384-398) demonstrated the right of the pope to govern the Universal Church by disciplining Bishop Felix of Tours and Bishop Ithacius of Ossanova who had denounced St. Martin of Tours and had persuaded Maximus to execute Priscillian and several followers. In 385 Siricius wrote a famous letter⁷ to the bishops of Spain in which he ruled upon a number of disciplinary matters including clerical celibacy, threatened excommunication upon those who resisted, and reminded his readers that "Peter speaks through Siricius."

St. Anastasius I (398-401), a friend of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, issued a condemnation of Origenism.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: For official pronouncements in the fourth century, we turn to papal letters and the canons of several councils, including the first two General Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople. Valuable texts deal with the Blessed Virgin, the Roman primacy, the canon of Sacred Scripture, clerical celibacy, and the much discussed question of heretical baptism.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Marcellinus</i> (296-304)	
c. 303	Council of Elvira (Illiberis) ⁸	On clerical celibacy; on the indissolubility of marriage; on confirmation and baptism.
	<i>St. Sylvester I</i> (314-335)	
314	Council of Arles	Against the Donatists; on the baptism of heretics.
325	First Council of Nicaea (Ecum. I)	On Arianism; on the baptism of heretics; on Viaticum of the dying; the Nicene Creed.

⁷ Known as the "First Decretal."

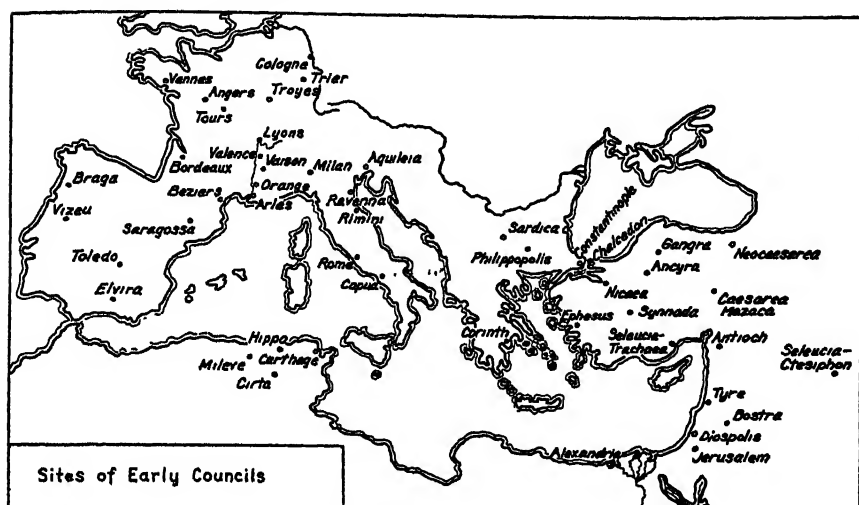
⁸ The principal bishop at this council was Hosius of Córdoba.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Julius I</i> (337-352)	
341	Letter to the Antiochians	On the Roman primacy.
343-344	Council of Sardica	On the Roman primacy.
	<i>St. Damasus</i> (366-384)	
380(?)	Anathemas	Against various heresies, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation.
381	Council of Constantinople (Ecum. II)	Against the Macedonians, etc.; the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.
382	Roman Synod	On the Holy Ghost; on the canon of Sacred Scripture.
	<i>St. Siricius</i> (384-398)	
385	Letter to Bp. of Tarragona	On the Roman primacy; on the baptism of heretics; on marriage; on clerical celibacy; on ordination of monks.
392	Letter to Bp. of Thessalonica	On the virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
397	Third Council of Carthage	On the canon of Holy Scripture.
	<i>St. Anastasius I</i> (398-401)	
c. 400	Letter to Bp. of Milan	On the orthodoxy of Pope Liberius.

Councils: The most significant assembly of the fourth century, the first "Ecumenical" ⁹ council, was convoked by Constantine the Great at Nicaea in the year 325, in order to settle a dispute about the relationship between the First and Second Persons of the Blessed Trinity. The emperor invited the bishops of the whole Empire to attend the council and placed the imperial system of transportation at their disposal. Some 318 bishops gathered at Nicaea in response to the invitation—including the president, Bishop Hosius of Córdoba, and bishops from Africa, Gaul,

⁹ An ecumenical council is one in which all the bishops of the Catholic world and all other persons entitled to vote are invited to assemble under the presidency of the pope or his representative. The decrees of an ecumenical council, when confirmed by the pope, are binding upon the consciences of all Christians. Of the twenty ecumenical councils which have been held thus far, the first eight assembled in the Greek East and the others in the Latin West. In ordinary usage, the words "council" and "synod" are synonymous. An unlawful council is called a "*conciliabulum*" and sometimes a "*latrocinium*" (robber synod). The term "General" was formerly applied to a council which included all the bishops of the East or of the West; it is now used as synonymous with "Ecumenical." The term "local" may be used to designate diocesan, provincial, national, and patriarchal councils.

and southern Italy. The great majority were Orientals. Two priests from Rome represented Pope Sylvester.



The council condemned the teaching of Arius, vindicated his opponent, Athanasius, and formulated the Nicene Creed, placing the Divinity of the Second Person of the Trinity beyond question by the affirmation that the Son is "consubstantial with the Father."¹⁰ The council also enacted a number of disciplinary decrees, twenty of which were incorporated in a later collection of Church law still preserved.¹¹

The (First) Council of Constantinople (381) was convoked by Theodosius the Great in order to secure ecclesiastical uniformity in the East. It was intended to be a gathering of the Eastern bishops, and no Latin bishops were present; nor was the pope represented. Its ecumenical character dates from its later acceptance—by the Eastern Church at the Council of Chalcedon (451), and by the Western Church through the action of several popes. It was attended by 150 Catholic bishops and thirty-six heterodox

¹⁰ The term "*homoousios*," that is, "consubstantial" (of the same substance) affirms that the Son is identical with the Father in substance. Originally it had been used by the Sabellian anti-Trinitarians to exclude any distinction of persons in the Godhead. When Arius denied that Christ was of one substance with the Father, the word "consubstantial" became the battle cry of the orthodox party.

¹¹ These decrees dealt with such matters as qualifications for holy orders; housekeepers in clerical establishments; election, jurisdiction, and precedence of bishops; reconciliation of heretics, apostates, and the lapsed.

bishops; and it met under the presidency of the bishop of Antioch and (after that bishop's death) of Gregory Nazianzen, the new patriarch of Constantinople.¹² The council endorsed the Nicene Creed and condemned the Arians, the Semi-Arians, the "Macedonians" (*Pneumatomachi*), and other heretics.¹³ It formulated Catholic belief in the Divinity of the Holy Ghost by means of the clause "Who with the Father and the Son is adored." In its Third Canon, the council claimed for the bishop of Constantinople the primacy of honor after the bishop of Rome, because "Constantinople is new Rome."¹⁴

The first Spanish council on record, held about the year 300, at Elvira (near the present Granada), under the presidency of Hosius of Córdoba, published the oldest known positive law of clerical celibacy. It also stated in uncompromising terms the Catholic rule concerning the indissolubility of marriage; and it enacted eighty-one disciplinary canons which form our chief source of knowledge concerning Catholic life in Spain at the beginning of the fourth century.

Alexandria was the meeting place of a number of pro-Athanasian synods, notably one in the year 340 attended by one hundred bishops, and another in the year 362 which decreed the imposition of rigorous penance upon the heretical leaders.

The synods held at Antioch between 330 and 362 supported Arianism or Semi-Arianism; but the synod of 378 subscribed to the profession of faith published by Pope Damasus, and repudiated Arianism.

At Arles, in 314, took place the first council held in that city, the seat of many important synods during a thousand years. The twenty-two canons of 314 condemning various ecclesiastical abuses give much information with regard to contemporary Catholic life.¹⁵

Another memorable council was held about the year 343 at Sardica (now Sofia in Bulgaria), chosen as the most convenient meeting-place for the bishops of the West and of the East. Under the presidency of Hosius,

¹² Gregory resigned his see of Constantinople and the presidency of the council before its close; and he was succeeded by a catechumen, Nectarius, a civil official, who was immediately baptized, ordained, and consecrated bishop.

¹³ Among the other heretics were the Sabellians (Monarchians), who held that there was in reality only one Person in the Trinity; and the Apollinarians, who held that Christ did not possess a truly complete human nature.

¹⁴ Only a few acts of this council are extant. It composed no creed of its own; and the so-called Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed was apparently the Baptismal Creed of the Church of Jerusalem enlarged with some additional clauses and published as an expression of the orthodox faith.

¹⁵ A canon of this council that has been interpreted to justify divorce and remarriage proves upon close examination to imply no such departure from the common teaching.

ninety-six Western bishops and a small number of Eastern bishops attempted to settle the confusion due to the alternate approval and condemnation of Athanasius by local councils. The majority at Sardica sided with Athanasius; and the Eastern bishops, who had meanwhile withdrawn from Sardica and held an independent synod in another city, were excommunicated.

At **Ancyra**, ancient capital of Galatia, three councils were held (314, 358, 375). The first legislated with regard to the sacraments of penance and matrimony; the second drew up a Semi-Arian formula denying the substantial identity of the Father and the Son; the third, frankly Arian, decreed the deposition of St. Gregory of Nyssa and other Catholic bishops.

Among the interesting enactments of the period is a decree of the **Synod of Hippo** in 393 forbidding the practice of giving Holy Communion to the dead. The Council of Auxerre repeated this prohibition.

The **Council of Carthage** in the year 397 is of particular importance because it published a list of the "canonical" Scriptures and prohibited the giving of that title to any other writings.

Councils were held at **Toledo** in 396, 398 and 400; and the last of these enacted important decrees with regard to marriage.

Organization: Ecclesiastical affairs were profoundly affected by the development of Constantinople. Before the division of the Empire into East and West, the Church had been organized in three patriarchates,¹⁶ Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, with Rome in first place. Up to the time of the Council of Constantinople (381) Alexandria ranked next to Rome and the Church of Antioch enjoyed pre-eminence in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and East Asia Minor—a superiority sanctioned by the Council of Nicaea in 325. But as the new imperial capital of Constantinople soon attained a position of political supremacy, the Council of Constantinople decreed that the see of Constantinople should take first rank among the Eastern patriarchates; and at the same time the council cut the territory of the patriarchate of Antioch, limiting it to the most easterly provinces. Contemporary events which contributed to the superiority of Constantinople were the destruction of the Church of Armenia by the Persians and the decline of the famous old sees of Ephesus and Caesarea. As will be seen in the following pages, the relationship of the three great

¹⁶ That is to say, the bishops of these three sees possessed a peculiar rank designated later (about the eighth or ninth century) by the official title "patriarch." The patriarch was a kind of arch-metropolitan, or super-archbishop, over a certain region.

Oriental patriarchates played an important part in Church history.¹⁷

Changes of consequence were occurring in the West also. In the preceding centuries Rome had been the only metropolitan see of the Italian peninsula; now the churches of northern Italy began to grow important. Milan—where the Edict of Toleration was published in 313—became the metropolitan see of northern Italy; and its great bishop, Ambrose (340–397), possessed extraordinary influence in both East and West. As the imperial tradition faded out and the different provinces acquired more independence, Milan grew more and more powerful; and the churches of Africa, Gaul and Spain looked upon Milan as second only to Rome, showing great respect for its decisions.

Gaul, Spain, and Britain, isolated behind their natural barriers, found communication with Rome increasingly difficult; and the first two developed the largely independent Frankish and Visigothic churches. The growth of the British church was soon checked by the Saxon invasions.

Church discipline varied in East and West, and sometimes from province to province. During the first three centuries celibacy, although practiced by a considerable number of the clergy, was not of general obligation throughout the Church. The imposing of celibacy upon all the clergy of Spain at the Council of Elvira about the year 305 marked the beginning of official divergence in discipline between East and West. About the year 315, two local councils (in Galatia and Cappadocia) forbade priests to marry. At the Council of Nicaea a vigorous discussion took place over the proposal to forbid married bishops, priests, and deacons to live with their wives. Paphnutius, a bishop of Upper Egypt, settled the dispute by persuading the council to

¹⁷ The Church at Jerusalem, connected with the scene of Christ's passion and birth-place of the Christian Church, always enjoyed an exceptional dignity; and although the town erected by the Emperor Hadrian on the site of the old city possessed no civil importance, the bishop of Jerusalem was recognized by the Council of Nicaea as next in rank to the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. With the liberation of the Church under Constantine came a rebirth of religious fervor. Palestine became the sanctuary of the whole civilized world. Pilgrims and settlers came from far places—even from Britain—to the Holy Land; St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, made a visit to Jerusalem in her eightieth year; and monks from Egypt and Libya established their homes in the desert near the Jordan.

follow the ancient tradition which prohibited marriage after ordination.

Gradually the law of celibacy in the Western Church became more definite and more strict. A council held at Rome under Pope Siricius in 386 and two councils held at Carthage a little later imposed continence upon all bishops, priests, and deacons. This decree was enforced to a certain extent throughout the West, less strictly, however, in some places than in others. But the practice of celibacy was spreading; and St. Jerome and St. Ambrose spoke strongly in its favor.

Marriage: Constantine's legislation with regard to marriage represented no considerable departure from the earlier law of Augustus. Despite the difficulty of maintaining the Catholic doctrine of indissolubility, the Church insisted that no one who departed from that strict standard should be admitted to Communion.¹⁸ The Church was stricter than the state in prohibiting the marriage of near relatives—forbidding the intermarriage of first cousins, for example. In accord with the earlier decision of Callistus I, the Council of Toledo in 400 decreed that a Christian could be validly married either to an "*uxor*" or a "*concupina*"—provided that the marriage was exclusive and permanent.

Worship: The Christian liturgy at this time existed in four chief forms, the Syrian and the Alexandrian in the East, the Roman and the Gallican in the West.¹⁹ The Syrian prevailed, with local variations, in Mesopotamia, Persia, Armenia, Caesarea and Constantinople; and the Alexandrian was followed by the churches of Egypt.²⁰ In the West (according to Duchesne) a non-Roman rite was introduced into Milan; and from it sprang the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish rites.

¹⁸ As for the charge that St. Basil and Epiphanius conceded the possibility of divorce and remarriage in certain cases—which they did not—see Joyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 321, 325.

¹⁹ Duchesne surmises that (with the aid of documents not yet discovered) it might be possible to link up the Gallican with the Syrian, and the Alexandrian with the Roman liturgy, thus reducing the original types to two, "a division which is analogous to that which obtains today, when the uses of Rome and Constantinople have almost absorbed the rest." *Christian Worship*, p. 55.

²⁰ The Syrian corresponds to the ritual implied in the Apostolic Constitutions; but no corresponding ancient basic liturgical text for the Alexandrian liturgy was known until the modern discovery at Mt. Athos of a manuscript bearing the name of Bishop Serapion, friend of St. Athanasius. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

The fourth century provides us (in a letter of St. Augustine) with the earliest known reference to the ancient custom which has survived in the French *pain bénit* and the Greek *antidoron* (fragments of bread from which the wafers have been cut for consecration at the Mass) passed to the faithful to be eaten before they leave the church.

Art: Once free to carry on worship in public, the Christians began to erect churches—some of them rectangular basilicas, others round edifices, not unlike Roman tombs, and others octagonal buildings.²¹ The basilica of St. John Lateran, possibly an enlargement of the great hall of the palace of the Laterani family, was presented to the Church about the year 311 by Constantine, to whose wife, Fausta, it had belonged. As the cathedral of Rome, it still carries its proud title, "Omnium Urbis et Orbis Ecclesiarum Mater et Caput."²²

In the Circus of Caligula, where martyrs had suffered under Nero, the Church of St. Peter was raised over his tomb in 323.²³ Constantine erected other basilicas outside the walls, built a church in Constantinople on the site of the future Santa Sophia, and also put up churches at Tyre, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem.

Frescoes and mosaics were much employed as a medium of religious instruction. Among the earliest Christian mosaics are those in the small Roman basilica of Santa Pudentiana—classical figures of Christ and the Apostles portrayed against a landscape under an opalescent sky in which appear a jeweled cross and the symbols of the evangelists.

Communities: Groups of monks inaugurated the cenobitic life in the usual sense of the word.²⁴ About the middle of the cen-

²¹ Several theories exist as to the type of building from which the Christian basilica developed. The common opinion is that it was modeled on the basilicas in the Roman forum or the half-public halls of great houses. The earliest form of basilica, oblong, with colonnades dividing the central nave from the side aisles, developed into a T shaped, and later into a cruciform, building. In the apse, at the end opposite the entrance, the altar was placed.

²² It was called "Domus Faustae," also "Basilica Salvatoris," because dedicated to the Saviour, and "Basilica Aurea," because of its splendid decorations. It became a model of Christian churches in the countries where Roman influence prevailed.

²³ The Basilica of St. Peter was built of stones of many sorts decorated in various styles, some of them with pagan inscriptions and heathen figures.

²⁴ "Coenobium" is a word applied to a group, more or less numerous, living under a leader or abbot. "Cloister" means the enclosure within which the community lives.

ture two monasteries of a semi-eremital type were founded in Palestine, one near Jerusalem and another near Jericho. In a monastery of this kind the cells were grouped around a central church; and it was called a *laura*, a name applied originally to a narrow street or section of a town. The order of life in a *laura* was half-way between the eremital or solitary, and the cenobitical or common, life. The monks were ruled by a superior but dwelt alone, except on Saturdays and Sundays, when they met in the church for liturgical worship.

Monasticism rapidly made its way into practically every province of the Roman world. St. Ammon in Nitria, and St. Pachomius in the upper valley of the Nile, founded many monasteries. Others were established in Syria, in Cyprus, in Armenia, in different parts of Asia Minor and, according to St. Jerome, in India, Persia, and Ethiopia. Monasticism was promoted in the West by the exile, St. Athanasius. Monks were numerous in Italy and the islands of the Adriatic; and the movement spread into Gaul, Spain, and the British Isles.

The Armenian monks, it is said, were the first to wear a definite monastic habit; and St. Basil was the first founder to insert the obligation of a vow in his Rule.

The earliest monastic Rule—extant in St. Jerome's Latin translation—was written by Pachomius, born in the Thebaid and commonly called the "Founder of Monasticism." His monks followed a common order of life, with a novitiate and fixed hours for prayer and for labor, and the superior was called the Abbot (father). When Pachomius died in 346 his monasteries included several coenobia for men and one convent for women.

St. Anthony (d. 356)—called the "Father of Monasticism," although later than St. Paul the Hermit and less famous as a legislator than St. Pachomius—was born in Upper Egypt about the middle of the third century. For years he lived in solitude on the east bank of the Nile; but disciples gathered around him in such considerable numbers that in the year 305 he consented to organize them into a common form of life. In contrast with the group system established by St. Pachomius, St. Anthony's disciples lived in separate cells, coming together at stated intervals for common worship. The Antonian usage was adopted by the majority of monks in northern Egypt, and it is reproduced to some extent in the life of the Carthusian monks of the present day.

The Rule that bears St. Anthony's name, although not actually his com-

position, was based partly on his teaching and partly on the teaching of St. Pachomius. It is still observed by the Catholic monks of Syria and Armenia. St. Anthony passed his last years in solitude and died, according to tradition, about the year 356 at the age of 105. The *Life of St. Anthony*—substantially accurate and probably written by St. Athanasius—contains a good account of early monasticism in Egypt.

The great leader of monasticism in the East was **St. Basil the Great** (329-379). His Rule prescribed poverty, chastity and above all, obedience; set hours for meditation, study, labor, community prayers and midnight devotions; and it required fasting on five days of each week.

St. Martin, Bishop of Tours (316-397), organized the Church in Gaul on quasi-monastic lines and founded many monasteries. He urged ascetical exercises upon the clergy under his jurisdiction, who were not as a rule monks. He set up the earliest monastery of Gaul, and a second near Tours, out of which came many bishops and missionaries. When St. Martin died in 397, he was followed to the grave by two thousand monks. The mild Rule of St. Martin opened the way for considerable laxity which was later corrected by the stricter Rule of St. Benedict.

Among the many pilgrims who settled in the East to follow the monastic life were the priest, **Rufinus**, and a number of Roman ladies including **St. Melania the Elder** and **St. Melania the Younger**. At Bethlehem two Roman ladies, **St. Paula** and her daughter, **St. Eustochium**, founded two monasteries; one for nuns and one for St. Jerome and his monks.

A reaction against the religious ideal was headed by an ex-monk, **Jovinian**, in Rome, and by **Vigilantius** in Spain. They denounced celibacy, virginity, and all ascetical practices; and they were answered by St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, who, with St. Augustine, praised the monastic life enthusiastically.

St. Augustine organized the clergy of his household into a sort of monastic community in which religious poverty was practiced, although vows were not imposed. Rules for the guidance of these clerics and for other groups that imitated them are to be found in several of the Saint's writings, notably in his work *De Opere Monachorum*, later called *The Rule of St. Augustine*; but of the various "Augustinian" Rules, none is authentic except the Rule for nuns which the Saint drew up for a convent founded by him at Hippo and presided over by his sister.

Saints: ²⁵ The Christians made good use of their new freedom by increasing their veneration for the saints and in particular for the martyrs of the preceding period. Pope Damasus, who was especially devoted to the Roman martyrs, ordered the architec-

²⁵ Saints of this century whose names are preserved in the Canon of the Mass are: Sts. Lucy, Chrysogonus, Anastasia, Agnes, Marcellinus, Peter, John, and Paul.

tural restoration of the catacombs and composed epitaphs and hymns which still survive.

In addition to the saints elsewhere described in the text, several others deserve particular mention:

St. Lucy (d. c. 303), one of the most widely honored of the early virgin martyrs, was put to death at Syracuse during the persecution of Diocletian. The details of her trial and death have been woven into an interesting story which may retain some older traditions, but in its present form belongs probably to the fifth century.

St. Vincent (d. 304), a noted martyr of Spain, died in the persecution of Diocletian. His Acts, according to St. Augustine, were read in the churches of Africa at the end of the fourth century.

St. Anastasia (d. 304), a noble matron, devoted her time and wealth to the service of the poor. She was tortured and burned alive under Diocletian.

St. Agnes of Rome (d. 304), who suffered for the faith at the age of twelve or thirteen, has been honored by Christian poets and ecclesiastical writers of all periods and has been the subject of numerous panegyrics. The Acts of St. Agnes belong probably to the early fifth century and exist in two texts, Latin and Greek.

Sts. Marcellinus and Peter (d. 304), the first a priest and the second an exorcist, were beheaded under Diocletian.

St. Blaise (d. 316), Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, who was tortured and beheaded, has given rise to various legends of no historical value. He was one of the most popular saints of the Middle Ages and was invoked as special patron against diseases of the throat because of the tradition that he had cured a boy in danger of choking to death.

St. Nicholas (d. 352), Bishop of Myra in Lycia, has been especially popular both in the Greek and in the Latin Church. An ancient tradition makes him a secret distributor of gifts; and his feast-day (December 6) is celebrated as Children's Day in many countries. "Santa Claus" is a corruption of the Dutch "Sant Nikolaas."

Sts. John and Paul (d. 362), two brothers, were according to tradition, beheaded on their refusal to abandon the faith, during the reign of Julian the Apostate. Their home on the Caelian Hill became a Christian basilica in the latter half of the fourth century.

St. Monica (d. 387), by her prayers and good example, contributed much to the conversion of her son, St. Augustine.

Education: When the Church emerged into public life the schools were practically all under pagan control; and the Christians, as a rule, had to attend pagan establishments. Basil and

Gregory Nazianzen, for example, studied at the School of Athens. Christian teachers continued to conduct classes in the public schools until forbidden to do so by Julian (362) in a decree against which Gregory protested.

After the Persians (in virtue of a treaty between Persia and Rome in 363) took possession of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, St. Ephraem (306-373) left the city, went to Edessa and (probably) founded there the "School of the Persians"—an important Christian center. The School of Edessa, like the School of Antioch, followed the literal method of interpreting Scripture; but as compared with Antioch, the Edessa representatives were more Oriental—poetical, mystical, contemplative.

Writers: The relative dullness of the preceding era was followed by a brilliant revival which produced notable works, both Christian and pagan.

(*In the East*) The doctrinal questions which engaged the attention of the Church during the fourth century gave rise to theological treatises of lasting value, most of which came from the East where some of the most eminent Fathers of the Church were then flourishing. The rivalries of the numerous scholars and writers of Alexandria and Antioch make an interesting chapter of theological history. The Alexandrians, given to allegory, were often accused of a tendency toward the false mysticism of the Neo-Platonists. On the other hand, the critical method of Antioch aroused a suspicion of rationalism.²⁶

Conspicuous among the Oriental Fathers, the clearheaded and invincible St. Athanasius the Great—called "Father of Orthodoxy" because of his championship of the Divinity of Christ—became the center of almost endless disputes. The incessant attacks of heterodox theologians, heretical bishops, and civil rulers, supplemented by calumnies, depositions, and banishments, gave rise to the revealing epigram, "Athanasius contra mundum."²⁷

²⁶ The contrast between the two tendencies is brought out by Newman who championed the Alexandrian against the Antiochene School.

Violent controversy occurred with regard to teachings which were attributed to Origen, although some of them cannot be traced to the writings of that great master. The anti-Origenist monks of Palestine were accused by their antagonists of being anthropomorphic.

²⁷ Athanasius (c. 296-373) was secretary to the patriarch of Alexandria during the

Prominent among the champions of orthodoxy were the **Three Cappadocians**—Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Basil the Great. **St. Gregory Nazianzen** (c. 330–c. 389) the son of the bishop of Nazianzus and his wife, St. Nonna, was the brother of two other saints, Caesarius and Gorgonia. A fellow student of St. Basil at Athens, he later lived with Basil as a hermit in Pontus. Made patriarch of Constantinople in 381, he aroused such hostility from the Arians that he soon resigned his see and returned to Nazianzus where he spent the rest of his life in writing. He was a distinguished theologian; and he composed poems and orations of high literary value.

St. Gregory of Nyssa (331–c. 386), brother of Basil the Great, consecrated bishop of Nyssa in 372, was forced into exile, but returned to his see in 378. He wrote the *Catechesis*, a defense of Catholic doctrine; but most of his extant writings are commentaries on Scripture of the allegorical type.

St. Basil the Great (329–379), son of St. Basil the Elder, who was son of St. Macrina, outclassed the two Gregories both in genius and in achievement. Bishop of Cæsarea in 370, he composed a monastic Rule and founded a monastery in Pontus; and he is regarded as the “Father of Religious life in the East.” On account of his energy in carrying out reforms, his charity, and his strenuous defense of the rights of the Church, he is represented in Christian art as bearing a church in his hand and feeding the poor. He wrote repeatedly to Rome to ask for assistance in the struggles of the Eastern Church against heresy, and his disappointment at the lack of response led him to criticize Pope Damasus freely in a private letter to a friend. In his endeavor to bring back the Semi-Arians, he used expressions which have caused him to be looked upon as Arian in sympathy; but there is good evidence of his essential orthodoxy. His extant writings are numerous; it is uncertain whether or not he composed the so-called “Liturgy of St. Basil.”

St. John Chrysostom (347–407), a native of Antioch and one of the most eloquent preachers in Christian history, mastered the classical culture of his day under the famous teacher, Libanius. Influenced by Bishop Meletius, he withdrew from the world at the age of twenty, devoted himself to a life of penance and prayer, and three years later was baptized and ordained a lector. For two years he lived as an anchorite in a cave outside the city of Antioch, injuring his health by excessive austerity. Ordained a priest in the year 386 by Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, he devoted the next twelve years to preaching; and he was then called by the Emperor Ar-

Council of Nicaea (325), and three years later succeeded to the see. Because of his refusal to admit Arius to communion, he spent seventeen of the forty-six years of his episcopate in exile. He was banished several times, condemned repeatedly by Arianizing synods, punished by—or with consent of—three emperors, Constantine, Constantius and Valens. He spent seven years of exile with Egyptian monks. Among his most valuable writings are a *History of the Arians* and a treatise on *The Incarnation*.

cadius to be patriarch of Constantinople. In that position he instituted a sweeping reform of the clergy, the monks, and the laity. Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who had been summoned to Constantinople to answer charges made against him by a number of Egyptian monks, retaliated by presenting charges against Chrysostom, at that time in disfavor at Court because the Empress Eudoxia had been offended by his sermon on the extravagance and luxury of Christian women; and Chrysostom was exiled to Armenia where he died.

No other Greek Father has left so many works as Chrysostom, who represented the School of Antioch at its best. Trained by Diodorus of Tarsus in the grammatico-historical method of Antioch, he refrained from carrying that method to extremes and admitted the mystical interpretation of Holy Scripture within certain limits. He was invoked as an authority both by Greeks and Latins in matters of faith. Certain passages of his writings have occasioned doubts of his orthodoxy with regard to the Blessed Virgin, auricular confession, and papal supremacy; yet these doubts were based not on his actual teaching but on deductions therefrom, and there can be no question as to his acceptance of Church authority as a rule of faith. His teaching on the Divinity of Christ and on the doctrine of the Eucharist is very definite and of great importance.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428), a fellow student and friend of Chrysostom, a priest of Antioch and bishop of Mopsuestia (in Cilicia) in 392, wrote exegetical works and treatises on the Incarnation, in which he taught that there are two Persons in Christ, and that Mary may not be called the Mother of God; and therefore he has been described as "a Nestorian before Nestorius." In his teaching on grace he denied the existence of original sin, so that he may also be called "a Pelagian before Pelagius." His works are held in high favor among the Nestorians who named him "The Exegete."

St. Ephraem (306-373), son of a pagan priest, was baptized by the famous St. James, Bishop of Nisibis. After the disastrous campaign of Julian the Apostate, Ephraem and most of the Christians left Nisibis for Edessa. He is recognized as the greatest of the Syrian Fathers. His numerous important works include hymns, sermons, and commentaries on Holy Scripture. Among the ancient manuscripts which preserve his original Syrian text, we have one which dates from the fifth century.

Eusebius ²⁸ (260-341), "Father of Church History" and Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, who delivered the opening address at the Council of Nicaea, showed a leaning towards Arianism and was hostile to St. Athanasius. Best known of his many writings are: *Life of Constantine*, *Chronicle*, and *Church History*.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386), Bishop of that city and Doctor of the

²⁸ He is not to be confused with Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia.

Church, was accused by St. Jerome of underhand conduct, but was exculpated by other writers. Considerable doctrinal importance attaches to his catechetical lectures which are extant; and his teaching on the Blessed Eucharist presents substantially the dogma of Transubstantiation.

(*In the West*) The theological disputes over the Trinity and the Incarnation involved comparatively few Western writers. One of the ablest of them, Hilary of Poitiers, drawing heavily on Greek sources in his refutation of Arianism, became an interpreter of Greek theology to the Latin church. Jerome and Rufinus, in their discussion of biblical questions, made use of the Orientals; and Ambrose, in his dogmatic writings, depended largely on St. Basil the Great. It was not until the coming of St. Augustine that Western theology developed an original and characteristically Roman style.

St. Hilary (c. 300–368), Bishop of Poitiers about 353, was among the chief supporters of Athanasius against the Oriental Arian bishops, traveled to Constantinople to refute them, and wrote his treatise on Synods to persuade the Semi-Arians to reunite with the Church. On account of his orthodoxy he was exiled for several years, and after his return in 360, he coöperated with Pope Liberius to destroy Arianism in the West. One of the most learned and zealous churchmen of his day, he left numerous important writings. St. Martin of Tours was his disciple.

St. Jerome (340–420), born in Dalmatia, lived for four years in the Syrian desert where he devoted himself to the practice of penance and the study of Hebrew. He was ordained a priest of Antioch in 380, and through the influence of St. Gregory Nazianzen became a student of Scripture. After a journey through the Holy Land he retired to a monastery in Bethlehem founded by two Roman ladies, Sts. Paula and Eustochium. At the request of Pope Damasus I, he aided in a translation of the Scriptures (beginning with the Gospels in 382–83) to replace the old Latin version called *Itala*; and the new work, *The Vulgate*, became the official Latin version.²⁹ His writings include works on history, on Holy Scripture, sermons, letters, and controversies. Wide study, knowledge of history and of the Holy Land, and care in the selection of sources made him the foremost biblical scholar of his day. In his writings he used the works of Origen, which was the richest collection of scriptural material then existing; but he did not accept Origen's theological system, and he engaged in a bitter controversy with his former friend, Rufinus, who was a strong Origenist.

²⁹ A revision of *The Vulgate* was begun in 1907 by order of Pius X.

Rufinus (345-410), who became a devoted disciple of Origen during six years spent with the Egyptian monks, settled in a monastery on the Mount of Olives and in 397 undertook a Latin translation of the works of Origen, correcting the text according to his own preconceptions wherever he thought it had been tampered with. In the controversy over Origen's orthodoxy, he replied to Jerome's attack with an *Apology* in two books. He also translated other Greek works, including the *Church History* of Eusebius which he brought up to date, adding two books.

St. Ambrose (340-397), son of the Roman prefect of Gaul, became provincial governor of Milan. Although still a catechumen, he was persuaded by the bishops, the clergy and the people to let himself be baptized, ordained, and consecrated at the age of thirty-four. As archbishop of Milan, he became a successful teacher and an eloquent preacher, opposed the Arians successfully, and resisted all attempts of the civil power to interfere in Church affairs. He had a long contest with the Empress Justina who favored the Arians; and a few years later he induced the Emperor Theodosius to do public penance for having caused a massacre of the Thesalonians. Many of his works have been lost; but others, in constant use for centuries, still bear valuable witness to the doctrines taught by the early Church.

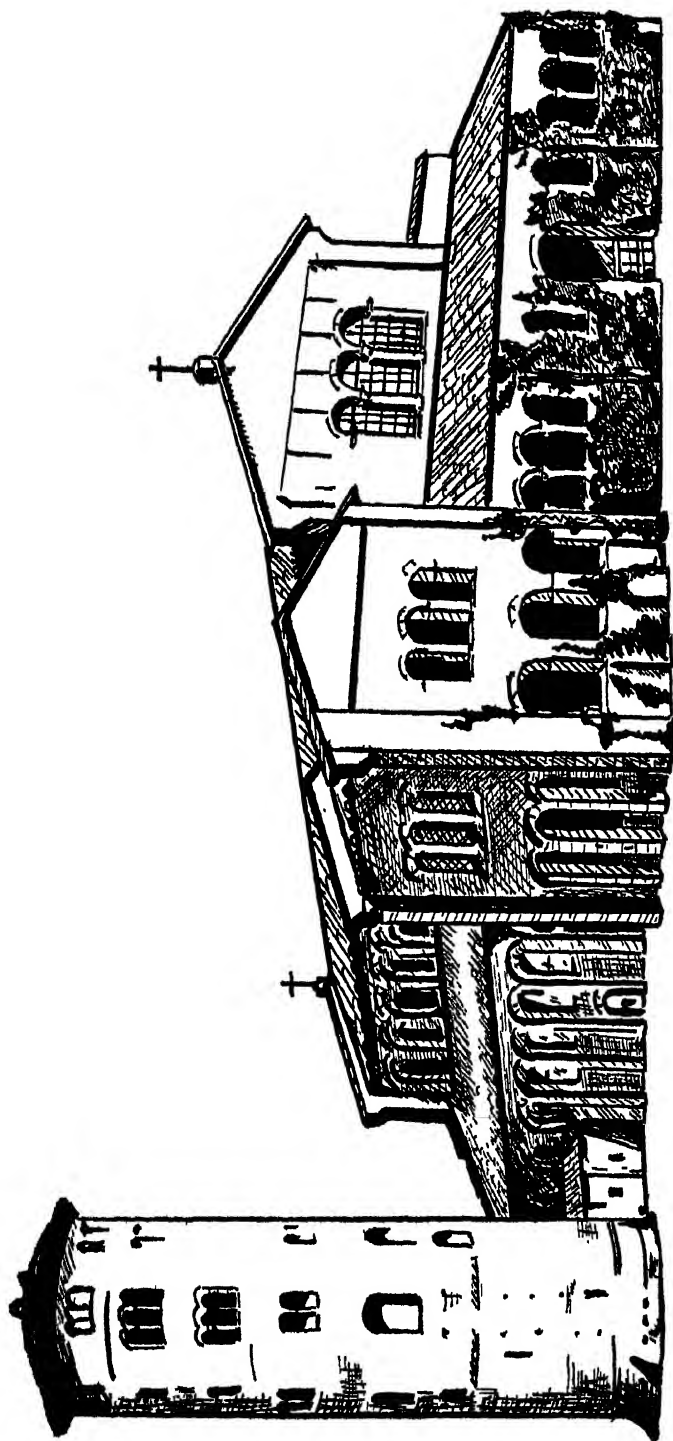
Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius (d. after 326), an African convert to Christianity, and Latin tutor of Crispus, son of Constantine, wrote a treatise, *On the Divine Institutions*, the earliest systematic theological treatise in Latin—more noted for its elegant and faultless style than for its correct Christian doctrine. Another of his books, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, one of our chief sources for the history of the persecutions, describes the frightful deaths which overtook the principal persecutors of the Christians—Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, Maximus.

Among the most interesting fourth-century documents which have come down to us is the so-called *Pilgrimage of St. Aetheria*, otherwise known as Egeria or Silvia. It is the (fragmentary) record of a visit to Jerusalem written by a French or Spanish nun about the year 395; and it provides much information on the religious usages of the time and on topographical details. It has been studied by modern scholars both for its liturgical and its philological value.

3. OPPOSITION

Early in the fourth century the Church emerged triumphant from the last and fiercest of the persecutions; but she had still to face the more insidious attacks of heresy and schism.

Persecutions: In the year 303 Diocletian and Galerius inau-



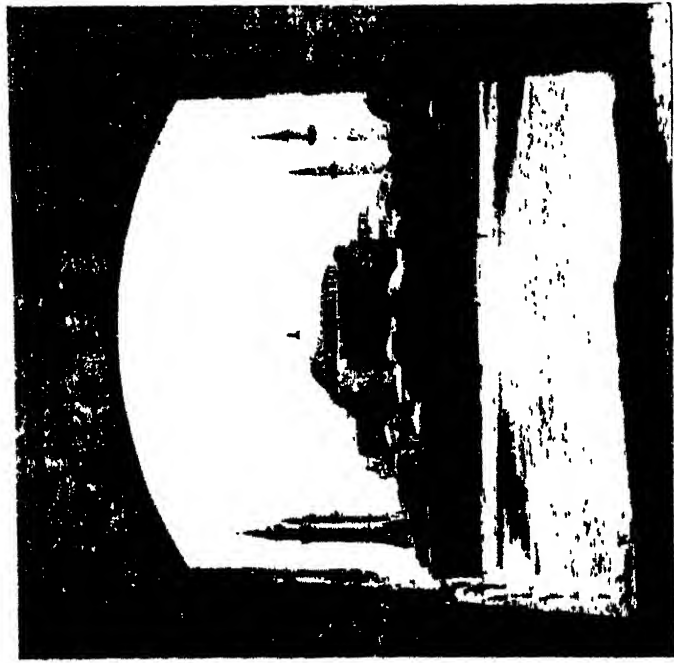
SANT' APOLLINARE IN CLASSE (6th century)



Evans Gallery

THE BURN'T COLUMN OF ISTANBUL

Witness to Constantine's consecration of the city



Evans Gallery

SANTA SOPHIA

Built by Constantine; altered by Theodoric (5th century); rebuilt by Justinian (6th century); made a mosque, mosaics whitewashed, minarets added (15th century), mosaics restored (19th and 20th centuries); made a museum in 1935

gured a reign of terror which aimed at the extermination of the Christians. One of the imperial edicts decreed the destruction of all the Christian sacred books; and the consequent loss of Christian archives has occasioned a serious gap in our knowledge of that period. Edicts of steadily increasing severity came forth. Churches were pulled down, cemeteries confiscated, the properties of the Christians appropriated, all priests and bishops condemned to death; and every person suspected of being a Christian was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan gods. The food sold in the public market was sprinkled with water from the pagan sacrifices to make it unlawful for Christian use; soldiers stationed at the doors of public buildings forced everyone entering to offer incense to the gods under penalty of death. More blood was shed in this than in any previous persecution; and the calendar of the Coptic Church dates from the "Era of the Martyrs" under Diocletian. Eusebius says the prisons were so full of bishops and priests that there was no room left for criminals. Among the vast number of martyrs who gave their lives for the faith were St. Agnes in Rome and St. Lucy in Syracuse. In Phrygia a whole town of Christians was destroyed.

After Diocletian and Maximian abdicated, Galerius, with his nephew Maximin, the governor of Egypt and Syria, undertook to carry on the persecution in a more systematic way. The official lists of citizens were scrutinized and the head of each family was summoned to offer sacrifice or to die. The prisons, the quarries, the mines were crowded with Christians condemned to slavery. It was meant to be a fight to the death; but, after a few years, Galerius saw that the Christians were so numerous and so deeply attached to their faith, that persistence in the attempt to eliminate Christianity would be suicidal for the Empire, and in 311 he issued a decree halting the persecution.⁸⁰ Almost immediately afterwards he died. His successor, Maximin, renewed the attack upon the Christians, directing his efforts particularly against the priesthood, circulating anti-Christian literature, introducing

⁸⁰ This edict of 311, signed by Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius, ended the persecution on the ground that it had failed to accomplish its purpose. The Church was free to exist, and imprisoned Christians were set at liberty.

propaganda into the schools, and carrying on a campaign of mockery and libel.

The Edict of Milan in 313, which made Christianity one of the recognized religions, was a political compromise agreed upon by the two emperors, Licinius, an avowed pagan, and Constantine, who was already at heart a Christian, although he did not at once profess the faith. Whatever its motive, this decree was a political necessity, a *modus vivendi* for two strong opposing forces.³¹ After Licinius, who headed a pagan reaction, had been defeated in 324, Constantine was in a less difficult position, although still obliged to take account of the influence of the pagan nobility. Later proclamations were even more favorable to Christianity than the Edict of 313; and for the rest of the reign pagans and Christians were on the same legal footing. Constantine published an edict against soothsayers and fortune-tellers; but he did not interfere with the ordinary religious worship of the pagans. On the other hand, he refused to tolerate heretical and schismatical Christians, and he ordered the destruction of their churches and the confiscation of their property.

With regard to the total number of martyrs during the various persecutions from Nero to Diocletian, it is impossible to make any definite statement. They are alluded to in such phrases as "a huge multitude" and "a vast number," some writers estimating them in the thousands and others in the millions. Even more significant than the actual number is the fact that during practically the whole period the Christians possessed no sense of security. There was always the chance that some enemy's denunciation would bring disaster, confiscation of property, torture, possibly death. This condition perhaps helped to strengthen the spirit of the faithful and to keep the Christians pure and unselfish. Indeed, sometimes fervor diminished during a period of relative peace and safety.

Heresies: Under the Christian emperors, heretics were regarded as offenders against the state, and severe edicts were enacted by the civil authorities. Constantine made heresy a criminal offense and Theodosius I in 382 classified it as a capital crime, although sentence of death was rarely carried out. Some of the ecclesiastical writers, for example, Optatus of Mileve, denounced

³¹ It has been pointed out that Constantine and Diocletian, although they employed means diametrically opposed to each other, had the same political end in view. In order to secure unity Diocletian outlawed Christianity, making it impossible for a good Christian to be a good soldier; Constantine, on the other hand, by allying Christianity and patriotism, secured the coöperation of the Christian bishops and succeeded where Diocletian had failed.

the severity employed against heretics; and the Church courts as a rule imposed only the punishment of excommunication.

Arianism: No phenomenon during the first fifteen hundred years of Christian history can equal the amazing career of this heresy from its appearance at the Council of Nicaea in 325, to its final condemnation at Constantinople in 381. Not a lineal descendant of Gnosticism, it was nevertheless, related to the speculations which the Gnostics had made familiar.³²

The heresy took its name from Arius, a priest of Alexandria, who crystallized a theological debate that had been agitating Christendom for many years. No unambiguous and generally accepted answer had yet been given to the question "Is God the Son the perfect equal of God the Father?"; and a negative answer would necessarily exclude the possibility of belief in the full and true divinity of Jesus Christ. Arius gave that negative answer, maintaining that the Son of God is not of one nature or substance with the Father, not equal to Him in dignity, not co-eternal. Rebuked by his bishop, Alexander, refuted by Alexander's successor, Athanasius, and condemned by the Council of Nicaea, Arius nevertheless succeeded in winning strong and widespread support. Many Catholic bishops were put to death or deposed and their sees given to Arians; Athanasius was banished, in all, five different times; Pope Liberius was exiled; Western bishops repudiated Athanasius at the Councils of Arles, Milan, Rimini; Arians held the see of Constantinople for forty years, and Catholics possessed not a single one of the hundred churches there. St. Jerome describing the condition of Christendom in the year 359 wrote, "The whole world groaned and marveled at finding itself Arian."

³² "If . . . we ask whence the heresy actually arose, we find that contemporary authors ascribe it partially to Judaism and Eclecticism, and more expressly to the influence of the Sophists; that Alexander, to whose lot it fell first to withstand it, refers us at once to Antioch as its original seat, to Judaism as its ultimate source, and to the subtleties of disputation as the instrument of its exhibition: that Arius and his principal supporters were pupils of the school of Antioch; and lastly, that in this school at the date fixed by Alexander, the above-mentioned elements of the heresy are discovered in alliance, almost in union, Paulus of Samosata, the judaizing Sophist, being the favourite of a court which patronized Eclecticism, when it was neglected at Alexandria." Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 132.

Fortunately, the Arians broke into several factions. The strict Arians (Anomeans) affirmed that the Son is unlike (*anomoios*) the Father; and the Semi-Arians, affirmed that the Son is like to (*homoios*), but not in substance identical with, the Father. Before long popular clamor forced the restoration of Pope Liberius to his see; and, after the death of Constantius in 361, Arianism declined in the East.

Among the Goths it persisted longer than elsewhere. The Arian, Ulfilas, educated in Constantinople and consecrated bishop by Eusebius, organized missionary work among the Visigoths and made most of them Arians about the middle of the century.³³ When the great body of Visigoths, after the battle of Adrianople (378), settled within the Empire, Arianism became the national religion of Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Suevi, Vandals, and Lombards; and for a century or two they helped to keep it alive in the West.

Macedonianism: About the year 360 some Arian bishops, starting from the false premise that the Second Person of the Trinity is inferior to the First Person, argued that the Holy Ghost must also be inferior. These bishops—named “Macedonians” after their leader, Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople, and also called *Pneumatomachi* (enemies of the spirit)—were condemned by the Second Ecumenical Council.³⁴

Apollinarianism: The theory that Christ had a human body and a sensitive but not rational soul was advanced by Apollinarius the Younger, Bishop of Laodicea, in the latter half of the century—a teaching condemned by Pope Damasus and the Roman council of 381.

Priscillianism: A form of Manichaeism introduced into Spain from Egypt was fostered by Priscillian, bishop of Avila, a rich and clever orator of noble birth and austere life. He organized a sect which, with the aid of two heretical bishops, grew rapidly. The Priscillianists were summoned before the Synod of Saragossa

³³ He invented a Gothic alphabet and translated most of the Bible into the Gothic language. Part of his translation of the New Testament is still preserved at Upsala in the so-called Silver Codex.

³⁴ Later the Spanish Church added to the Creed a phrase which affirmed the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son, “Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.”

in 380; and, when they failed to appear, the synod excommunicated them. The Emperor Gratian sentenced the Priscillianists to banishment; but, by means of friends at court, they obtained the revocation of this sentence and the restoration of the churches in Spain of which they had been deprived. Propagated as a secret society, the heresy spread fast and far in southern Europe.

Priscillianism was condemned again at Bordeaux in 384; and, despite the protests of St. Martin of Tours, Priscillian and several of his companions were convicted of the crime of magic, and put to death. His followers were banished, their property was confiscated. St. Martin and St. Ambrose denounced this severity; and the pope censured the Emperor Maximus for permitting it. Some of the Gallic bishops broke off communion with Bishop Ithacius who had been relentless in his pursuit of the Priscillianists; and later a synod of Spanish bishops deposed him.

Priscillian and his companions were looked upon by many as martyrs. For a time the spread of their heresy was furthered by the chaos in Spain resulting from the invasion of the Suevi and the Vandals; but at the Council of Toledo in 400 many Priscillianists, including two bishops, were reconciled to the Catholic faith.

Schisms: Donatism. This movement began with a quarrel in Carthage over the election of Caecilian as successor to the Bishop Mensurius who died in 311. The election was declared invalid by a council of seventy bishops on the ground that his consecrator, Felix, a "traditor,"⁸⁵ could not validly confer a sacrament; and one of these bishops, Donatus, having organized the opponents of Caecilian into a formidable body, appealed to the emperor who referred the dispute to Pope Miltiades. A Lateran council in 313 decided against the Donatists, but they remained irreconcilable; and Constantine, after trying in vain to overcome them, adopted a policy of toleration which encouraged them to destroy a number of Catholic churches and to extend their schism into many parts of Africa. Julian favored them. By the end of the century the schismatic Donatist bishops formed nearly one-half of all the bishops in Africa. Optatus of Mileve and St. Augustine published a number of writings against them; but the

⁸⁵ A "traditor" was one who gave the Sacred Books over to be profaned by the pagans

Donatist schism did not disappear until the conquest of Africa by the Saracens more than three centuries later. Their chief doctrinal error was that the validity of a sacrament depends on the spiritual condition of the minister.

Meletianism: Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, headed a schism about the year 306, apparently in the hope of supplanting Peter of Alexandria. The Council of Nicaea deprived him of the exercise of his episcopal powers, and as a result his followers supported the Arian cause. This schism which at one time included twenty-nine bishops (one-third of the whole patriarchate) lasted for about a century.

The Jews: A new period of Jewish history began with the Edict of Milan. After the Roman people turned to Christianity, the Jews stood out as an alien element incapable of assimilation and gradually assumed in the popular mind the despicable characteristics formerly attributed to the Christians. They were looked upon as "a baleful, disreputable, sacrilegious, perverse, abominable sect"; and the Jewish race received "the seal of humiliation and terror which it was to bear, as a token of infamy, throughout the Middle Ages." ⁸⁶

Imperial legislation had a threefold aim—to prevent Christians from becoming Jews, to promote the conversion of Jews to Christianity, to protect the Jews from outbreaks of mob-violence. Constantine enacted several anti-Jewish laws, prohibiting conversion from Christianity to Judaism, forbidding the circumcision of Christian slaves, and imposing civil burdens upon Jewish subjects. Julian the Apostate restored the Jews to good standing and attempted the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem; and his immediate successors, excepting Jovian, were favorable to the Jews.

Social legislation varied. In Carthage a decree protected Jewish converts to Christianity from attack by Jews. In Antioch Chrysostom preached "against the Jews" and warned Christians to avoid the temptation of the synagogue. Spain, on the whole, was anti-Semitic; and the Council of Elvira forbade Christians to eat with Jews.

⁸⁶ Theodore Reinach, "Diaspora," *Jewish Encyc.* IV, 559-74.

4. MISSIONS

The legal recognition of the Church gave a powerful impetus to missionary work; and the faith spread rapidly, both within the imperial boundaries and beyond. On the other hand, opposition to Christianity made itself felt, sometimes by revivals of paganism, sometimes by nationalistic movements—in Persia, always antagonistic to the Roman Empire, in Armenia, where the native rulers resented the influence of Greek Christians, and in Africa, where anti-Latins promoted the Donatist Schism.

Of special significance was the conversion of the Goths, to whom the Christian faith had been communicated early—perhaps by refugees and prisoners of war. The Gothic bishop, Theophilus, attended the Council of Nicaea; and Ulfilas of Capadocia converted the Goths of Dacia. The fact that most of the Gothic converts embraced Arianism played an important part in Christian history.

The progress of Christianity at this period can be readily traced in the four regions corresponding to the prefectures of Diocletian:

1. In the Prefecture of the East (Oriens) Christianity triumphed in Asia Minor and Syria, which contained only a small minority of pagans at the close of the century. The Church was well organized in Egypt and pagans were found there as a rule, only in the rural sections.³⁷ In Ethiopia where a missionary campaign was begun by two young Tyrian slaves, Frumentius and Edesius, the king was baptized in 328 and most of his people followed him; churches were built, monastic communities were founded, and a native (Ethiopic) liturgy developed. In Arabia, in Armenia, in Persia, the faith advanced more slowly.³⁸

³⁷ In Alexandria, the headquarters of Christianity both for the Greek and the older non-Greek inhabitants, riots took place between Christians and the dwindling pagan minority in the last years of the fourth century. In one of these riots the great temple of Serapis was destroyed; and on its site a Christian church was erected later.

³⁸ With the encouragement of Constantius, an Arian bishop made many converts in Arabia, especially in the southwest; but the nomadic habits of the people and Jewish opposition hindered the progress of Christianity.

In Armenia, where St. Gregory the Illuminator became metropolitan (archbishop) in 302, a dozen episcopal sees were established, an Armenian liturgy was composed, and in 365 a synod attempted to establish religious uniformity. Later, however, an anti-Christian nationalistic movement was organized by the nobility, who resented the

2. In the Prefecture of Illyricum, Christianity was dominant. To be sure, the pagan schools of Athens carried on for a time, the pagan sacrifices continued in certain places, and some Christians were perverted; but by the middle of the century this region was organized ecclesiastically, and churches had replaced temples almost everywhere.

3. In the Prefecture of Italy, Christianity triumphed almost completely, although paganism still survived among the aristocracy and in some remote rural districts.³⁹ In North Africa (where the Donatist bishops numbered nearly three hundred in the year 330) lack of unity checked the progress of the faith; most of the civil officials were pagan until the last decade of the century; and not until 391 was the great temple of Caelestis closed and converted into a Christian church. In Numidia both the Latins and the native Berbers were for the most part Christians and many of the bishops came from native stock.

4. In the Prefecture of the Gauls, where progress was especially rapid, many of the bishops were Gallo-Romans, for example, St. Martin of Tours and St. Paulinus of Nola.⁴⁰ The Synod of Arles in 314 was attended by sixteen Gallic bishops and by three from Britain—the bishops of London, York and Lincoln. The influence of the Arians was felt in Trier where, after Bishop Maximinus had sheltered St. Athanasius, the next bishop, Pauli-

spread of Greek influence and in particular the activities of St. Basil of Caesarea. After Armenia fell under the control of Persia in 387, paganism became strong again.

The Gospel encountered great opposition in Persia—where multitudes of Christians had taken refuge during the era of Roman persecution. After the cessation of the persecutions, the Persians regarded the Christians as loyal Romans and therefore as potential foes. The Persian rulers caused the death of thousands; and towards the end of the century they tried to impose the religion of Zoroaster on all their subjects.

³⁹ The majority of the Roman senators were pagans until the close of the fourth century, but in many cases their families were Christians. Typical of this old guard was Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, Prefect of Rome, who tried to induce the young Valentinian II to endorse paganism as the official cult of the Empire. The protest of St. Ambrose blocked the plan.

Among the peasants of north Italy, pagan worship persisted in the neighborhood of Ravenna, Turin, Verona, and the mountains north of Genoa; and it survived also in the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. Missionaries were murdered in the Trentino in 397. In Dalmatia the episcopal succession was firmly established. Sirmium, a battleground of Arians and Semi-Arians, was the meeting place of an important council in 351.

⁴⁰ Bishops of three important sees, Autun, Cologne, and Arles, were ordered by Constantine to assist Pope Miltiades at the trial of the Donatists.

nus, was banished to Phrygia by the Arians. In Spain conditions were less satisfactory and a considerable number of converts reverted to paganism. •

Closely associated with Gaul was the Church organized among the Celts in the British Isles,⁴¹ which was represented at the Council of Arles in 314 and at several other councils in the fourth century. The first definite name connected with the Celtic Church is that of St. Ninian, British by birth, educated in Rome and inspired by St. Martin of Tours, who returned as a bishop to his own country and preached the faith among the Britons and the northern Picts. The monastery which he built at Whithorn (Wigtownshire) in Galloway, was dedicated to St. Martin about the year of that Saint's death (397), and became an important monastic center under the name of *Candida Casa*.⁴²

SUMMARY

This is the century in which the world empire, which had been pagan, became Christian. The outlines of a stirring era are re-

⁴¹ The word "Celt" (in use as early as the middle of the fifth century B.C.) was applied by the ancients to a whole family of tribes on the continent of Europe and sometimes to a particular tribe in Gaul. In modern use the name "Celt" quite commonly designates a descendant of persons whose native tongue was any Celtic language—Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Breton, Cornish, Gaulish.

In the fourth or fifth century B.C. the western isles were twice invaded by Celtic tribes. In the first invasion Gaelic Celts occupied Ireland, west Britain, and the Highlands of Scotland. In the second invasion British Celts took possession of the land now called England. The Gaelic invaders were called Irish or Scoti; and the two territories they occupied were known as Scotia Major (later Ireland) and Scotia Minor (later Scotland). The name Scotus, or Scot, was the equivalent of Irish.

The region beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde, occupied by the little known Picts, was called Caledonia by the Romans. Modern Scotland received its name in the eleventh century when the Scoti, or Irish, of the western Highlands acquired general control and established the independent Kingdom of Scotland.

⁴² The following testimony comes from an Anglican source: "It would be difficult to-day to discover any recognized authority on Celtic antiquity who would maintain, either that the Celtic Churches were not in communion with the See of Rome, or that they differed from the rest of the West in their attitude towards that See, and in their conception of the position occupied by the Successors of St. Peter and of the authority claimed and exercised by them. Yet, whether from ignorance or otherwise, the delusion is still sedulously fostered, especially in Anglican circles, that these Churches, even if they did not form (as one writer has asserted) 'a Celtic confederation of Churches in opposition to the claims of Rome,' were at any rate non-Roman in their innocence of Papal authority and in their subsequent rejection of it." Silas M. Harris, *What do the Celtic Churches Say?* (Oxford Movement Centenary Tractates No. 1), Introd. Note, p. 2.

called by the names of Constantine, first Christian emperor; Arius, heresiarch; Athanasius, personification of orthodoxy; Pope Liberius, perhaps unfaithful, perhaps misunderstood; three theologians from Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregorys; Damasus and Jerome, who gave us *The Vulgate*; Ambrose, spiritual father of St. Augustine; Julian, whose tragic history is summarized in his title, "Apostate"; Emperor Gratian, whose unwillingness to function as Pontifex Maximus announced the passing of paganism.

By the year 400, Christianity, no longer "disloyal and subversive," was lending its support to the badly shaken Empire. Despite the emperor's withdrawal from the West and the "demotion" of Rome, the old idea of a universal Roman *imperium* still persisted from Syria to Spain, from Britain to Africa; and co-extensive with that imperial jurisdiction ran the authority of the Christian Church.



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ST. MARTIN'S, CANTERBURY

Dating in part from the Roman period

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 303 Diocletian's persecution | 306 Constantine, Caesar of West |
| | 308 Constantine, co-emperor of West |
| 311 Edict of Toleration | |
| 313 <i>St. Miltiades</i> convokes bishops of Gaul and Italy | 313 Constantine, emperor of West |
| Edict of Milan | Licinius, emperor of East |
| 314 Council of Arles | |
| 323 Basilica of St. Peter | |
| | 324 Licinius crushed at Adrianople |
| | Constantine sole emperor |
| 325 First Ecumenical Council (Nicaea I) vs. Arians | |
| | 337 Constantine d. |
| 341 Ulfilas consecrated bishop by Eusebius | |
| Synod of Antioch | |
| 342 Persecution in Persia | |
| 343 Council of Sardica, East vs. West | |
| | 351 Constantius (Arian), sole ruler |
| 355-58 Felix II, antipope | |
| 355 <i>St. Liberius</i> exiled | |
| 356 St. Anthony d. | 361 Constantius d. |
| 361 Arianism declines in East | 362 Julian tries to rebuild Jerusalem |
| | |
| 363 St. Ephraem in Edessa | 364 Valentinian divides the Empire |
| | 365 Valens inaugurates persecution |
| | |
| 368 St. Hilary of Poitiers d. | |
| 374 <i>St. Damasus</i> lists books of New Testament | |
| | 376 Invading Goths |
| 379 St. Basil of Caesarea d. | 378 Battle of Adrianople |
| 380 Priscillianism condemned at Saragossa | 379 Theodosius the Great |
| 381 Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople I) | |
| 382 St. Jerome begins <i>The Vulgate</i> | 382 Gratian disestablishes paganism |
| 386 St. John Chrysostom ordained | |
| St. Gregory of Nyssa d. | |
| c. 389 St. Gregory of Nazianzus d. | 390 Theodosius does penance |
| 390 Donatist bishops number 400 | 392 Theodosius prohibits pagan rites |
| 392 Theodore of Mopsuestia | 395 Empire divided between Arcadius and Honorius |
| | |
| 396 St. Augustine, Bp. of Hippo | |
| 397 St. Ambrose d. | |
| St. Martin of Tours d. | |
| Council of Carthage | |

CHAPTER V

(The Four Hundreds)

Despots and Barbarians

PREVIEW

THE zeal of clergy and laity, reinforced by social and political pressure, had brought about a quasi-identification of the Church and the Empire, so that, by the beginning of the fifth century, the Christian faith was the generally recognized bond of Roman unity. "Everywhere," wrote Orosius, "I find my country, my law, and my religion . . . a Roman among Romans, a Christian among Christians."

In the East, where theologians were engaged in bitter disputes over the relationship between the two natures in Christ, the emperors intervened to save political unity by the suppression of theological heresy. Practically speaking, they made the Church one department of a highly organized bureaucracy—thus establishing a usage which occasioned many evils.

Alaric the Goth sacked Rome in 410; wave after wave of invaders rolled over the West; the Eastern emperor lost control. Antiquity and the Middle Ages met in Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who established a strong government at Ravenna and maintained the Latin tradition in his dominions with a success that marked him as an able statesman. Elsewhere, the old civilization had difficulty in keeping itself alive.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The confusion of the preceding era increased. Many of the emperors were incompetent men; and, despite temporary mili-

tary success, the Western Empire gradually disintegrated, while the East was shaken by the terrific attacks of the Persians and other enemies. The compilation of imperial decrees made by Theodosius II in 438, and published as the "Theodosian Code," became the supreme law of the whole empire and exercised a formative influence on subsequent legislation, both civil and ecclesiastical.

The attitude of the state towards the Church was far from satisfactory. For political reasons, the emperors persistently attempted to impose their own theological views upon the faithful. Thus, in the first half of the century, Theodosius II supported the Eutychians; and, in the latter half, Basiliscus and Zeno tried to make the Church accept formulas irreconcilable with the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon.

Latin culture spread up the Rhone and down the Rhine; and southern Gaul, a highly prosperous region, became the most promising home of Latin civilization. Had the barbarian invasion been postponed for another century, Arles or Lyons might well have developed into the Latin capital of Western Europe. But the invasion was not postponed; and the history of the fifth century in the West is the story of a losing fight with Germanic tribes.

The imperial government still functioned at Rome when Innocent I became pope in 402; two years later it was moved to Ravenna for greater safety. Before Innocent's death in 417, the barbarians had swept over Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Hippo fell into the hands of the Vandals in 430, the year of St. Augustine's death. The Visigoths left Italy in 412; and for forty years the peninsula remained comparatively peaceful, although Gaul and Africa were cut off from Rome, and Spain was entirely lost.

The next chapter of Western history introduces us to Theodoric the Ostrogoth (493-526) and Chlodevech, or Clovis, the Frank (481-511). The kingdom founded in Italy by the cultured Arian, Theodoric, had but a short life; yet it did serve to carry over the old tradition to subsequent generations, so that Italy never ceased to be Roman. In Gaul destiny was embodied in Clovis. Crude and blood-thirsty barbarian though he was, his conversion to the Catholic faith won for him a welcome into the

political family of Christendom, the right to wear the consular purple, and the support of the Roman element against rival Goths and Burgundians; and he alone of the German chieftains founded an enduring kingdom. He was recognized as the official defender of Christianity in the West; and every inhabitant of his immense empire had to be a Catholic and a Frank.

THE EAST

Arcadius (395-408) was on the throne of the Eastern Empire as the century opened; and his wife Eudoxia, a bitter enemy of St. John Chrysostom, finally secured the Saint's exile, despite the protests of Pope Innocent I.

Theodosius II (408-450), whose sister Pulcheria ruled as regent during his minority, married Eudocia, daughter of Leontius, a pagan teacher of Athens. In 449 Theodosius convoked the Robber Council of Ephesus which reinstated Eutyches and deposed St. Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople. Theodosius organized a school of higher learning in Constantinople; and in 438 he published the famous Theodosian Code. Eudocia, after her banishment in 441 on an unjust suspicion of infidelity, supported the Monophysites for a while; but eventually Pope St. Leo I persuaded her to accept the teaching of Chalcedon.

Marcian (450-457), who married Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II, helped the cause of orthodoxy by supporting Pope St. Leo, opposing the Monophysites and convoking the Council of Chalcedon. He is regarded as a saint in the Greek Church.

Leo I, the Great (457-474), like his two predecessors, successfully resisted his eastern enemies, the Persians and the Arabs; but meanwhile the Vandals, Visigoths, Huns and Burgundians overran the West. Leo introduced into the army a large number of recruits from Isauria, a region in Asia Minor to the north of Mt. Taurus; and Isaurian influence was strong in the government during the remainder of the century. Leo, although he owed his coronation to Aspar, the Arian commander of the guards, supported the Catholic faith and suppressed the Eutychians in Egypt.

Zeno (474-491) encouraged the Ostrogoth, Theodoric, to keep away from Constantinople and to set up a new kingdom in Italy. Zeno was compelled to take refuge in Isauria by the usurper, Basiliscus; but Basiliscus was forced out again in 477.

Anastasius (491-518), who married the widow of Zeno, instituted financial reforms, suppressed the rebellion of the Isaurians, and built a wall for the protection of Constantinople against hostile raids. He favored the Monophysites who then dominated Egypt, Syria and Armenia—probably with a view to making them a bulwark against the Persians.

THE WEST

Honorius (395-423) was eleven years old when he inherited from his father, Theodosius, the Western Empire, including the provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Noricum. He was rescued by his able general, the Vandal Stilicho, during a revolt of the Arian Visigoths led by their king, Alaric; but the hostility of the Eastern emperor weakened the Roman resistance and the barbarian tribes, almost unopposed, crowded into Gaul and settled there. Having executed Stilicho, his best soldier, Honorius took refuge in Ravenna and made it his capital. Meanwhile Alaric sacked Rome in 410.

There is little else to be noted in the story of the Western rulers. **Valentinian III** (423-455) was made emperor at the age of six by his cousin, Theodosius II, and during his minority Galla Placidia, his mother, acted as regent.¹

With the invasion of Gaiseric in 455 Europe entered into a new phase. The half-Visigoth **Ricimir**, an Arian, held back the invaders for a while, setting up imperial figure-heads and contenting himself with the title of "Patrician." His death was the signal for general anarchy; and in the year 476 Odoacer, from the Danube, slew the reigning patrician, Orestes, and exiled the (last) nominal emperor, young **Romulus Augustulus**.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

At the beginning of the century it seemed to many that the interwoven Church and Empire would last forever; yet, before its end, the imperial structure had broken down and the popes were called upon to find an answer to the problems confronting Western civilization. Measuring up to the responsibility thus thrust upon them, they undertook the protection of the people; they dominated the barbarians; they called upon the Germanic kings for aid; and they saved the ancient tradition. Among notable pontiffs, Leo and Gelasius remain outstanding figures—the first because of his *Tome* on the Incarnation, and the second by reason of his letter to the Emperor Anastasius which formulated a definite claim to papal power.

¹ She had been carried off from Rome by Alaric in 410; and married his successor, Ataulf, in 441. After the latter's death she married Constantine III, co-ruler with Honorius, her step-brother.

Another significant item in the story of the papacy was the increase of prestige which accrued to the popes by reason of the decisive part they played in the theological controversies that were rending the Eastern church.² But the triumph of orthodoxy, so obviously due to papal intervention, had an unhappy sequel; for the decision of Chalcedon which brought about the separation of the Monophysites from the Catholic Church also profoundly affected the attitude of the Byzantine court towards the see of Rome. To the Eastern emperor it became increasingly clear that the papacy formed an impassable obstacle to state control of religion. The fifth century, therefore, witnessed the earlier stages of that rupture of interests between Byzantium and Rome which was to receive official recognition in permanent schism six centuries later.

St. Innocent I (402-417) exercised his authority in both East and West—in Illyria, in France, and in Spain. Appeals came to him, sometimes for protection, sometimes for a decision in matters of discipline, sometimes for a definition of Catholic doctrine. He made his influence felt in behalf of St. John Chrysostom, persecuted by the Empress Eudoxia; he reproached the bishop of Jerusalem for his failure to protect St. Jerome; he persuaded the Emperor Honorius to take action against the Montanists; and he supported the African bishops in their condemnation of Pelagianism.

St. Zosimus (417-418), a Greek by birth, succeeded Innocent in 417. His appointment of Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, as papal vicar over Vienne, Narbonne, and Marseilles, occasioned a dispute with the bishops of those sees—a quarrel not settled for many years. When Celestius and Pelagius were condemned at Carthage in 411, they misrepresented things to the pope so skillfully that he wrote in their behalf to the African bishops; but later he condemned Pelagianism in his *Epistola Tractatoria*, which was accepted by nearly all the bishops of the world, except a few in Italy who supported the heretics until their final condemnation at the General Council of Ephesus (431).

St. Boniface I (418-422), candidate of the higher clergy, was opposed by Eulalius, candidate of the lower clergy; and both were consecrated on the same day. A synod at Ravenna, convoked by the Emperor Honorius decreed that both claimants should leave Rome; and the bishop of Spoleto was appointed to substitute until the dispute should be settled. Eulalius,

² As Msgr. Batiffol says (*Le Siège Apostolique*, p. 393), "It was the Roman see and it alone which came through the violent and confused crisis that we call the Council of Ephesus with its prestige undiminished, nay even greater than before."

however, marched into Rome and took possession of the Lateran Basilica, thereby giving such offense that the emperor declared Boniface to be the legitimate pope; and Eulalius was transferred to another see. To prevent the recurrence of a similar scandal, the emperor, at the request of Pope Boniface, decreed that in subsequent doubtful elections a second election should be held.

Boniface withdrew extensive privileges given to the bishop of Arles by Pope Zosimus and restored the ancient rights of the other Gallic bishops. From the bishops of Africa Boniface received a curt letter which, while recognizing his authority, protested against the apparent dishonesty of his legates.³ With the aid of the Western emperor, Honorius, Pope Boniface succeeded in persuading Theodosius II to leave Illyricum under the jurisdiction of Rome instead of transferring it to Constantinople.⁴

Eulalius (418-419)—antipope.

St. Celestine I (422-432) witnessed the beginning of Nestorianism. On the strength of St. Cyril's report, he ordered Nestorius to recant; but he then agreed to postpone the matter until the meeting of the Council of Ephesus in the following year and sent three legates to the council. Celestine had trouble with Manichaeans, Donatists, Novatians, and Pelagians; but his position was greatly strengthened by the loyal support of Galla Placidia, mother of Valentinian III. A devoted friend of St. Augustine, he prohibited the Semi-Pelagians from attacking the teaching of that saint; to Ireland he sent St. Palladius and to Britain St. Germanus who, as papal delegate, made St. Patrick bishop of the Irish.

St. Sixtus III (432-440), because of his kindly policy, was falsely accused of being tainted with Nestorianism and Pelagianism. He approved the acts of the Council of Ephesus; he attempted to act as peacemaker between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch; and he asserted papal supremacy against the bishops of Illyricum.

St. Leo I (440-461) is one of the two popes known by common agreement as "the Great."⁵ In the middle of the century, when the Monophysites had gained such favor that the emperor convoked a council at their request, Leo routed them by sending to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, the dogmatic letter known as the *Tome*. Well trained in theology, a typical Roman, expressing himself clearly and forcibly, he summed up Catholic belief in the statement, "The One Person of Our Lord possesses two Natures, the Divine and the Human, neither confused nor mixed." The *Latrocinium* (Robber Synod), presided over by the heretical Dioscurus,

³ In support of the right of appeal to Rome, the legates had quoted canons alleged to be decrees of Nicæa, which were later discovered to be decrees of Sardica.

⁴ Nevertheless the decree transferring jurisdiction was inserted in the Theodosian Code in 439. Copied into the Justinian Code in 529, it occasioned considerable trouble in later centuries.

⁵ The other is Gregory the Great (590-604).

ignored the pope; but the six hundred bishops at Chalcedon accepted his *Tome* as an adequate summary of the Catholic faith—"Peter has spoken through Leo."

Leo vigorously maintained papal rights. When writing, at the request of the emperor, to confirm the doctrinal definition of Chalcedon (so that there might be no doubt anywhere in the world of papal approval) he insisted that the decrees of Nicaea must not be changed—thus rejecting the 28th canon of Chalcedon which claimed new privileges for Constantinople on the ground that the basis of Rome's supremacy was political.

It was Leo who persuaded Attila the Hun to spare Rome, who protected the Romans against Gaiseric the Vandal, who denied the claim of St. Hilary, the powerful bishop of Arles, to consecrate the bishops of Vienne,⁶ and who dealt firmly with widely scattered heretical movements, checking not only the Monophysites of the East but the Pelagians and Manichaeans of Italy and the Priscillianists of Spain.

St. Hilary or Hilarus (461-468), a native of Sardinia, as legate of Leo I, had maintained the rights of the pope at the Robber Synod of Ephesus in 449; and he had barely escaped punishment at the hands of Dioscurus of Alexandria. He followed the policies of Leo. At the Roman synods of 462, 464, and 468, he upheld the papal jurisdiction over the bishops of Gaul and Spain; in 467 he rebuked the Emperor Anthemius for allowing one of his followers to promote the Macedonian heresy in Rome; and he sent an encyclical to the bishops of the Eastern Church confirming the teachings of the Councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

St. Simplicius (468-483) endorsed the opposition of Leo I to the twenty-eighth Article of the Council of Chalcedon; and opposed the emperor's plan to make the Monophysite, Peter Mongos, Bishop of Alexandria. He also confirmed the condemnation of the Monophysites and rejected the *Henoticon*.

St. Felix II (III)⁷ (483-492) came to the throne during the confusion occasioned by Zeno's *Henoticon*—that compromise which was really a surrender to the Monophysites. The papal legates in Constantinople, after having been imprisoned, agreed to sign the *Henoticon*; but, on their return to Rome, the pope deposed them and excommunicated Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

St. Gelasius I (492-496) is known to history as the man whose conception of authority dominated Christendom through the whole medieval period; and the early ages show no better evidence of the recognition of papal supremacy than this pope's deeds and writings. Particular significance at-

⁶ He obtained from Valentinian III an edict endorsing this decision.

⁷ Felix is sometimes numbered III because another Felix, an antipope, had occupied the papal throne during the exile of Liberius, 355-358.

taches to the so-called "*Duo sunt*," a passage in his letter to the Emperor Anastasius, written in the year 494.⁸ In this passage Gelasius affirms that Anastasius, as emperor, has the obligation of safeguarding the faith, and that, in the discharge of this duty he must follow the judgment of the Holy See—for, although the emperor is the secular ruler of the world, yet in spiritual matters he must obey the pope. It is hardly too much to say that for more than six hundred years the *Duo sunt* regulated the relationship between Church and State.⁹

Gelasius made his authority felt in other ways, too.¹⁰ Despite powerful opposition, he put an end to the old licentious pagan festival of *Lupercalia*; and he contributed greatly to the development of canon law and ecclesiastical discipline. He also composed many liturgical hymns and a Missal.¹¹

St. Anastasius II (496–498) continued the policy of Gelasius and removed the name of the Patriarch Acacius from the Diptychs of the Church. In spite of protests, he ruled that the sacramental acts of schismatics are valid. Anastasius condemned Traducianism—the error which holds that the soul of the offspring originates by transmission from the parent.¹²

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: Our chief sources of theological teaching in this century are the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. We have also the canons of local councils and several papal letters, including the famous *Tome* of Leo. In addition to defining the faith of the Church in the Divinity of our Lord, the documents clarify the Catholic doctrine of grace and the prerogatives of the Roman pontiff.

⁸ "There are two powers by which chiefly this world is ruled, the sacred authority of bishops and the power of kings. Of these the authority of priests is so much the more weighty as they must render an account before God even for the kings of men."

⁹ The pope's words to Anastasius had a particular significance; for the emperor had done nothing to end the Acacian schism begun during the preceding pontificate of Felix. All in all the *Duo sunt* "is a great text; and if it did not help to put the finishing touches to the imposing edifice of papal theocracy, it was invaluable in the work of clearing the ground and laying the foundations in the preceding centuries." Hull, *Medieval Theories* . . . p. 13. See Zeigler, "Pope Gelasius . . ." *Cath. Hist. Rev.* XXVI (Jan. 1942) 412 ff.

¹⁰ An interesting decree of Gelasius prescribed the reception of Communion under both forms (Bread and Wine) in order that secret Manichaeans might be detected through their refusal even to touch the consecrated Wine.

¹¹ This was not the Missal known as the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* which was compiled in the following century.

¹² The letter in which Pope Anastasius congratulates Clovis on the conversion of the Franks to Christianity is a forgery.

THE FOUR HUNDREDS

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>St. Innocent I</i> (402-417)		
404	Letter	On baptism of heretics.
405	Letter	On reconciliation at the hour of death; ¹³ on the canon of Sacred Scripture.
414	Letter	On the form of baptism.
416	Letter	On confirmation and extreme unction.
417	Letter	On the Roman primacy.
<i>St. Zosimus</i> (417-418)		
418	Sixteenth Council of Carthage	Against Pelagianism; on original sin and grace.
418	Letter	On the primacy and infallibility of the Roman pontiff.
418	Letter to the Oriental churches	On original sin.
<i>St. Boniface I</i> (418-422)		
422	Letter	On the primacy and infallibility of the Roman pontiff.
<i>St. Celestine I</i> (422-432)		
428	Letter	On reconciliation at the hour of death.
431	Council of Ephesus (Ecum. III)	On the Roman primacy; anathematisms of Cyril against Nestorius; on the Nicene Creed and Catholic tradition; on condemnation of the Pelagians; on the authority of St. Augustine; on grace.
<i>St. Leo I</i> (440-461)		
449	Letter (Tome) to Flavian of Constantinople	On the Incarnation; against Eutyches.
451	Council of Chalcedon (Ecum. IV)	On the two natures of Christ, against the Monophysites; on the Roman pri- macy; on holy orders.
452	Letter	On the sacrament of penance.
459	Letter	On secrecy of confession.
<i>St. Simplicius</i> (468-483)		
475	Council of Arles	On grace and predestination.
476	Letter to Acacius of Constanti- nople	On tradition.
476	Letter to Basiliscus	On immutability of Christian doctrine.

¹³ In early times incontinent sinners who deferred reconciliation to the hour of death were absolved but not admitted to Communion. Later custom admitted them to the Viaticum, and the Holy See ratified this more merciful discipline.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>St. Gelasius I</i> (492-496)		
c. 493	Letter	On finality of dogmatic teaching.
494	Letter to Anastasius	On Church and State.
495	Letter	On the canon of Sacred Scripture; ¹⁴ on the Roman primacy; on the relative rank of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; on the authority of the Councils and Fathers; on the apocryphal books.
c. 495	Tome	On remission of sins.
496	Tome	On the two natures of Christ.
<i>St. Anastasius II</i> (496-498)		
496	Letter	On ordination of schismatics.
498	Letter to the bps. of Gaul	On the origin of souls; on original sin.

Councils: Two ecumenical councils were held, one at Ephesus in 431, and the other at Chalcedon in 451.

The Council of Ephesus, summoned by Theodosius II to settle the dispute over the orthodoxy of Nestorius, was attended by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, with fifty of his suffragan bishops; by the bishop of Ephesus, with forty suffragans; and by bishops from Pamphylia, Macedonia, Jerusalem and elsewhere, making a total of nearly two hundred. The council met in the Cathedral of the Theotokos (Mother of God) and Cyril presided. Nestorius, although present in Ephesus, refused to attend the council; and the Fathers, after having cited passages to prove that the Catholic tradition consistently applied the term "Theotokos" to the Blessed Virgin, proceeded to confirm the previous excommunication of Nestorius and to depose him from the episcopal dignity. A few days later, John, Patriarch of Antioch, a friend of Nestorius, arrived in Ephesus with sixteen suffragan bishops, held an independent synod (*conciliabulum*) of forty-three bishops, and excommunicated Cyril. Shortly afterwards three papal legates arrived from Rome and confirmed the excommunication of Nestorius; and the council excommunicated John of Antioch and thirty-four bishops of his party. At this juncture the emperor or-

¹⁴ The canon of Scripture attributed to Gelasius is held by some to be the work of Pope Damasus (366-384).

dered that both Cyril and Nestorius should be deposed; a little later he restored Cyril to his see, confirmed the deposition of Nestorius and selected a new patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁵ The council then adjourned, after having informed Pope Celestine that it endorsed his condemnation of Pelagianism.

The Council of Chalcedon was convoked by the Emperor Marcian to settle the question raised by the Monophysites concerning the two natures in Christ. It was the largest council that had ever assembled, being attended by about six hundred bishops—all of them from the East (except two African bishops and five papal legates), as the barbarian invasions kept Western bishops away. It was presided over by a papal legate, the Sicilian bishop, Paschasinus. Having endorsed the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, the Decrees of Ephesus and the *Tome* of Pope Leo, the council formulated a new explicit statement of Catholic belief as to the two natures of Jesus Christ—united in One Person without confusion, change, division, separation or suppression. This definition remained a burning issue during the rest of the century; and Christendom was distracted by constant disputes between the pro-Chalcedon and the anti-Chalcedon parties.

The Council of Chalcedon occasioned trouble in another field by its enactment of twenty-eight canons on Church discipline, the last of which attempted to extend unduly the rights of the patriarchate of Constantinople. This canon—the amplification of an earlier canon promulgated at Constantinople in 381—claimed for "New Rome," patriarchal jurisdiction over an immense territory. More significant still, it affirmed that the supremacy of Old Rome had been based on political position, and that the new capital was entitled to equal privileges—a repudiation of the ancient tradition which recognized the supremacy of Rome as of divine origin. The pope refused to endorse Canon 28, pointing out that Constantinople was not an apostolic see and that it must

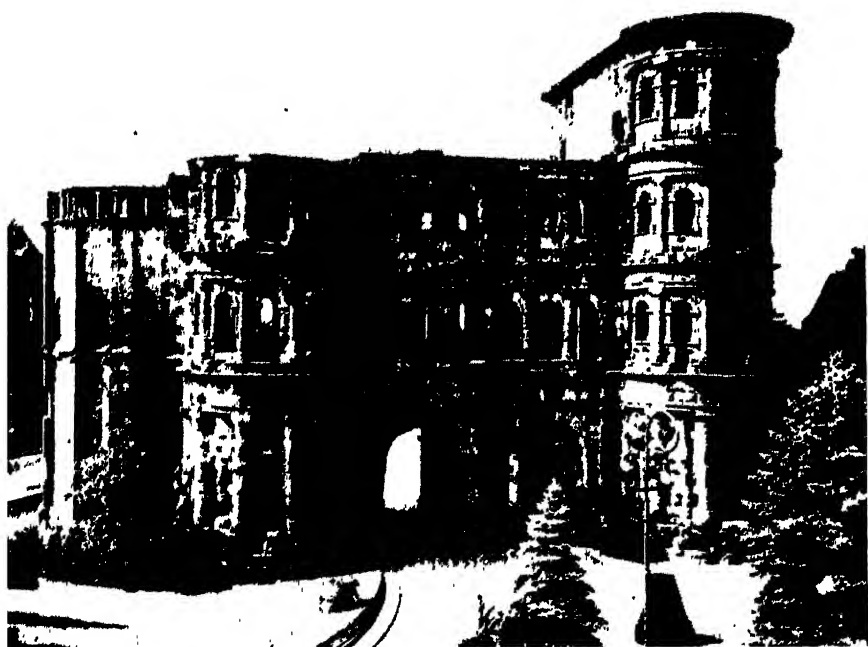
¹⁵ "The history now becomes a confusion of protestations and counter protestations, of intrigues at the court, of backstairs influence and bribes to officials. St. Cyril knew the court, knew the only means which at times influenced those whose influence in such places was paramount. He had the means to influence the influential: he made lavish use of them. The Emperor slowly gave way." Hughes, *op. cit.*, I, 303.



University Prints

CHURCH OF KAL'AT SIM'AN, SYRIA (5th century)

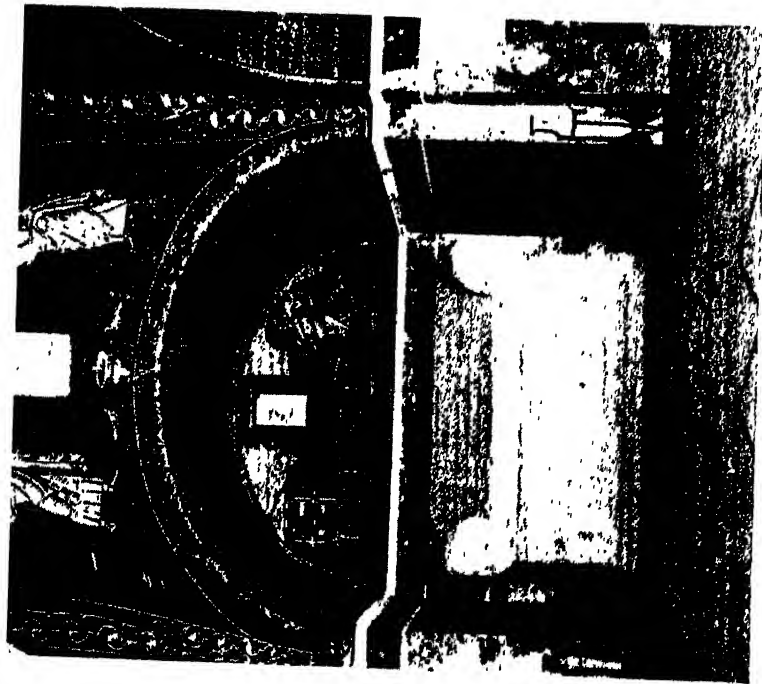
Near the site of Simeon Stylites' column



Ewing Galloway

PORTA NIGRA, TRIER (3rd century)

Used as a church in the 11th century



MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA
(5th century)

Later the church of Ss. Nazarius and Celsus



Ewing Gallows

MEDIEVAL CLOISTERS

In Arles, site of 18 Councils (314-1275)

not encroach upon the rights of Alexandria or of Antioch. Nevertheless, Constantinople continued to claim superiority; and the sentiment of Canon 28 expressed itself in recurrent breaks with Rome and finally in the permanent division of 1054.

A council of Italian bishops met at **Ravenna** in 419 to provide for the anomalous condition occasioned by the double election of Boniface and Eulalius to the papacy.

An important council held in 441 at **Orange** (Arausio) in southern France under the presidency of St. Hilary of Arles was attended by sixteen other bishops, including St. Eucherius, Metropolitan of Lyons. This council published thirty canons dealing with the administration of the sacraments, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the instruction of converts.

Other important councils were held at **Arles**, which became an archbishopric at the beginning of the century. One of these, about the year 443, enacted decrees dealing with clerical continence and other disciplinary matters; another in 451 endorsed the Council of Chalcedon; and in another about the year 475, thirty bishops condemned the priest Lucidus for teaching predestination.

Councils in the Province of Tours published a number of canons which have been preserved in a Compendium written by Bishop Thalassius of Angers about the middle of the century.

A synod of **Alexandria** in 430, reminding Nestorius that Pope Celestine I had admonished him, threatened him with deposition unless he retracted his erroneous teaching. A number of synods held in **Antioch** at this time dealt with the theological controversies of the day; and the council of 424 banished Pelagius. The synods held at **Carthage** by the bishops of Africa were discontinued after the coming of the Vandals in 429.

Organization: The administrative system of the Church in the East was notably altered. In deference to the imperial wish, the Council of Ephesus (431) detached Cyprus from the jurisdiction of Antioch, making it independent. A little later the Council of Chalcedon (451) detached Palestine from the jurisdiction of Antioch and placed it under Jerusalem, converting the last named see into a patriarchate. These changes restricted the jurisdiction of Antioch to the northern part of the Orient, together with an area beyond the imperial boundary. The Council of Chalcedon also made Constantinople a patriarchate, with jurisdiction over Asia Minor and Thrace—an innovation accepted by

all the Eastern churches, but not by the pope until the thirteenth century. This left Constantinople supreme in the East and encouraged the claim of equality with Rome. As an indirect effect, the new arrangement created resentments in Egypt and Syria which contributed to the strength of the Monophysite nationalists.

At the close of the fifth century, then, the world Church was divided into four great patriarchates (excluding the unimportant Jerusalem and Cyprus) sharing a common faith, but differing from one another in language, in liturgy, and in discipline. In each of these regions influences already at work indicated the future course of history. Syrian Antioch, ever antagonistic to the Greco-Roman culture, had developed a spirit of dissension which finally led to separation from Catholic unity. Coptic Alexandria, profoundly nationalist, suspicious of Antioch as well as of Constantinople and Rome, was becoming a separatist (Monophysite) stronghold. Greek Constantinople, so favored by the emperor, remained—except for a brief interval—a state church, ruled from the throne. In the Latin West, the immense patriarchate of Rome, practically abandoned by the emperor and left to face the two-fold menace of the Arians and the Germans, was giving evidence of almost incredible vitality.

Several comparatively minor, yet significant, administrative changes took place in the West. When Ravenna became the residence of Honorius in 404, the pope converted it into a metropolitan see at the expense of Milan, hitherto without a rival in northern Italy; Pope Zosimus gave another blow to the prestige of Milan when he made the bishop of Arles vicar apostolic over the churches of Gaul; and Pope Hilary, pursuing a similar policy, cultivated a close relationship with the Gallic bishops. Thereafter it was to Rome, and not to Milan, that the hierarchy of the trans-Alpine provinces looked for aid in time of trouble.

Marriage: The subject of marriage entered into the pronouncements of the Holy See and of several councils of this century—for example, of Popes Innocent I and Leo I, of the Council of Carthage (407), and the Council of Angers (453); and from all of these sources came an emphatic declaration of the same strict

doctrine of indissolubility which had been maintained from the beginning.¹⁶

Worship: In Gaul and Spain there existed two distinct but closely related rites, both of which were altered and modified in many ways by local usages. One theory (now largely discredited) traces the Gallican rite back to the Church of Ephesus, another traces it through Milan to an unidentified Oriental liturgy, and a third describes the Gallican, Ambrosian and Roman rites as so many different phases of the Latin liturgy. All these theories are merely tentative.

Art: By this time there had developed a distinctive style which was employed to illustrate Christian ideas and doctrines in the new churches of the East and of the West. Magnificent mosaics, especially those in Rome and Ravenna, made this a notable period in the history of art.¹⁷ Christian art had broken away from the old habit of caution and secrecy and use was made of the Cross in public worship.¹⁸

Communities: The monks occupied a prominent place in the life of the Church; but many of them gave more scandal than edification. St. Jerome, an enthusiast for the monastic ideal, felt obliged to speak severely of the shortcomings of individuals of fanatical temperament, whose lack of discipline contributed to the disorders of the time.

The Council of Chalcedon (451), at the urging of the emperor, decreed that monks should be subject to the authority of bishops; that they should not interfere in ecclesiastical or secular business; and that the ancient prohibition against the marriage of monks should be strictly observed. But it was not easy to enforce these decrees. A large percentage of the Eastern monks became schismatics and heretics, many of them joining the Monophysites.

¹⁶ Joyce examines and dismisses the contention that in the writings of St. Augustine and in the canons of the Council of Vannes (465) there is evidence of a departure from the traditional doctrine. *Op. cit.*, pp. 315 and 320.

¹⁷ Among the great mosaics are those of St. Mary Major's which represent the patriarchs of the Old Testament, and those in St. Paul's Without-the-Walls and in the Lateran, which represent the triumph of Christ.

¹⁸ In Africa the Cross had been openly used in the preceding century. The oldest extant reference to a carved cross was written some time after the year 362. With the finding of the True Cross by St. Helena, mother of Constantine (326), the custom arose of distributing minute portions of it—and many of these survive to the present day.

The monastic movement flourished in the East under **Sts. Euthymius the Great, Sabas and Nilus**, particularly in Palestine where Euthymius, superior of all the monasteries in his native town of Melitene (near the Euphrates) came to the Laura of Pharan near Jerusalem in 405 and later founded a noted *laura* near Jericho, living there until his death in 473. He won back to the orthodox faith many of the Monophysite monks of Palestine, some of whom, under the leadership of the monk Theodosius, had caused a riot in Jerusalem and driven out the patriarch. Euthymius also converted the Empress Eudocia.

Sabas (439-532), another vigorous defender of orthodoxy in Palestine and a disciple of Euthymius, in the year 483 founded a *laura* close to Jerusalem on the western bank of the Brook Cedron, known as the Great Laura, which still bears his name. A band of monks who deserted Sabas founded a rival institution called the New Laura which became a center of Origenism.

In the early part of the century Nilus and his son lived in the monastery founded on Mt. Sinai. Nilus, who died in his retreat about the year 430, is regarded as one of the most important ascetical writers of the fifth century. In his letters directed to prelates, princes, and the emperor himself, he formulated sound ascetical teaching and attacked heresy, crime, and religious abuses.

Among the outstanding monasteries of the period was the Grotto of the Magi, home of four hundred monks, founded near Bethlehem in 476 by **Theodore**, who had been trained in religious life by the disciples of Euthymius. In southeastern Gaul two noted monasteries were founded—the Abbey of St. Victor of Marseilles, by **John Cassian** about 415; and Lerins, by **St. Honoratus**, Archbishop of Arles, about the same time.

Of monasticism in Britain at this time not much is known. **St. Ninian's Candida Casa** continued to function; and near the end of the century, a monk trained there, **St. Enda** by name, founded a celebrated monastery on the Aran Islands in Galway Bay. **St. Patrick** encouraged the monastic vocation.

At Kildare **St. Brigid (451-525)** founded a monastery for men as well as a monastery for women. She had **St. Conleth** appointed bishop (490); and for centuries Kildare was subject to the double rule of a mother abbess and an abbot bishop. Celebrated for its holiness, Kildare became widely known also for the production of illuminated manuscripts and fine needlework.

Saints: The practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin as greatest of the saints was general in the early Church; and the title of "*Theotokos*" was in use.¹⁹ But only after the Council of Ephe-

¹⁹ For example, the Cathedral of the Theotokos in Ephesus.

sus formulated the Catholic belief, did Mary take her proper place in public worship. This place she has retained throughout the Church both in the East and in the West until the present day.

In addition to the saints described in the text, conspicuous figures in the fifth century were:

St. Honoratus (c. 350-430), born in Gaul of a noble pagan family. As archbishop of Arles, he continued to direct the monastery of Lerins which he had founded on an island of that name.

St. Simeon Stylites (c. 388-459), a Syrian monk of vast influence, lived and taught from a fifty-foot-high platform. Letters of his are extant.

St. Vincent of Lerins (d. c. 455) wrote against St. Augustine in the *Commonitorium*, his one certainly authentic work. Like other Semi-Pelagians, he held, in good faith, opinions later condemned by the Church.

St. Prosper of Aquitaine (d. 463), foe of Semi-Pelagians, got Pope St. Celestine to write to the bishops of Gaul censuring their apathy. His *Sentences* (from Augustine) became canons of the Second Council of Orange.

St. Hilary (c. 401-449), an alumnus of Lerins and archbishop of Arles, was excommunicated by Pope St. Leo I during a quarrel over their respective rights; and the pope had Valentinian III remove Vienna from the jurisdiction of Arles. Hilary defended the anti-Augustinianism of John Cassian. Many writings attributed to him are spurious.

St. Genevieve (422-512), noted for charity and austerity, helped Paris during Attila's approach in 451, and became patron saint of that city.

Education: Like other Roman institutions, the schools were in a state of decline; for the attempted revival begun in the previous century and continued by Honorius and Theodosius did not check the decay. Some writers have attributed the discreditable condition of education to Christian opposition; but there is no proof of this. The Roman schools contained both Christian teachers and Christian pupils.

Monastic teachers gave chiefly doctrinal and spiritual instruction. So too, did those bishops who, like St. Eusebius of Vercelli, in the preceding century, founded quasi-monastic communities of clerics. St. Augustine, before his conversion, organized a lay "academy," part Christian, part pagan, which pursued knowledge informally. We find proof enough of intellectual activity among the

students and teachers of theology; but, outside that field, men showed little interest in education, perhaps because few persons except clerics were in a position to pursue studies.

The theological war between the two schools of Antioch and Alexandria caused a controversy which was carried on without any general agreement as to phraseology, for technical terms had not yet received precise meaning and Orientals with extraordinarily subtle minds were debating very fine points. The disputes brought a clarification of doctrine, but at the cost of bitterness and even violence.

Writers (*In the East*): The earlier part of the fifth century may be looked upon as the climax of that theological Golden Age which began in the Eastern Church during the preceding century. But the theologians of Antioch, at the height of their activity, became almost completely Nestorian; and Greek theology entered into a decline.

St. Cyril of Alexandria (376-444), a nephew of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, became patriarch himself in 412, after a riot between his followers and the party of his rival, Timotheus. Soon after his elevation he closed the churches of the Novatian schismatics and, with the support of the monks, drove the Jews out of Alexandria. His conflict with Orestes, the Prefect of Egypt, caused disturbances in which several persons were killed, including one of the most famous women of antiquity, Hypatia, the Neo-Platonist. Cyril (who had been present with his uncle, Theophilus, at the Council of the Oak which deposed John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 403) refused for years to insert the name of Chrysostom in the Diptychs of the Church.

Cyril was undoubtedly among the greatest theologians of his day, and his writings are a valuable source of patristic doctrine. When explaining the Scriptures, he followed the Alexandrian mystical method of interpretation. As a theologian he sometimes lacked perfect accuracy of expression; and his arguments against Nestorius had to be supplemented by the more exact Pope Leo I.

Rabbulas, Bishop of Edessa (d. c. 435), a supporter of John of Antioch at the Council of Ephesus, later sided with St. Cyril against the Nestorians who were numerous and powerful in his diocese. He translated some of St. Cyril's writings into Syriac; and he is the author of a Syriac version of the New Testament.

Theodoret the Syrian (393-c. 458), at first a monk and later bishop of Cyrus near Aleppo, attained fame as a preacher and theologian. Although

he defended Nestorius against Cyril, yet he did try to persuade Nestorius to accept the expression "*Theotokos*," advocated by Cyril. Many of his writings still survive; and his exegetical works represent the School of Antioch at its best.

Socrates (d. c. 450) wrote a *History of the Church in the East*, from the reign of Constantine to the reign of Theodosius II. Although he was disposed to be overcredulous, his impartial spirit, his industry in consulting official records, and his wide reading, made his book a most valuable historical document.

Sozomen, a native of Palestine (d. c. 450), continued the *History* of Eusebius until the year 425, utilizing the work of Socrates and also making new contributions of great interest and value. He is our principal source of information for the missionary and monastic activity of the period.

Early in the century there appeared in Syria a document known as the *Apostolic Constitutions* (a compilation of Church laws dealing with worship and discipline) which professed to have been sent by Pope St. Clement I to all the bishops and priests of the Church. The first eight books were in reality nothing more than an enlarged edition of the third-century *Didascalia Apostolorum*; but the claim to antiquity was accepted, and for a thousand years it circulated as a genuine work of Pope St. Clement, although actually a Syrian compilation.

Another noted collection of writings (four treatises and ten letters written in the latter half of the fifth century) was for many centuries attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the Athenian convert of St. Paul.²⁰ The author was probably one of those who accepted the compromise incorporated in the *Henoticon* of 452.

(*In the West*): There is a very notable difference in this period between the speculative tone of the Eastern and the practical tone of the Western theologians. The dispute in the West over man's need of divine help to attain heaven, developed the doctrine of grace and emphasized the contrast between the Catholic and the Pelagian theories; other controversies (occasioned by the Novatian and the Donatist schisms) brought out the correct notion of the nature and constitution of the Church. These controversies provided an opportunity for the display of the genius

²⁰ These writings, which form one of the earliest and most important sources of mystical theology, were regarded with extraordinary reverence both in the East and in the West. Many centuries later commentaries on them were still being written by such notable men as Hugh of St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Dionysius the Carthusian. Doubt of their authenticity was first expressed by the humanist, Lawrence Valla, about the middle of the fifteenth century; and scholars are now agreed that they could not have been written by the man whose name they bear.

of St. Augustine, one of the most profound thinkers of all time.

Two popes appear among the Western writers of this century: St. Leo the Great, whose *Tome* was "the Polar Star of the Catholics during the Monophysite controversy," and whose extant works include about one hundred sermons and nearly one hundred fifty letters; and St. Gelasius, author of the celebrated affirmation of papal authority and of numerous letters against Monophysites and Pelagians.

St. Augustine (354-430), son of a pagan father and a Christian mother, St. Monica, was born at Tagaste in Africa and was educated as a Christian. A student at Carthage, he fell into sin and heresy. Having come under the influence of St. Ambrose while teaching rhetoric at Milan, he was baptized in 387. Consecrated bishop of Hippo in 396, he made his episcopal residence a training school of monks and bishops. During thirty-four years he wrote treatises and preached sermons. Among his extant writings which number more than two hundred thirty, the most popular are *The City of God*, a philosophy of history, and *The Confessions*, a spiritual autobiography treasured by saints and sinners of every age and every nation.

Surpassed by no one in the whole history of Christian theology, and sometimes called the "Christian Plato," Augustine adopted and applied to theology whatever truth he discovered in Plato, Cicero, Plotinus and other philosophers. At a critical moment of divided loyalties, when Donatism had split the African hierarchy into two almost equal parts and had infected the bishops of Egypt and Armenia, Augustine presented the Catholic ideal of unity centered in the See of Peter, describing it so compellingly that the Donatist heresy died.²¹ Again, when Pelagius had all but captivated the Christian imagination by picturing man as achieving spiritual greatness through intellectual culture and will-training, Augustine refuted him by elaborating St. Paul's doctrine in masterly fashion—thus identifying his own name forever with the Catholic doctrine of the necessity of grace.

John Cassian (c. 360-435) introduced monasticism into southern Gaul by founding two monasteries at Marseilles, one for men and the other for women, in 415. During a visit to the Solitaries of the Egyptian Desert, he collected material for his famous spiritual books, the *Conferences* and the *Institutes*, which St. Benedict is said to have used when writing his Rule. He was a friend of St. John Chrysostom and in his behalf went to Rome to

²¹ The echo of Augustine's voice fourteen centuries later, falling on the ear of John Henry Newman as he hesitated on the threshold of the Catholic Church, made clear to him the ancient unchangeable rule of faith.

win the interest of Pope Innocent I. While writing against Nestorius, Casian incurred the charge of Semi-Pelagianism by his teaching on free will. He was regarded as a saint by Gregory the Great, and is so listed in the Greek Calendar.

St. Peter Chrysologus (406-450), Bishop of Ravenna, which became a metropolitan see in 433, opposed Eutyches when the latter was trying to secure public support after his condemnation by the Council of Constantinople in 448. He wrote a few doctrinal treatises and many homilies which became popular in the Middle Ages.

Salvian (d. 480), a writer who described contemporary life and also wrote moral discourses, was born probably in Trier and was a priest of the church of Marseilles. After the conversion of his pagan wife, Palladia, husband and wife separated. Later Salvian became a disciple of St. Honoratus at Lerins; his wife and daughter Auspiciola also joined the same ascetical group.

3. OPPOSITION

Persecutions: Early in the century, through the favor of the Persian king, Nisibis became again a Christian center; but about the year 410 Abdas, Bishop of Susa, destroyed one of the Zoroastrian temples, and his refusal to make reparation brought on a persecution which lasted until the middle of the century, cost many lives, and occasioned a war with the Roman Empire very disastrous to the Persians. During the latter part of the century, Nestorianism, proscribed in the Empire, was welcomed in Persia, whereas the Catholics, identified as friends of Constantinople, were harassed in all the area under Persian control.

In Armenia (which the Persians conquered early in the century) heathen priests attempted, with the aid of the Persian rulers, to introduce their religion of fire-worship. The Armenians resisted and suffered intermittent persecution for a number of years.

Heresies: Severe punishments for the crime of heresy were prescribed by the Theodosian Code which became the supreme law for the whole Roman world in 438. Heretics were forbidden to build churches, to hold religious meetings, or to teach their doctrines, even in private. They were disqualified from making wills, inheriting estates, entering into financial contracts; and by way of punishment they were fined, deprived of official positions,

sometimes banished, sometimes scourged, and in certain cases put to death. Heretical books were burned; children of heretics were disinherited unless they renounced the religion of their parents; slaves were encouraged to inform against heretical masters and invited to win freedom by conversion. These drastic edicts were usually incorporated in the legislation of the barbarian kings who settled within the Empire.

Two different groups of doctrinal errors made headway—Anthropological heresies concerning the relation between God and man in each individual soul (Pelagianism and Predestinarianism); and Christological heresies, concerning the relation between God and man in Jesus Christ (Nestorianism and Monophysitism).

Anthropological Heresies: The Church teaches that man needs the grace of God to begin, to continue, and to persevere in the way of salvation, but that man, on his part, must coöperate with grace.²² Salvation, therefore, depends upon both divine grace and human free will; and it is heretical to exaggerate either of these elements so as to exclude the other. At one extreme, Pelagius overemphasized the human will and minimized divine grace; at the other extreme, Predestinarians exaggerated grace and minimized the will.

Pelagianism: The British monk, Pelagius, began to spread his erroneous views in Rome soon after the year 400. Rejecting the doctrine of original sin, he extolled man's natural powers, asserting that it is possible without the help of grace to lead a sinless life and to secure salvation; and although he later modified his teaching so as to admit that grace plays a part in the work of salvation, he still insisted that grace is not strictly necessary, but only helpful. The Pelagians were refuted by St. Augustine and were condemned by several councils, notably at Carthage in 411 and Mileve in 416. The condemnation was confirmed by Pope Innocent I, and a few years later, after some hesitation, by Pope Zosimus also. The heresy died out after its condemnation by the General Council of Ephesus in 431.

Semi-Pelagianism: Influenced by their suspicion that St. Augustine was teaching a theory which excluded human liberty, a group of monks at the

²² According to Catholic teaching, grace is a supernatural gift of God, bestowed upon men for their eternal salvation; and the grace given for the performance of saving acts (actual grace) is necessary, gratuitous, and universal.

Abbey of St. Victor in Marseilles, under John Cassian, affirmed that grace is merited by man and is made efficacious by the human will. This "Semi-Pelagianism"—repudiating Augustine as well as Pelagius—was reported to St. Augustine by St. Prosper of Aquitaine and a layman, Hilary; and Augustine wrote two books against it. It was defended by the able Bishop Faustus of Riez, but assailed in other works, including the anonymous *De vocatione omnium gentium*, highly praised by Pope Gelasius.²³

Predestinarianism:²⁴ This theory holds that souls predestined to heaven are saved by divine grace irrespective of their own efforts, whereas souls predestined to hell are inevitably lost, since Christ did not die for them. It was repudiated by its chief promoter, the priest Lucidus, at the Council of Arles; and it seems to have disappeared soon afterwards.²⁵

b m.p.h.

Christological Heresies: The Church teaches that Christ possesses two natures (divine and human) united in one Person, but not fused nor absorbed; and that in Christ there are two wills (divine and human). The Catholic doctrine is thus midway between heretical extremes: Nestorianism, which exaggerates Christ's humanity, making it an independent person; and Eutychianism, which suppresses Christ's humanity, making it less than a real nature.²⁶

Nestorianism: Nestorius, a priest of Antioch, became patriarch of Constantinople in 428. Showing the influence of his old teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia (whose teaching tended to separate Christ into two persons, one divine, the other human), Nestorius declared that the Blessed Virgin was the mother only of Christ's human nature; and he excommunicated certain monks for using Mary's traditional title, "Mother of God" (*Theotokos*). Cyril of Alexandria came to the defense of the monks and appealed to Pope Celestine I, who commissioned Cyril to investigate and report on Nestorius. Thereupon Nestorius appealed to the Emperor Theodosius II who summoned a council to meet at Ephesus in 431. Meanwhile Cyril sent

²³ Semi-Pelagianism was finally destroyed by the Second Council of Orange (529).

²⁴ In connection with Predestinarianism it is well to mention that St. Augustine made certain statements in the closing years of his life which were misinterpreted to mean that, in the case of predestined souls, grace is irresistible and the will loses its freedom. This charge was circulated chiefly by an anonymous Pelagian who undertook to refute the false doctrines which he had attributed to St. Augustine. St. Augustine has been acquitted by the latest and best scholars.

²⁵ But the condemnation was renewed at the Second Council of Orange in 529; and the heresy was revived by Gottschalk some three centuries later.

²⁶ The Eutychians were called Monophysites, "believers in one nature." Later on there arose a sect of modified Monophysites called Monothelites, "believers in one will."

twelve propositions ("anathematisms") to Nestorius for his signature, which was refused.

The theologians of the Eastern Church were divided into two parties according to their inclination to place greater or lesser emphasis upon the human element of the Incarnation.²⁷ Undoubtedly the teaching of Nestorius gave ground for the notion of two separate Christs (although Nestorius himself would not have admitted that it did) but, on the other hand, the form of recantation which Cyril imposed upon Nestorius contained phrases open to a Monophysite interpretation. From a practical point of view the contest was decided by the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Two years later a reconciliation of the Catholic parties took place on the basis of a formula probably composed by Theodoret.

The controversy did not end there, however. When banished by the Emperor Zeno in 489, Nestorian extremists took refuge in Persia and one of their number became bishop of Seleucia. All Christians who were not Nestorians were driven from Persia; and every Christian community on the eastern border of the Roman Empire was soon Nestorian.²⁸

Eutychianism (Monophysitism): The next great controversy arose when Eutyches, a monk influential at the court of Constantinople, began to publish statements tending to submerge the human element of Christ. Condemned by St. Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, Eutyches promptly appealed to Alexandria, to Rome, and to the emperor, denouncing his opponents as Nestorian minimizers of the divinity of Christ. The emperor summoned a council to meet at Ephesus in 449; and Pope St. Leo I sent three legates to the assembly which has come down in history as the "Robber Council of Ephesus" (*Latrocinium*). Dioscurus, Patriarch of Alexandria, a Eutychian, presided over the council, excluded the bishops of the opposite party, and arrested Flavian, who died in prison. The council vindicated Eutyches and deposed two distinguished prelates of the opposition, Theodoret of Cyr and Ibas of Edessa.

Having received reports from his legates, Pope St. Leo I protested to the emperor and demanded the convocation of a true council. Receiving no answer, he wrote again; and he also requested the emperor of the West, Valentinian III, his mother, Galla Placidia, and Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius, to use their influence with the Eastern emperor. Theodosius finally

²⁷ The dispute over Nestorianism gave rise to one of the most interesting battles in theological history—with St. Cyril attacking and Theodoret of Cyrrhus defending the orthodoxy of Nestorius. In this instance, as in others, doctrinal differences were complicated by the three-cornered antagonism of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. Alexandria—supreme in the East until put in second place by the Council of Constantinople in 381—had supported the orthodox faith during the period when Constantinople and Antioch were Arian in sympathy; and Alexandria resented the favor now enjoyed by its rivals. Some of the "Cyrillians" were so extreme in their opposition to Nestorius that eventually they defended Monophysitism.

²⁸ Nestorius has always been venerated as a saint by his followers.

replied, intimating that the pope had no right to interfere in the affairs of the East. Soon afterwards Theodosius died.

His successor Marcian, husband of Pulcheria, favored the orthodox faith, sent Eutyches into retirement, recalled the exiled bishops, and convoked the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Although the Council accepted Pope Leo's theological letter (the *Tome*) as the norm of doctrine and deposed Dioscurus of Alexandria, the party of Dioscurus maintained that the definition of the two natures of Christ formulated at Chalcedon was equivalent to Nestorianism, and, under the name, "Monophysites," they organized a schism which was at the same time a heresy. Supported by Eudocia, widow of Theodosius II, and by five hundred bishops, they controlled the three patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and before long they became the most important Christian body out of communion with Rome, crowding the Nestorians into Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Far East. The scholarly writings of some of their prelates, including Philoxenus of Hierapolis, helped to inaugurate the Golden Age of Syriac literature.

Arianism: Although eliminated from the East, Arianism was carried into different countries of the West by the invading tribes which had become Arian soon after their entrance into the Empire. By the end of the fifth century Arianism was established in France and Spain by the Visigoths, in Portugal by the Suevi, in Africa by the Vandals, in Italy by the Ostrogoths, and in north Italy by the Lombards.²⁹

Priscillianism: Spain was thrown into a state of confusion about the beginning of the fifth century by the invading tribes of Vandals and Suevi, and partly on this account the Priscillianists were able to continue their heretical propaganda. In 415 a Spanish priest, Orosius, wrote to St. Augustine on the subject; and several councils held about the middle of the century at Toledo and elsewhere attempted to suppress the heresy. Nevertheless it continued to spread.

Origenism: A violent agitation over the question "Was Origen a heretic?" developed in Egypt out of a controversy between the monks of Nitria, enthusiastic Origenists, and the Anthropomorphist monks of Scete, who denied that God is a pure spirit. This led to a dispute between the Origenist, John of Jerusalem, supported by Rufinus,³⁰ and the anti-Origenist, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, supported by St. Jerome. Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, at first endorsed the Origenists, but later, having shifted to the other side, carried on a vigorous crusade against all Origenists, and by using his influence at the imperial court, had St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, deposed and exiled.

²⁹ From the beginning of the fifth to the end of the sixth century—in overlapping periods—Arianism lasted on in France, in Italy, in Africa for nearly a hundred years, and in Spain for nearly two hundred years.

³⁰ Rufinus, in his Preface to the treatise *De Principiis*, says the charges against Origen were based in many cases upon falsifications by "heretical and ill disposed persons."

Schisms: The chief schisms of the period were Acacianism in the East and Donatism in the West.

Acacianism: Like other religious disturbances of the period, the Acacian schism was due largely to imperial interference in theological issues. For a proper understanding of the situation we must remember that religious divisions within the empire were a source of political and military weakness. Religious unity—if it could be effected—would tend to create imperial unity; but Egyptian, Syrian, Armenian Monophysites would not accept the creed of Chalcedon—hence the government's strenuous efforts to negotiate a theological compromise.

After the Emperor Leo I died in 474 (leaving the throne to an infant grandson) Leo's son-in-law, Zeno, acted as regent. Taking advantage of the situation, Basiliscus, a usurper, secured the support of the Monophysites, seized the throne, and proclaimed that the whole Empire would have to accept the doctrinal compromise called the *Encyclicon*.⁸¹ On the basis of this formula, Basiliscus hoped to obtain support from both Catholics and Monophysites.

Basiliscus did not long remain on the throne. Zeno, who displaced him, undertook (in coöperation with Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople) to establish doctrinal unity on the basis of a new formula called the *Henoticon*.⁸² Pope Felix III rejected the *Henoticon* and excommunicated Acacius. But Acacius, supported by the emperor, defied the pope; a decree was passed imposing the *Henoticon* on all Christian subjects of the Empire; and communion with Rome was interrupted by the Acacian Schism which lasted for nearly forty years.

Donatism: This schism, which had been repressed by the civil authorities in the preceding century, broke out again and was condemned by a council held at Carthage in 404. At the suggestion of St. Augustine, the Emperor Honorius convoked a conference of Catholics and Donatists at Carthage in 411, and after that date the schism, opposed by practically all the African bishops, gradually faded away, although it did not wholly disappear until the seventh century.

⁸¹ When this proved ineffective, he tried to save the situation by a counter formula, the anti-*Encyclicon*.

⁸² The *Henoticon* was an attempted compromise between Catholics and Monophysites. It adopted the creed of Nicaea and Constantinople and excluded all others. It condemned Nestorianism, but remained silent about the definitions of Chalcedon, leaning towards Monophysitism by making no explicit reference to the two natures in our Lord. It proposed to readmit to communion the heretics condemned by Chalcedon, and although it did not affirm, it seemed tacitly to admit that our Lord did not actually possess a human nature. Rejected by the extreme Monophysites, it was nevertheless accepted by many of their leaders.

The Jews: During the reign of Theodosius II disturbances between Christians and Jews occurred in various cities of the East, and the building of new synagogues was prohibited. The laws passed at this time testify to strong anti-Semitic sentiment. The decree authorizing Jews to possess slaves on the condition that no attempt at proselytizing would be made, was revoked in 417; about the same time the special privileges of the Jewish patriarch were abolished; a little later the tax previously collected for his benefit was diverted to the public treasury. In 418 Jews were excluded from all public employment except certain onerous offices and in some places they were ordered to accept baptism under pain of expulsion. In general, the Theodosian legislation aimed to facilitate conversions to Christianity; and Jewish parents were prohibited from disinheriting a child who had become a Christian convert.

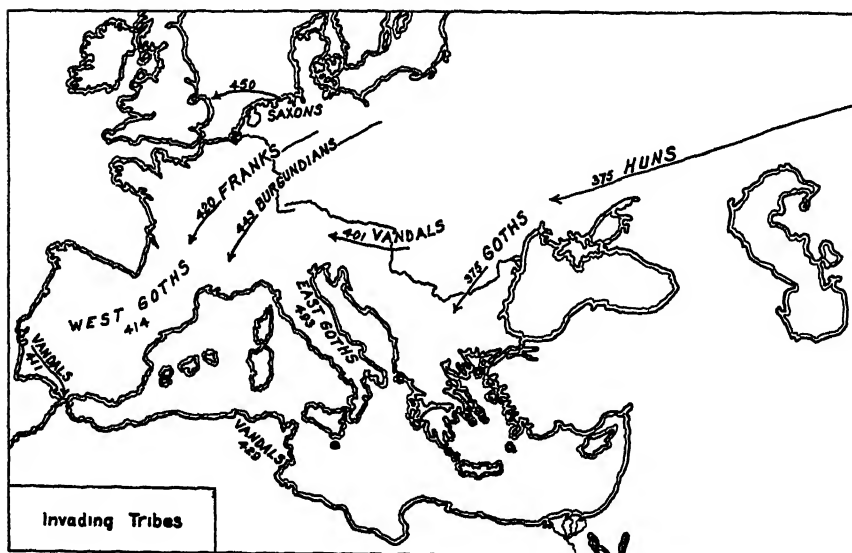
In the latter part of the century the Jews of Persia endured severe persecutions. Many Jews emigrated to Arabia and some went as far as India, where they set up a Jewish colony on the Malabar coast.

The Jews were much more prosperous in the West. They enjoyed religious freedom in Italy and Gaul, and under the Vandal kings of Africa; and during the disorder caused by the barbarian invasions, they acquired a practical monopoly of trade in several countries.

The Talmud appeared at this time in two forms, one produced by the Palestinian School, early in the century; the other by the Babylonian School, at its close. The Babylonian text eventually became official. In both forms the Talmud, which is the accepted authority of Orthodox Jews everywhere, consists of a compilation of the oral law as distinguished from the Scripture or written law. The text of the oral law (Mishna) is written in Hebrew, and the commentary (Gemara) in Aramaic. The Palestinian rabbis used Western Aramaic, the Babylonian rabbis, Eastern Aramaic, which is akin to Syriac.

MISSIONS

Within the Empire, Christianity, during the course of the fifth century, became the religion of practically the whole population, both East and West, excepting little groups who, in nooks and corners, preserved their ancestral cults. Profession of Christian faith became a qualification for public office soon after the year 400; the last remnants of paganism vanished from Egypt soon after the death of Hypatia in 415.



The Barbarians: The German tribes, some twenty-five in number, accepted Christianity. But many were Arians; and the Vandals who entered Africa in 429 subjected Catholics to so fierce a persecution that the once flourishing African Church was reduced to a state of comparative helplessness.

The Suevi, retreating into the Spanish peninsula under the pressure of the Gothic invasion of 406, were converted to Christianity there.

The Visigoths, or West Goths, driven over the Danube by the Huns, overran the Balkan peninsula and forced the Emperor Honorius to take refuge in Ravenna. Moving west, they founded a kingdom with its capital at Toulouse in 419, and advanced across the Pyrenees into Spain. Visigothic Spain was Arian.

The Vandals, also Arian, retreated from Spain at the coming of the Visigoths, invaded Africa in 429, and established their capital at Carthage. Gaiseric, their king, who ruled for fifty years (427-477), crossed over to Italy from his African headquarters and sacked Rome in 455. The Vandals were the fiercest of all the Germanic tribes in their persecution of Catholics. Their kingdom was destroyed by Belisarius, Justinian's general, about a century after its foundation.

The Huns of southern Russia, who forced the Ostrogoths over the Roman border, exacted a large tribute from Theodosius in 432, and doubled it a few years later. Attila, who became their king in 444, pressed into service an enormous number of Slavs and Germans, defeated the Roman forces, and advanced almost to the wall of Constantinople. A few years later he invaded Gaul where in 451 he was defeated near Châlons by the combined armies of the Romans and the Visigoths. He then marched through Lombardy, nearly to the gates of Rome, retreating at the plea of Pope Leo I. He died in 453; his empire vanished, and the Huns were absorbed by neighboring races.

The Ostrogoths, under the leadership of Theodoric, founded a kingdom in Italy which lasted from 493 until destroyed by Justinian sixty years later. Although Arians, they were on good terms with the Catholics.⁸⁸

The Burgundians, a German tribe, after their conversion to Arianism moved westward and settled in the neighborhood of Lyons. They were later absorbed into the kingdom of the Franks.

The Franks, a confederation of West German tribes, entered Gaul about 406. They increased slowly, numbering not more than a few thousand until Clovis united the regions on both sides of the Rhine into a single Frankish kingdom, and, having been baptized by St. Remy, Archbishop of Rheims, in 496, established Catholicism throughout his dominions. The Catholic bishops became leaders of a new Christian order, and, as the various tribes fused into a new people, not only religious differences but also old racial distinctions disappeared.

The British Isles: The Roman outposts in the north functioned both as military stations and as missionary centers, the work of converting the native Celts going on more rapidly in England and Wales than in Ireland. The Celts who became Christians recognized the authority of the Holy See of course; but they had a liturgical usage of their own, somewhat different from that of Rome, notably in the date of Easter and in the ceremonial of baptism. The inrush of the German tribes commenced a new era in the history of the Celtic Church.

⁸⁸ See Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*.

England: About the middle of the century, Hengist and Horsa—invited by a ruler of southeastern Britain—began their invasion. The Roman garrisons had been withdrawn to reinforce the imperial armies on the Continent; an embassy sent to implore help in 466 was totally disregarded by the emperor; and Roman Britain soon broke up into small principalities. The natives continued their losing fight for more than a hundred years, but the old Roman civilization was doomed. In great areas the Celtic population was exterminated; records were discontinued; learning decayed; and there remains very little historical evidence of what went on in England after the middle of the fifth century.³⁴

Ireland: Christianity had made little progress in Ireland, except perhaps in the south, when Pope St. Celestine in 431 made the deacon Palladius a bishop, and sent him to preach the faith to the Irish. Apparently Palladius won few converts; but a native of Roman Britain, Patrick by name, who was consecrated bishop by St. Germanus of Auxerre, was more fortunate. Landing in Ireland in 432, with several companions, Patrick made thousands of converts, organized the Church by setting up numerous local bishops, imbued his followers with a love of the monastic ideal, and left Ireland well on the road to complete conversion. As organizer of a church which for centuries exercised so extraordinary a cultural and spiritual influence over Europe, St. Patrick has been awarded a place of exceptional honor in the history of Christian civilization.³⁵

Scotland: After the withdrawal of the Roman forces, independent kingdoms were established; and religion declined. Later the country was evangelized again by missionaries from Ireland.

³⁴ St. Germanus, governor of the Roman district in Gaul and bishop of Auxerre, visited England in 429 and in 447, on the first occasion to oppose the Pelagians and on the second to help the Christian people defend themselves against the Picts and Saxons. His description of England in 447 is the last direct evidence on the state of the country until 597, except the *De excidio Britanniae liber querulus*, written in 560 by St. Gildas, a British exile in Brittany.

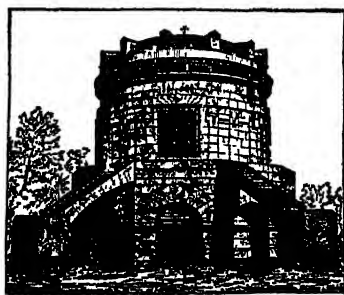
³⁵ "His achievements as organizer of a church and as propagator of his faith made Christianity a living force in Ireland which could never be extinguished. . . . Not less significant, though more easily overlooked, is the rôle which he played by bringing Ireland into a new connexion with Rome and the Empire." J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick and His Place in History*, p. 213. See also Helena Concannon, *St. Patrick, His Life and Mission*.

The only two of St. Patrick's writings certainly authentic and extant are his letter against Coroticus and his (largely autobiographical) *Confessio*. The country of his birth, the date of his death, the details of his career have occasioned endless controversy; not until the 20th century, did any scholar undertake a scientific analysis of the available sources of information. Bury, pioneer in this field, reported "that the Roman Catholic conception of St. Patrick's work is, generally, nearer to historical fact than the views of some anti-Papal divines." *Op. cit.*, pp. VII-VIII.

SUMMARY

The character of European civilization and the development of Christianity were radically affected at this time by two long-drawn-out series of events—theological wars and barbarian invasions. Much history is summed up in the mention of Nestorius and Eutyches (losers) and of Cyril of Alexandria and Pope St. Leo I (winners) in the battles at Ephesus (431) and at Chalcedon (451), which defined the Catholic dogma of the Incarnation. We recall also Gelasius I, like Leo I a leader in the progress of the papacy towards its medieval grandeur; Jerome, one of the brilliant lights of this era; Augustine, brightest of them all. Theodosius II is better remembered for his Code of 438 than Basiliscus for his *Encyclicon* or Zeno for his *Henoticon*; Patrick was precursor of a long line of monks and missionaries; Theodoric the Ostrogoth and Clovis the Frank marked the transition from the old Greco-Roman to the new Latin-German world.

The tribes that swept across the Rhine and the Danube were soon assimilated into the Christian body; the young nations, baptized in their infancy, laid the foundations of Christian Europe; the pope replaced the emperor as Pontifex Maximus; Rome, already symbol of the ancient tradition and refuge of classical culture, became center of a new civilization. By the year 500 distant Ireland had been won to the faith, the Franks were loyal servants of the Church, and almost every important city of the Empire was a bishop's see.



(Kraus-Griener)

TOMB OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA (6th century)

Later the church of Santa Maria della Rotonda

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 403 St. John Chrysostom banished | 404 Honorius removes to Ravenna |
| | 406 Suevi in Spain |
| 407 St. John Chrysostom d. | 407 Franks in Gaul |
| | 410 Visigoths sack Rome |
| | Romans evacuate Britain |
| 411 St. Augustine refutes Donatists | |
| 412 Christianity in Scotland | |
| 415 St. Augustine refutes Pelagius | 418 Persia persecutes Catholic Armenians |
| | 419 Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse |
| 420 St. Jerome d. | |
| 430 St. Augustine d. | 430 Vandals take Hippo |
| 431 Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus) vs. Nestorianism | |
| 432 St. Patrick in Ireland | |
| | 438 Theodosian Code |
| 444 St. Cyril of Alexandria d. | |
| 445 <i>St. Leo I</i> vs. Hilary of Arles | 449 Saxons in Britain |
| 449 "Robber Council of Ephesus" | |
| <i>St. Leo's Tome</i> | 450 Theodosius II d. |
| 451 Fourth Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon) vs. Eutyches | 451 Huns beaten at Châlons |
| | 452 Huns threaten Rome |
| 467 <i>St. Hilary</i> rebukes Emperor Anthemius | <i>St. Leo I</i> meets Attila |
| 473-74 Predestinarianism condemned at Arles and Lyons | 455 Valentinian III recognizes papal supremacy |
| | Vandals sack Rome |
| 484 <i>Felix III</i> excommunicates Acacius | |
| 484-519 Schism (Monophysite) | 476 Romulus Augustulus deposed |
| | The <i>Encyclicon</i> of Basiliscus |
| | 482 <i>Zeno's Henoticon</i> |
| 494 <i>Gelasius</i> formulates doctrine on the papacy | 489 Zeno banishes Nestorians |
| 496 Conversion of Clovis | 493 Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy |
| | 496 Nestorians in the Far East |

BARBARIAN KINGDOMS
ABOUT 500 A.D.





SECOND PERIOD

(A.D. 500 to 1000)

The Organizing of Christendom

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF PERIOD II

IN THE EAST

1. Theological controversies.
2. Political disintegration.
3. Mohammedan invasion.
4. Iconoclasm.
5. The drift from Rome.

IN THE WEST

1. Roman-Teuton fusion.
2. Feudalism's defense of Europe.
3. Lay attempt to control Church.
4. Monasticism.

GENERAL VIEW

(A.D. 500–1000)

THE Middle Ages lasted, in round numbers, for a thousand years. The first half—commonly called the “Dark Ages”—stretched from the days of Clovis, who was baptized in 496, to the Ottos, who revived the Roman Empire in the latter part of the tenth century.

When the Eastern Emperor, after long wars against Ostrogoths and Lombards, withdrew his forces from Italy, the Franks came forward as the pope’s defenders. Charlemagne built up an immense kingdom and in the year 800 was crowned Roman Emperor. Before long, however, his empire fell apart. The Italians south of the Alps, the Franks to the west of the Rhine, and the Germans to the east, began to go their separate ways; and during the subsequent chaos the system called feudalism arose to shape the order of Europe until the rise of definite nations.

The ideal embodied in Charlemagne’s empire survived during subsequent stress and confusion. Western Christendom was now composed of an empire and a church—*Regnum* and *Sacerdotium*—distinct from, yet complementary to, each other; and within this framework local entities, political and religious, were tied up in unity. To be sure, the limits of the civil and the ecclesiastical power were ill-defined. Yet both rested on the same ultimate basis of divine authority; both were quickened by the consciousness of a common faith; and both, however inconsistent, self-seeking or disloyal, were in the last analysis inspired by the Catholic tradition.

During most of the “Dark Ages” Christendom itself lay in mortal danger—from Vandals and Goths and Slavs and Huns who had invaded practically every province of the West by the end of the sixth century; from Persians and Avars who hammered at the gates of Constantinople in the first quarter of the seventh;

from Northmen who raided France and England, and Magyars who fought their way as far as Italy before the ending of the ninth. As it happened, most of the invaders were absorbed by the Christian civilization into which they penetrated. Not so the Moslems. Within a century of Mohammed's death they swept like wildfire along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, overran Spain, and marched into France as far as Poitiers. Turned back at the battle of Tours by Charles Martel in 732, and defeated in the East by Leo the Isaurian, they nevertheless remained on the borders of Christendom, an ever present menace for a thousand years.

By contrast with the preceding period, the records of these centuries present us with the names of few great Christian writers; and of those few, nearly all, except St. John Damascene, lived in the West. Chief among them were Leander of Seville, his brother Isidore, Gregory of Tours, and Gregory of Rome about the beginning of the seventh century; Bede and Alcuin in the eighth; and the celebrated Gerbert at the close of the tenth.

So far as extension of area is concerned, this period was not a time of growth for the Church. True, Christianity spread in northern Europe, and in the East; but these territorial gains were more than balanced by losses to Islam.

More than a little help during this time of confusion came from the doctrinal and disciplinary activity of the four General Councils held at Constantinople and Nicaea in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. But an evil omen appeared in the growing antagonism between Rome and Constantinople; and in 867 a synod of Constantinople pronounced excommunication on Pope Nicholas I, forecasting the permanent break between East and West two centuries later. A happier portent was the growth of monasticism which exercised a powerful influence in behalf of order and virtue during a lawless and wicked age.

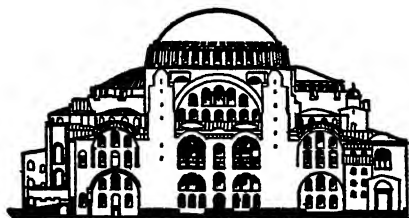
The ninth and tenth centuries were the darkest period of Christian history. Even when we make allowance for prejudice and excitement on the part of writers who describe it, we must admit that they give unanswerable evidence of frightful conditions. For many years in the tenth century shameless women con-

trolled Rome, the papacy was the booty of contending Italian factions, and the government of the Church was involved in the general decline. Then Otto the Great inaugurated a movement of reform; and when his grandson, Otto III, set Gregory V on the papal throne in 996, Christian Europe began to take on its later characteristics. The "Dark Ages" would soon give way to the "High Middle Ages."

CHRISTIAN ART

Although the first attempts of Christian artists to express their supernatural ideals were comparatively feeble, the sixth century witnessed the creation of new and beautiful forms that were also characteristically Christian. Eastern art went forward to splendid achievement—despite the obstacles presented by strict convention and by the interfering policy of the Iconoclasts. In the West, where the Latin tradition yielded to the dynamic and realistic spirit of the barbarians, the Romanesque style came into existence. As structural and liturgical necessities forced wider departure from primitive types, Romanesque eventually turned into Gothic; and in this respect architecture, painting, and sculpture passed through phases almost the same.¹

¹ "The early Latin churches arrest our attention therefore more for their implications of beauty desired than for their evidence of beauty accomplished. Hagia Sophia is witness to the crystallizing and rationalizing of the representations of Christian concepts in the Greek East at an early date; in the West these concepts integrated much more slowly, since the motive power in this evolution was far more emotional than intellectual. . . . It is the intent and striving of early Christian art in the West that fascinates the student who studies its ugliness enough to understand it; in its impulses lies the genesis of the most expressive religious art that history knows, which came to full flower in the Gothic cathedrals a thousand years after the first Christians painted their obscure hopes on the walls of the catacombs in Rome." C. R. Morey, *Christian Art*, pp. 18-19.



Courtesy of C. R. Morey

SANTA SOPHIA, SIDE ELEVATION

CHAPTER VI

(The Five Hundreds)

The Founding of Catholic Europe

PREVIEW

UNDER the pressure of many forces, the ancient world continued to disintegrate. Eastern Christendom was rent by bitter theological disputes as well as by particularistic movements; and imperial attempts at compromise only widened the rift between Constantinople and Rome. In the West the promise of better things given by Clovis was succeeded by the chaos of civil war among his successors.

Although the Germanic tribes, which appropriated for themselves the fruits of the Greco-Roman culture in the West, made no deliberate attempt to destroy the old civilization, their invasion involved a political transformation.¹ The imperial administration ceased; new kingdoms were established; the old Roman citizenship faded into a dim memory. Fortunately, however, the tradition of a common religion persisted, or at least soon revived. Europe became the home of a single social order stabilized by Christianity. As in the older days men had said, "To be a Roman is to be a Christian," so in the Middle Ages they would say, "To be a European is to be a Christian."

¹ The Romanized communities had for generations consisted chiefly of an official land-owning aristocracy and a servile proletariat—without a middle class. According to some authorities, the Germanic invasions into these groups were hardly more than raids which caused death and destruction but produced comparatively little change in the ancient institutions. Other scholars describe the invasions as true movements of population involving the settlement of whole tribes with their women, children, slaves, and cattle. In any event, the invaders became owners and tillers of the soil; and the fusion of the two systems laid the basis of feudalism.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The sixth century possessed vast significance for the subsequent history of Christendom. The impact of the barbarians on the Empire raised the question, "Would the old Greco-Roman civilization survive?" In the East that question was answered, at least partly, by successful military resistance to the invading Bulgars, Huns, Avars, and Slavs. In the West, where the military defense of the Empire broke down, the answer was given by the policy of two outstanding Germanic chiefs—the Ostrogoth Theodoric and Clovis the Frank.

The Eastern emperor's withdrawal from Italy was a factor of immense importance in the future of religion; for the consequent lack of secular leadership provided the papacy with a unique opportunity. Of this opportunity Gregory I took full advantage; and while the barbarians were founding new kingdoms destined to grow into mighty Christian states, the pope stood forth as father and protector of the West.

1. THE EAST

The Empire: Gain alternated with loss. The temporary reconquest of Italy, the recovery of Africa, Syria, and Armenia, and a favorable treaty with the Persians in 562 were balanced by the fact that Slavs, Bulgarians, and Lombards appropriated large regions for themselves. Much of the Byzantine state was dissolving into independent units. By the year 600 the central government had become exclusively Greek, both in language and in spirit; and the emperors no longer attempted to enforce their ancient rights in Italy.

The separatist tendency was strong in religion too. Regarding the Byzantine Church as a department of the Empire, the nationalists of Egypt and Syria agitated for ecclesiastical as well as political independence. When they broke away, the Eastern Church contained hardly any but Greek members.

Justin I (518–527) ended the thirty-five-year-old Monophysite schism, begun by the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius; and the Monophysites fell from favor.

Justinian I (527–565) married Theodora, a woman of exceptional ability, notorious in her youth, but living irreproachably at the time of her marriage to the emperor. Influenced by Theodora, who had been impressed by the ascetic fervor of the monks, and partly too, from motives of expediency, Justinian restored the Monophysites to favor.² He also undertook to dictate in matters of Church discipline, thus causing much disorder. His great achievement was the codification of Roman law. The accumulated legislation of some ten centuries had grown into an enormous and unmanageable mass; and it was reduced to system in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* which became the official text of the Roman world. The *Corpus* bore at least the imprint of Christian influence in its enactments on marriage, parental power over children, slavery, the right of asylum, the criminal code.³

Justin II (565–578), the nephew of Justinian I, harassed by the Persians in the East and by the Lombards in Italy, made ineffectual attempts to suppress the Monophysites.

Maurice (582–602), the first thoroughly Greek emperor, completed the transformation of the Eastern Empire into a Byzantine state. To prevent any weakening of the armed forces, he forbade the admission of veterans into monastic novitiates—a prohibition which drew a vigorous protest from Pope Gregory as unwarranted interference with religious vocations. Maurice was annoyed at the pope's protest, and he was deeply angered when Gregory threatened to negotiate an independent peace with the Lombards if the imperial government should fail to protect Italy.

2. THE WEST

a. The Frankish Kingdom, Italy, Spain

After the fifth century Roman political authority no longer functioned here—except for a time in Italy. The barbarians who subjugated the West entered the Christian fold, but they did not submit to the authority of the emperor; and the new Europe distinguished between Christian faith and Roman political traditions.

² Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, deposed as a Monophysite by Pope Agapetus in 536, remained under the protection of Theodora for twelve years.

³ This compilation—of enduring value in the history of jurisprudence—included the *Institutes* (4 books), *Digest* (50 books), *Code* (12 books), and *Novellae* (recent legislation by the Eastern and Western emperors).

As a rule, however, the barbarian kings allowed the conquered Romans to live under their old *Leges Romanae*; whereas for their own tribes they made collections of Germanic laws greatly modified by Christian influence in such matters as marriage and the emancipation of slaves.⁴ The clergy were allowed to follow the Roman law.

The Frankish Kingdom: Clovis, Frankish monarch and the first Merovingian king of France, extended his dominions by military conquest until they included all the area covered by modern France except parts of Provence and Burgundy. He established a capital at Paris and ruled his various provinces through dukes and counts chosen from among the leaders of the older and the newer races; and nearly all his subjects accepted baptism. Clovis founded churches and monasteries throughout his empire, and in 511 he was instrumental in the assembling at Orleans of a national council which enacted much important ecclesiastical legislation.

The close connection between the Church and the Frankish kingdom established by Clovis almost vanished during the chaotic years which followed his death in 511. According to Germanic custom, his four sons divided the kingdom, and upon the death of the last son, Clotaire, in 561, the kingdom was partitioned again among Clotaire's four sons. A few years later a civil war took place between two of these brothers, Sigebert, husband of Brunhilde, a Visigoth princess, and Chilperic, the husband of her sister; and their two territories were known thereafter as Austrasia, the eastern kingdom, and Neustria, the western kingdom.⁵ During this time of disorder religion suffered greatly.

Italy: Theodoric the Ostrogoth, pupil of the Emperor Zeno—at whose bidding he invaded Italy and killed Odoacer (493)—followed the Byzantine tradition by taking charge of Church affairs in the peninsula. An Arian himself, he tolerated Catholics as a general rule, although he displayed great cruelty in suppress-

⁴ Among the barbarian codes were the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex Ripuaria* of the Franks, the *Lex Barbara Burgundiorum*, the *Lex Barbara Visigothorum*, the *Lex Allamanorum*, the *Lex Bajuvariorum*, (Bavarian), the *Lex Frisionum*, the *Lex Saxonum*, the *Lex Langobardorum*. Alaric II (506) compiled for his Roman subjects the *Leges Romanae Visigothorum*, otherwise known as the *Breviarium Alarici*.

⁵ The future Germany and France.

ing a Latin rebellion, and condemned to death the celebrated philosopher, Boethius. He decided a dispute between two rival claimants to the papacy by endorsing Pope Symmachus and banishing Lawrence. He championed the cause of the Arians in the East and protested when Justin I persecuted them. In his administration he followed the wise policy of placing the older Roman settlers on a basis of equality with the Gothic invaders; and he conceived the grandiose scheme of uniting in one confederation all the barbarian tribes settled around the shores of the Mediterranean.

The peace restored to Italy by Theodoric was of short duration. Struggles between the Ostrogoths and the imperial forces continued until, with the defeat and death of Totila, the Gothic kingdom of Italy came to an end in 553. Justinian's general, Narses, set up a viceroy (later called an "exarch") at Ravenna; but then the Lombards under Alboin arrived (568), and within a few years these invaders, who controlled nearly all the peninsula except the coast cities, established four great duchies, Trent, Friuli, Benevento, and Spoleto. Arians in religion, they showed their hatred of Catholicism by the destruction of churches and monasteries and by the murder of priests and monks.

Spain: The Arian Visigoths persecuted the Catholic natives of Spain, and in 585 the Arian king, Leovigild, put his Catholic son, St. Hermengild, to death. The next king, Recared, brother of Hermengild, established political and religious unity by professing the Catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo in 589. As Goths and Latins intermarried, Roman and German elements were gradually amalgamated. In law and politics the Romans became Gothic; in social life and religion the Goths became Roman. But although Catholicism was the national religion, there was little direct communication with Rome.

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: The Saxon invasion of Roman Britain drove the Celtic Christians into the West; the eastern and southern coasts reverted to paganism; and much of the country was divided into petty kingships ruled by chieftains, sometimes pagan, sometimes

Christian. The Celtic Church, although isolated from the rest of Christendom, kept up the apostolic succession, the ancient faith, and the monastic life, yet apparently made little effort to convert the Saxon invaders.



Ethelbert of Kent (who as Bretwalda, or chief king, exercised a sort of suzerainty over all England), married a Frankish princess, Bertha; and in Bertha's train there came to Canterbury, Luidhard, a Frankish bishop, who set up a royal chapel at St. Martin's Outside-the-Walls. To Pope St. Gregory I, England seemed a promising but neglected mission field; and he chose Augustine (a Roman monk in the Benedictine monastery of St. Andrew on the Caelian Hill), to lead a band of forty monks to England. Landing in 597, they met with immediate success, and made the island again an integral part of European Christendom.

St. Augustine (d. c. 604) was buried outside of Canterbury in the abbey church which he had begun to build in honor of Sts. Peter and Paul.

Ireland: Except for tribal feuds, the political history of the country is almost a blank during these years. Yet at a time when the rest of western Christendom was rapidly declining to a low intellectual and moral level, the Irish founded flourishing schools and monasteries which bridged the wide gap between pre-barbarian and post-barbarian Europe.

Scotland: The Church had already been organized among the southern Picts by St. Ninian and St. Palladius; and in the sixth century three Christian chieftains of Ireland crossed over to what is now Argyle and established there the little kingdom of Dalriada, which ultimately developed into the kingdom of Scotland. Irish missionaries followed them; and, after the founding of Iona in 563, Columba and his disciples carried on successful missions among the northern Picts. Although observing the Celtic, not the Roman usage, the Scottish Church recognized the authority of the Holy See.⁶

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

These years brought a significant change in the relationship between pope and emperor. Empress Theodora was able to have Pope Silverius imprisoned for life, and Justinian forced Pope Vigilius to sign a statement that fastened lasting discredit on his name. But after the emperor failed to go to the assistance of the West, the papacy assumed a new attitude of independence. As the most powerful Roman in the West, Gregory I undertook to

⁶ Ussher in the seventeenth century, Skene and Stokes in the nineteenth, and many other writers have represented the early Scottish Church as an organization independent of and even antagonistic to the Holy See; and several have endeavored to describe Columban as antipapal in sentiment. For evidence to the contrary, see Malcolm V. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*. Apparently the first Scottish Protestant historian to recognize the falsity of the Protestant tradition was J. C. McNaught, Minister of Kilmuir Easter, of whose book, *The Celtic Church and the See of Peter* (Oxford, 1927), Hay says, "By this writer the *Chain of Error* has been broken; and it will now be extremely difficult to patch it up again."

shield the people from the barbarians; and this policy added so greatly to the prestige of his office that he has been described as virtual creator of the papal kingdom. No longer were helpless popes to be dominated by emperors unopposed.

St. Symmachus (498–514) encountered a rival in Lawrence, the emperor's candidate. King Theodoric the Ostrogoth decided in favor of Symmachus. Lawrence then organized a schism; but he was banished by Theodoric who gave back to the pope the churches seized by the schismatics. The king's favor enabled Symmachus to expel the Manichaeans from Rome and to assist the bishops of Africa during the Vandal persecutions there.

Lawrence (489–505)—antipope.

St. Hormisdas (514–523) was involved in a conflict between theological extremists in the East. The monks of Scythia, violent anti-Nestorians, resenting the emphasis placed on the humanity of Christ by the Council of Chalcedon, proposed to emphasize His divinity by using the expression, "one of the Trinity was crucified." When Hormisdas rejected this expression as open to a Monophysite interpretation, the monks charged him with being at heart a Nestorian.⁷

St. John I (523–526) was sent by the Arian Theodoric to persuade the Emperor Justin to be lenient with the Arians in the East. Although welcomed by Justin, he obtained no concessions; and this failure caused Theodoric to imprison him after his return to Italy.

St. Felix III (IV) (526–530) secured for clerics the privilege of immunity from the jurisdiction of the civil courts. He also received from Theodoric's daughter (the regent) the gift of two pagan temples to be used as churches. The *Capitula* in which he refuted Semi-Pelagianism later became part of the Church's canon law.

Boniface II (530–532), who had been nominated pope by his predecessor,⁸ claimed a similar right to appoint his own successor, and named the deacon Vigilius; but he encountered so much opposition that he nullified the nomination, thus terminating what threatened to be the beginning of a papal dynasty. Boniface exercised his authority in distant parts of the empire, confirming the decrees of the Second Council of Orange, and sending assistance to the African church which had been ravaged by the Vandals.

⁷ The name of Hormisdas is attached to a famous *Formula*—drawn up originally to end the Acacian Schism—which included a promise of obedience to all decrees enacted by the See of Rome. It was signed by all the Eastern bishops.

⁸ Although Felix had threatened the penalty of excommunication on anyone who might refuse to accept Boniface, the Roman clergy, fearing a possible alliance between Boniface and his friend, King Theodoric the Ostrogoth, elected Dioscurus. Both candidates were consecrated on the same day. Dioscurus, who died within a month, was anathematized by Boniface. The anathema was burned five years later by Pope Agapetus I.

Dioscurus (530)—antipope.

John II (533-535)—originally Mercurius, a priest attached to the Basilica of St. Clement—was the first to change his name on being raised to the papacy. The Council of Carthage in 535 asked him to decide whether bishops who had lapsed into Arianism should be restored to their sees or re-admitted to lay communion only. The answer to the council's question was given by John's successor.

St. Agapetus I (535-536), son of a Roman priest killed during the pontificate of Symmachus, burned the anathema of Boniface II against Dioscurus. He confirmed the acts of the Council of Carthage declaring converts from Arianism ineligible to be clerics; and he decided that converts in sacred orders should be re-admitted to lay communion only. At the request of the Gothic king, he went to Constantinople in 536 to forestall the invasion of Italy by Belisarius, but was unable to accomplish anything. He deposed Anthimus the Monophysite, patriarch of Constantinople. He approved Justinian's profession of faith, but added that he "had not given laymen the authority of preaching."

St. Silverius (536-537), son of Pope Hormisdas (who had been married before his consecration as bishop), was chosen through the influence of Theodatus, King of the Ostrogoths. But as the Empress Theodora favored another candidate—the Roman deacon Vigilius, previously proposed by Boniface—the Byzantine general in Rome, Belisarius, deposed Silverius on the charge of treasonable communication with the Goths and had Vigilius elected pope. Silverius, exiled in 537, died in the following year.

Vigilius (537-555), a Roman by birth, was not recognized as pope by all the Roman clergy until after the death of his predecessor. Letters of his still preserved show that he was in communication with bishops of Gaul and Spain over matters of discipline. Serious trouble developed between the pope and the emperor with regard to the Monophysites. In pursuit of his policy of compromise, Justinian, about the beginning of the year 544, published an edict condemning the *Three Chapters* (writings of three anti-Monophysites, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa). Justinian obtained an endorsement of the condemnation from the eastern patriarchs by threatening to depose them; and, in order to secure also the signature of Vigilius, he had the pope forcibly brought to Constantinople. Under imperial pressure the pope first condemned the *Three Chapters* and then, alarmed by the vigorous protests of the western episcopate, withdrew the condemnation. When the emperor decided to summon a council, Vigilius proposed that it should be held in Italy; and, as his proposal was rejected, he suggested the appointment of a commission made up of an equal number of delegates from the East and from the West. This suggestion, too, was ignored, and the emperor, on his own authority, convoked at Constantinople a council which called itself the Fifth Ecumenical.

In its last session (553) it condemned the *Three Chapters*. Having been imprisoned and ill-treated by the emperor, Vigilius consented to endorse the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*. Then, after eight years of forced residence in Constantinople, he was allowed to leave for Rome; but he died on the way.⁹

Pelagius I (556-561), a Roman noble by birth, was a deacon who had been with Vigilius in Constantinople, and, after hesitation, had approved of the pope's surrender to Justinian. He was not elected until some ten months after the death of Vigilius; and he found so many western prelates opposed to him by reason of his stand on the *Three Chapters* that he had difficulty in obtaining bishops to officiate at his consecration. Pelagius endorsed his predecessor's decree confirming the Council of Constantinople, and won the bishops of Gaul over to his view; but some of the bishops of northern Italy remained unconvinced that the Council of Constantinople was in harmony with the Council of Chalcedon. Pelagius soon gained the confidence of the Romans by the vigor with which he set about the restoration of order, the suppression of abuses, the reorganizing of church finances, and the supplying of food and clothing to the people impoverished by the barbarian invasion.

John III (561-574), son of an illustrious Roman, waited five months for the imperial confirmation of his election before being consecrated. Little

⁹ The detailed story of the Three Chapters is most confusing. Vigilius arrived in Constantinople in January, 547, and soon afterwards excommunicated the bishops who had endorsed the imperial edict. But, after having discussed the subject with the emperor and some of the Greek bishops, he, too, endorsed the edict in a document called the *Judicatum* (548) which he later withdrew, in deference to a protest from the more vigilant Western bishops. Thereupon the emperor, provoked, issued a new edict (551), signed by a number of Greek bishops, renewing the condemnation of the Three Chapters. At this point, Vigilius, in fear of his life, fled to Chalcedon and, taking refuge in a church, excommunicated the bishops who sided with Justinian, and published a letter protesting against the ill-treatment he had received from the imperial officials.

Immediately after the opening of the council in May, 553, Vigilius published a *Constitutum* modifying his previous endorsement of the imperial edict and forbidding further discussion of the Three Chapters. Seven months later, at the end of a period of imprisonment, he endeavored to conciliate the emperor by publishing a letter (December, 553) in which he condemned the Three Chapters in the sense of the council, and nullified whatever had been done by him or others to defend them. Two months later he published a second *Constitutum* repeating the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

The whole episode throws a shadow, not upon the doctrinal soundness of Vigilius, but upon his courage; for the question at issue was not the Catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ, but the expediency of publishing a condemnation of the Three Chapters. Moreover, Vigilius repeatedly affirmed his adhesion to the teachings of Chalcedon which had condemned the Monophysites. Nevertheless, his surrender to the emperor caused a storm of protest in the West, and gave rise to several schisms.

The difficulty of following this complicated story is increased by the fact that the title, "Three Chapters," is sometimes applied to the writings condemned and sometimes to Justinian's edict which condemned them. A good account is given in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, pp. 129 ff.

is known of his pontificate; for the Lombards destroyed most of the Church records of these years. John appealed without success to Constantinople for help against the Lombards, and was forced to take refuge for a time in the catacombs.

Benedict I (575-579), also a native Roman, received the imperial confirmation of his election after a delay of eleven months. Of his pontificate we know nothing except that he died during the famine and disorder caused by the ravages of the Lombards.

Pelagius II (579-590), apparently Roman by birth and Gothic by descent, did not receive the imperial confirmation for four months. He appealed to the Franks for help against the Lombards, and sent the deacon Gregory to Constantinople to get aid from there. Without outside help he finally succeeded in persuading the Lombards to withdraw to a distance from Rome.

St. Gregory I (590-604), called "the Great," a son of Gordian, Prefect of Rome, and his wife, St. Sylvia, was a Benedictine monk—the deacon mentioned above who went as legate of Pelagius II to Constantinople. In view of the fact that neither the emperor at Constantinople nor his exarch at Ravenna was protecting Italy, Gregory threatened to negotiate a separate peace with the Lombards; this threat led to a sharp interchange of letters between Gregory and the Emperor Maurice in 595. A few years later the exarch arranged a treaty of peace.¹⁰

Intensely active in many fields, Gregory enforced the law of clerical celibacy, reorganized the papal finances, insisted upon the recognition of his authority in all parts of Christendom, and instituted a system of appeals to the Holy See. In 596 he sent St. Augustine to re-convert England. According to tradition, Gregory introduced, or at least encouraged, the style of singing in church services which was later called "Gregorian chant" (as distinct from the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic chants). His *Dialogues*, which give vivid pictures of the sixth century, include a valuable biography of St. Benedict. As a writer, Gregory was chiefly concerned with the life around him, and not much interested in classical literary traditions.

¹⁰ Gregory has been severely criticized for his letter of congratulation, sent to Phocas after the latter had murdered Maurice and usurped the imperial throne; but the harsh verdict passed on this letter by Gibbon, Hodgkin and others has been commonly modified since the *Cambridge Medieval History* in 1913 drew attention to circumstances previously overlooked. See Hay, *A Chain of Error . . .*, pp. 132-33. Gregory has also been accused of condoning infamous crimes charged against Brunhilda; but there is another side to this whole story. (*Ibid.*, 127 ff.)

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The theological sources listed below clarify Catholic belief in the divinity of Christ, in the divine motherhood of Mary, in the prerogatives of the Holy See.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
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St. Hormisdas (514-523)

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 517 | Formula proposed to the bps. of Spain | On Papal Infallibility. |
| 520 | Letter | On Sacred Scripture. |
| 520 | Letter | On the authority of St. Augustine. |

Boniface II (530-532)

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 531 | Letter confirming canons of Second Council of Orange (529) | On original sin, grace and predestination, against the Semi-Pelagians. |
|-----|--|--|

John II (533-535)

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 534 | Letter to the senators of Constantinople | On the divinity of Christ and the divine maternity of Mary. |
|-----|--|---|

Vigilius (537-555)

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 543 | Justinian's canons endorsed by pope and all the patriarchs | On Origenism. |
| 553 | Second Council of Constantinople (Ecum. V) | On the value of tradition; condemnation of the <i>Three Chapters</i> . |

Pelagius I (556-561)

- | | | |
|--------|--------|-------------------------|
| 557 | Letter | On the Catholic faith. |
| c. 560 | Letter | On the form of baptism. |
| c. 560 | Letter | On the Roman primacy. |

John III (561-574)

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 563 | Council of Braga II (I) in Spain | On Priscillianism. |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------|

Pelagius II (579-590)

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| c. 585 | Letters to the schismatic bps. of Istria | On the unity of the Church; on the obligation of membership in the Church. |
|--------|--|--|

St. Gregory I (590-604)

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 600 | Letter to the patriarch of Alexandria | On Christ's knowledge. |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------------|

Councils: The Second Council of Constantinople (553) was the final episode in Emperor Justinian's campaign against Nestorianism. But for six or eight bishops from Africa, the one hundred sixty-five members of the council were all Oriental bishops; Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople, presided; the council confirmed Justinian's condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, thus appearing to slight the Council of Chalcedon and to side with the Monophysites. Except the Africans, none of the Western bishops then in Constantinople attended the council. Pope Vigilius also refused to be present; but he was forced to give the council recognition before he could get leave to return to Rome. Although for a while the status of the council was widely questioned, in the course of time it was finally accepted as ecumenical.¹¹

Local councils, both in the East and in the West, enacted decrees bearing upon doctrine, discipline, and problems raised by the break-up of the old order. Of importance were councils held in southern Gaul,¹² especially the Second Council of Orange (529) which condemned the Semi-Pelagians in the first doctrinal decision that appeared in Gaul. St. Caesarius of Arles placed before the fourteen bishops present at Orange a number of propositions which he had received from the pope and these were incorporated in twenty-five conciliar decrees.¹³

¹¹ Significantly, Pope St. Gregory I, some thirty years later, recommended that "honor should be paid to the first four councils (Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon) as to the four Gospels," thus by implication placing the Fifth Council on a lower level.

¹² The legislation of these councils (framed to substitute Christian customs for barbarous superstitious traditions) gives much information about the Gallo-Roman people of the period, and also about the way of life followed by the Teutonic tribes. In 506 a council held at Agde (Agatha) in Languedoc, attended by thirty-five bishops and presided over by St. Caesarius of Arles, published nearly fifty canons on ecclesiastical discipline which reveal many details about Church organization and moral conditions in southern France. A council at Orleans in 511 regulated the relations between civil and ecclesiastical rulers. A council at Arles in 524 dealt with holy orders. Two councils at Macon in Burgundy (c. 581 and 585)—one attended by twenty and the other by more than sixty bishops—dealt with the obligation to observe Sunday, the right of bishops to protect helpless widows and orphans, and the relations between Christians and Jews. At the council of 585 a bishop denied that the Latin term "homo" includes both sexes, and his grammatical blunder has been transformed into a denial that women are human.

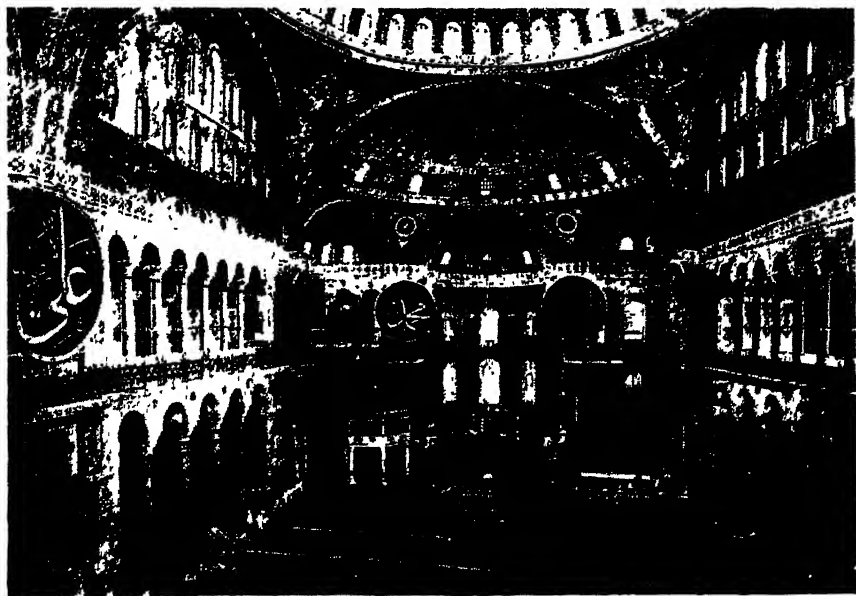
¹³ The *Acta* of the Second Council of Orange—approved by Pope Boniface II in 531—were much used during later discussions on grace, and in the sixteenth century they were quoted by the Fathers of the Council of Trent as an argument against the erroneous teaching of Luther.



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

MOSAIC IN SANTA SOPHIA

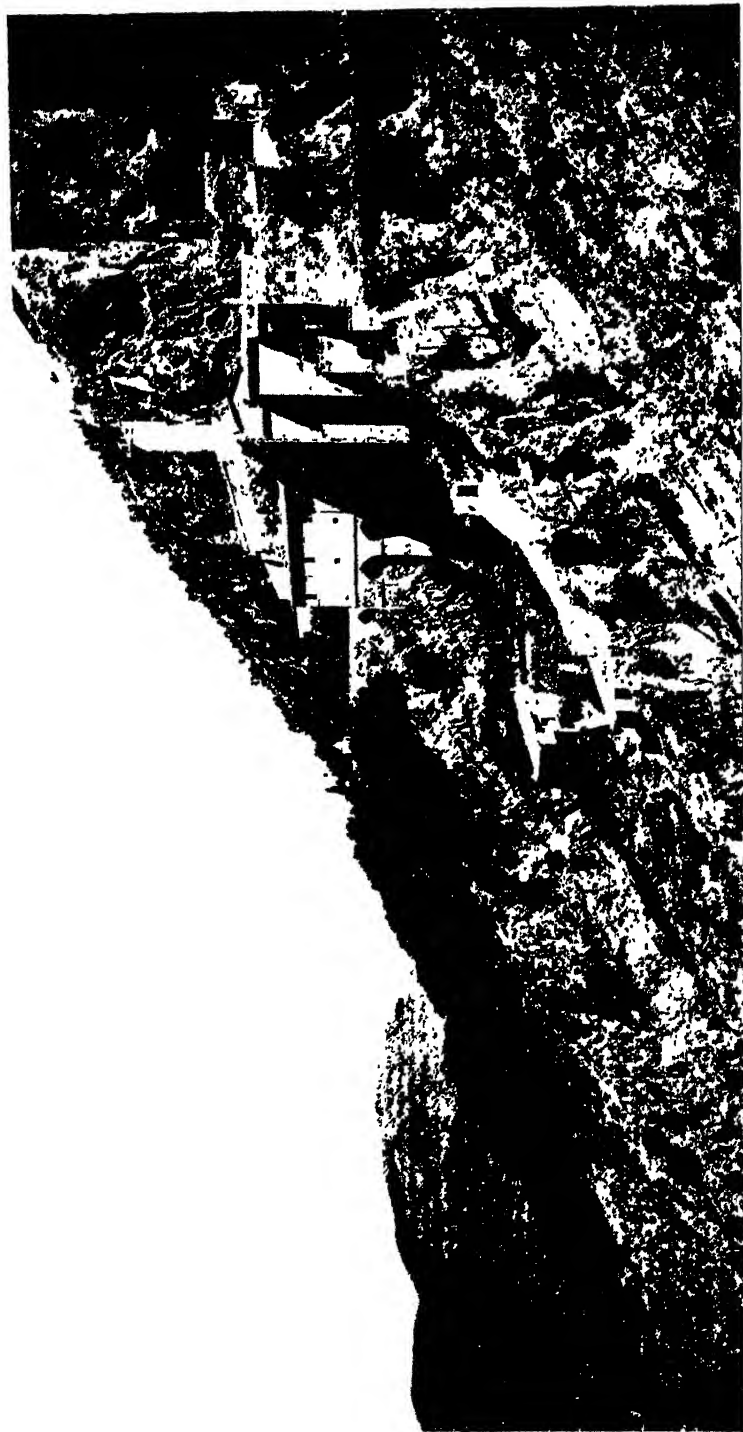
Constantine and Justinian offering the City and Church to the Virgin and Child



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

INTERIOR OF SANTA SOPHIA

Showing Moslem alterations



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

SUBIACO

Site of St. Benedict's first monastery (6th century); destroyed by Lombards, Moslems, Hungarians (7th, 9th, 10th centuries); rebuilt as Abbey of St. Scholastica (10th to 13th century)

Organization: It is only by keeping the nature of the Catholic episcopate and the principles of Church law in mind that we can intelligently interpret the early medieval institutions. Except in Africa, where the Vandals carried out a policy of frightfulness (which has given us the name "Vandalism"), the barbarian rulers, generally speaking, utilized the authority of the Catholic bishops in the building up of a new society, partly Roman, partly German. Among the Franks the bishop became the official protector of the weak and the arbiter of serious disputes; and in some instances he combined his ecclesiastical office with that of temporal lord or prince. After parishes were established the bishop relinquished certain responsibilities to minor ecclesiastic officials, thus freeing himself for the administrative affairs of his diocese.

Prior to the sixth century the clergy and the people of each diocese usually chose their own bishop, subject to the approval of the metropolitan bishop. But in the new barbarian kingdoms the kings claimed the right to appoint the bishops; and they continued to do this, in spite of the protests made by various councils—for example, at Orleans, at Clermont, and at Paris.¹⁴

The decrees promulgated by popes, by general and local councils, and by individual bishops, although not codified, formed a single quasi-system both because it was based upon the doctrines and principles of a common faith, and because the decrees promulgated in one region were often accepted in another. Church law was influenced by the Roman law, notably in the matter of contract and court procedure; and ecclesiastical courts accepted the Roman law "whenever the canon law was silent." A summary of Church laws, made by St. Martin, Archbishop of Braga (570–580), which included a Latin revision of canons enacted by the Greek Church, was later copied into nearly every compilation of ecclesiastical law.¹⁵

The prevalence of infant baptism put an end to the liturgical need of deaconesses to assist at the baptism of adults; and in most

¹⁴ The difference between East and West was not great, for the Eastern civil rulers, too, often dictated the selection of ecclesiastical rulers.

¹⁵ Summaries of this sort later received the name of "capitularies." The civil capitularies were composed of decrees enacted by the Frankish rulers, distinct from the *Leges* or traditional legal codes of the several Germanic nations, the *Lex Salica*, the *Lex Ripuaria*, etc.

places the order disappeared. But monasteries of nuns—common by this time—afforded devout women an opportunity to live under the protection of the Church and in close contact with the sanctuary.

With regard to clerical celibacy, no general law was recognized during the Merovingian period, and practice varied from place to place. In fact several councils at this time enacted decrees to regulate the behavior of the wives of clerics, using the term “deaconess” or “priestess” or “bishopess” as the case might be.

Marriage: Although many individuals conformed to the laxer standards of the barbarian codes which made divorce as easy as did the Roman law, there is no evidence that these violations of Christian morality were approved or tolerated by the Church.¹⁶ In the East, however, the complaisant bishops seemed to have raised no objection to the abuses sanctioned by Justinian.¹⁷ The laxity prevalent in Gaul and Spain at this time caused several councils to renew the prohibition of intermarriage between near relatives.

Worship: During the organizing of the Church in the different countries a considerable diversity of local liturgical usage would naturally enough grow up. Later the influence of dominant centers, for example Milan and Toledo, tended to unify the practice of the surrounding regions. The influence of the missionaries who went out from Rome was usually exerted in favor of Roman, at the expense of local customs; and eventually (about the eighth century) the distinctive rites were reduced to three—the Roman (with an Ambrosian variant), the Romanized Celtic, and the Hispano-Gallican (Mozarabic).

The Council of Agde established as a test of Catholicity the

¹⁶ The attempt to cite a decision of the Council of Agde (A.D. 506) in support of divorce involves a strained interpretation of the canon in question. See Joyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 335, and Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, on the Council of Vannes, IV, 16, and on the Council of Agde, IV, 76.

¹⁷ Justinian's legislation allowed divorce and remarriage on grounds of treason, adultery, and other faults. “These laws contain provisions utterly at variance with the Church's teaching. Yet there is no sign that any protest was raised. On the contrary, all goes to show that the Church, while recognizing that they were canonically irregular, allowed her practice to be determined by them. The laws in question are Novel XXII of 536 A.D., and Novel CXVII promulgated in the year 542 A.D. The latter superseded the former, and restricted more narrowly the causes for which divorce could be obtained.” Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

reception of Holy Communion three times a year—at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The giving of the Eucharist under both forms was common—although the rule of St. Columban decreed that uncouth persons and novices in religious orders should receive Communion under the form of bread alone.

In this century the list of saints in the Canon of the Mass received substantially its present form, probably from Pope Symmachus who was noted for his devotion to the martyrs. Following the Commemoration of the Living—after the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles—are the names of five martyred popes and of seven other martyrs who died in the first three centuries.¹⁸ The group that follows the Commemoration of the Dead includes St. John (presumably the Baptist), St. Stephen Martyr, St. Matthias (successor to Judas), and St. Barnabas, together with eleven martyrs, seven of whom are women.¹⁹ Ancient missals sometimes included the name of a famous local saint; St. Patrick, for example, occurs in old Irish missals.

Art: Churches, mosaics, diptychs,²⁰ illuminated manuscripts, record important developments in Christian art—with Constantinople as center of the East and Ravenna as center of the West. In his capital, Justinian built the churches of St. Irene and of the Holy Apostles and that outstanding monument of early Christian architecture, Santa Sophia (Hagia Sophia).

About this time appear realistic images of the Crucifixion, with the figure of Christ on the Cross replacing the more ancient symbolical representations—the lamb at the foot of the anchor and the dolphin twined around the trident. Beginning with the sixth century the crucifix is seen frequently in manuscripts and on monuments both private and public.²¹ The use of the crucifix

¹⁸ Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, and Cornelius are the popes mentioned. The other martyrs are Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian.

¹⁹ These eleven martyrs are: Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, and Anastasia. St. Gregory I added the last five names; and since then no permanent additions have been made, although Pope Gregory III inserted some names which were soon afterwards eliminated.

²⁰ A diptych is a two-leaved hinged writing tablet made of gold, silver, ivory, or fine wood—still used in the Eastern Church—containing in one part the names of living, and in the other the names of dead persons, for whom a commemoration is to be made in the Eucharistic service. Erasure of a name is a symbol of excommunication.

²¹ "The earliest MS bearing a representation of Christ crucified is in a miniature of a Syriac codex of the Gospels dating from A.D. 586 (Codex Syriacus, 56) written by the

(as distinguished from the cross) in public worship, however, was not yet general.

Communities: In the earlier part of the century, when the monastic movement in the East was at its zenith, Constantinople and its suburbs contained more than one hundred monasteries. The monks often decided controversial issues in the political as well as in the religious field; and it was due to their support that the Monophysite movement survived. Later in the century Eastern monasticism decayed, partly because of the bitter theological controversies in which the monks were involved. A spirit of intrigue and disobedience grew up; discipline relaxed; and, despite their noble past, the monks yielded to the general enfeeblement which affected Oriental Christianity.

In the West monasticism spread and flourished; and the monks became the pioneers of Christian civilization. They preached the Gospel, served the poor and the sick, instructed the young in religion and in various arts and crafts. Working as copyists, they preserved for posterity the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, and many literary treasures of classical antiquity.²² Moreover, they contributed to the common welfare by clearing forests, laying roads, digging canals, building bridges, and cultivating barren lands.²³

Monastic rules were written by many leaders, notably by Caesarius of Arles (d. 543), who composed for the monks and nuns of Gaul a rule which incorporated various improvements. To St. Benedict, however, more than to any other belongs the title "Father of Western Monasticism." His rule, composed a few years

scribe Rabula, and which is in the Laurentian Library at Florence." Orazio Marucchi, "The Cross and Crucifix," *Cath. Encyc.*, IV, 527.

There was, to be sure, a third-century representation of the Corpus on the Cross, but it was a blasphemous pagan caricature (still preserved in Rome) in which the Body is surmounted by an ass's head and the legend reads "Alexamenos adores his God." The oldest extant carved images of the Crucifixion date from this century—one on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina on the Aventine, executed by Greeks in the employment of Pope Sixtus III; another on an Italian ivory plaque in the British Museum; and a third preserved at Mt. Athos.

²² St. Columba is said to have written 300 copies of the Gospels.

²³ On the other hand monks occasionally disturbed the peace of the Church by their quarrels with the secular clergy, their jealousy of one another, their ambition for power and wealth. Pope St. Gregory labored to preserve the distinction between monks and secular clergy, without giving too much freedom to the monks or too much power to the clergy; and many of his letters dealt with problems of monastic discipline.

before his death in 543, cultivated the family spirit, exalted the ideal of moderation, imposed no great austerities. One of the leading characteristics of Benedictine life—its stability—arose from the fact that everything necessary for the well-being of the community was supplied from the farms, mills, and workshops of the monastic domain on which the monks spent their lives under an abbot vested with supreme authority. From its cradle at Monte Cassino, erected in 529, the Benedictine movement spread far and wide, becoming one of the chief formative factors in the development of the new Europe.

Celtic monasticism was represented by a galaxy of distinguished men, most conspicuous of whom were Sts. Columba and Columban, born respectively in 521 and 543. From Iona as his headquarters, Columba made missionary expeditions into northern Scotland, preached to the Picts of Inverness, and organized the Scottish Church on a semi-monastic pattern which endured for centuries. His successors in office inherited his jurisdiction over all the monasteries in this northern country. St. Columban, educated at Bangor, left Ireland with twelve disciples in 583, traveled extensively on the Continent, and founded, or inspired the founding of, monasteries—including Luxeuil and Bobbio—which played an honorable part in the subsequent religious and cultural history of Europe.²⁴

Ireland had become noted as a center of monastic life. Among the more celebrated monasteries were Clonard, founded by St. Finnian about 520, which contained several thousand monks; Clonmacnoise, founded by St. Kieran in 544; Kells and Iona, founded by St. Columba in 554 and 563; Clonfert, founded by St. Brendan in 557; and Bangor, founded by St. Comgall about the middle of the century—a monastery as large as Clonard and better known than any other in Ireland.²⁵

The greater Irish monasteries, like Clonmacnoise and Bangor, pursued the policy of having one of their number consecrated as

²⁴ The rule of St. Columban, preserved in many ancient manuscripts, was edited together with St. Columban's *Penitential*, between the years 1893 and 1896 by a German scholar, Dr. Otto Seebas.

²⁵ The Irish schools of the sixth century are described at length by Most Rev. John Healy, in *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, or *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*.

bishop; thus the jurisdiction of the non-monastic bishops grew less and less important. By the end of the century the bishops had faded into relative obscurity; and monastic abbots dominated the Irish Church.

Saints: The better known saints of the century have already been mentioned. The following details are supplementary.

St. Benedict (480-543), son of a wealthy family of Umbria, went to Subiaco secretly at the age of seventeen to live the life of a hermit there, and then entered upon his unique career, founding a comparatively new pattern of monastic life, not eremitical and individual as in the East, but collective and coöperative. The one authentic biography of Benedict, in the second book of St. Gregory's *Dialogues*, is based apparently upon accounts given by four of Benedict's disciples; but it leaves much to be desired in many respects, including chronology.

St. Columba ²⁶ (521-597), a native of Donegal, Ireland, and member of the O'Donnell clan, was descended from the famous Irish king, Niall of the Nine Hostages. Having been trained in St. Finnian's School of Clonard, he established a number of monasteries in Ireland; afterwards, with the group known as the Twelve Apostles of Ireland, he founded a monastery on the island of Iona, which ranked next in dignity to Patrick's foundation at Armagh and for centuries remained a center of Gaelic Christianity.²⁷ Columba is also credited with the inauguration of a policy of coöperation between monastic and non-monastic schools which helped to promote the flourishing culture of the next two hundred years.

St. Columban, or Columbanus (543-615), a man of extraordinary gifts and achievements, was the most representative of the Celtic monastic founders and legislators of his day. His good Latin style, clever verse, wide knowledge of classical literature, and fine scholarship bear witness to the quality of education imparted at the Abbeys of Bangor and Lough Erne where he was trained. "Champion of morals, apostle of civilization, fearless soldier of the cross of Christ," he established in Gaul the foundations of his system as he had learned it in Ireland, and planted at Annegray the first Irish monastery ever founded on the Continent.²⁸

²⁶ Also called Columkille, or Colum of the Churches.

²⁷ It was a monk of Iona, St. Aidan, who founded Lindisfarne in 637.

²⁸ See H. Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture*, Helena Concannon, *Life of St. Columban*, and George Metlake (John Joseph Laux), *Life and Writings of St. Columban*.

For a long period this great man remained almost forgotten in the English-speaking world. Montalembert's *Monks of the West* helped to revive his memory. In the words of Pope Pius XI, "As scholarship throws an increasing light on the obscurity of the Middle Ages, the more clearly is it manifest that the renaissance of all Christian science and culture in many parts of France, Germany and Italy is due to the labors and zeal

St. Scholastica (d. 543), sister of St. Benedict, became head of a convent of nuns near Monte Cassino.

St. Brendan the Elder (484-577) established several monasteries in Ireland, including the famous Clonfert, and made expeditions into Britain, Wales, and Scotland. The saga of his voyage to America is not now generally accepted as historical.²⁰ He was a man of great influence and in his monastery at Clonfert he ruled over a community of some three thousand monks.

St. David (d. 601), patron of Wales, who founded the monastery of Menevia—later St. David's, Pembrokeshire—a prominent monastic leader, included many Irishmen among his disciples and influenced Irish monasticism considerably. He was bishop of Menevia, the chief port of communications with Ireland. Legendary details of his life are contained in a biography written some five centuries after his death.

St. Kentigern (c. 518-603), called "Mungo" in Welsh, preached the faith in the neighborhood of modern Glasgow, was aided by the Christian king of Strathclyde and became bishop of Glasgow (c. 540). Driven out by the pagans, he took refuge in Wales with St. David, founded a monastery which later became St. Asaph's, and in 573 returned to Scotland with a number of Welsh followers to continue his missionary labors in various districts there.

Education: In the West the schools of the classical period had vanished and the foundations of the medieval homes of learning were being laid. Two events date the decay of the older education and the beginning of a revival—the closing of the pagan schools of Athens in 529 and the founding in 585 of Luxeuil, the first of those continental monastic schools which were to exert so salutary an influence on education by preserving the books of the past and by developing the scholars of the future. Modern civilization lies under an enormous debt to the men who were pioneers in the monastic movement—Benedict, Columba, Columban.

Well before the founding of Luxeuil the monasteries of Ireland had become the chief centers of study in Western Christendom; for Ireland, having escaped the barbarian invasion, stood

of Columban." Cited by E. J. McCarthy in his modernized edition of Montalembert's *St. Columban*, which contains enlightening notes, bibliography, and a map of Columban's journeyings.

Columban's letters and poems have been edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; and the same collection contains the *Vita Columbani* by Jonas of Bobbio.

²⁰ It is still, however, vigorously defended by some. See Dunn, "The Brendan Problem," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1921), 395-477.

out in sharp contrast to other countries, and the Irish contribution to culture—even though described too eulogistically at times—was priceless. The school of Armagh, established by St. Patrick in the previous century, Clonmacnoise on the Shannon, founded in 544, gathered pupils from all quarters of Ireland; and monks who, like Columban, crossed over to the Continent, carried with them not only the traditions of scholarship, but precious manuscripts as well.

Besides the Irish scholars, the chief links of the intellectual chain during these years were: in Italy, Boethius, Dionysius Exiguus, Cassiodorus, St. Gregory the Great; in Gaul, Sts. Caesarius of Arles and Gregory of Tours; in Spain, Sts. Martin of Braga and Leander of Seville; in Britain, St. Gildas.

Writers: The sixth century possesses particular importance for historians because at this time a Roman cleric collected the first contemporary biographies of the popes—the *Liber Pontificalis*. Based on primitive catalogues, this collection—although individual entries are of unequal size and value—became a prized source book of papal history.³⁰

Boethius (480–524), best known for his work, *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages, also wrote theological summaries of Catholic teaching on the Trinity and the Incarnation. At first high in the confidence of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, he was later accused of treason and executed without trial. He was long regarded as a martyr for the Catholic faith; and his cult, founded on a local tradition of Pavia, received the sanction of the Holy See.³¹

Dionysius Exiguus, or Denis the Little (d. c. 545), a monk from Scythia who spent the greater part of his life at Rome and was intimately associated with Cassiodorus, produced a number of translations and collections which were of considerable cultural value to succeeding generations.

³⁰ The *Liber Pontificalis*, running in its First Series from St. Peter to Felix III (IV), was continued from the sixth to the fifteenth century by many different authors, some of whom were clerics attached to the papal court. Most of the popes of the tenth and eleventh centuries receive only a few lines; but the biographies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are of exceptional value. The whole collection was edited by the learned Abbé Louis Duchesne. Mommsen, who edited the *Liber Pontificalis* for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, wrote, "my edition does not supersede that of Duchesne, but only corroborates and confirms it."

³¹ Some have denied that Boethius was a Christian on the ground that in his book named above he made no mention of any specifically Christian doctrine; but Rand, in *Founders of the Middle Ages*, regards him as worthy of canonization.

He is regarded as the author of our present chronology, because he first began the reckoning of dates from the supposed year of the Incarnation of our Lord (with an error of at least four years).

Cassiodorus (490-583), a minister of state under Theodoric, founded a monastery in which he spent the last years of his life. His *Historia Tripartita*, compiled from other works and filled with erroneous statements, was a favorite textbook during the Middle Ages. He wrote also a *History of the Goths* (extant only in an abridgment by another hand); a *Rule for Monks*, which gives intellectual labor an important place in the routine of monastic activities; and *Institutions*, which contains an outline of study for monks.

Pope St. Gregory the Great (540-604), a Benedictine, wrote a *Treatise on Morals*; *Dialogues* (partly biographical); a *Pastoral Rule*; and numerous letters. A compiler rather than an original theologian, he summed up the teachings of the Fathers of the Church so successfully that his books remained in use as texts for centuries; and his spiritual writings stimulated Catholic devotional life during all the Middle Ages.³²

St. Ennodius (474-521), a native of Gaul, educated at Pavia and eventually bishop of that city, has left several biographical works, letters, and a defense of the synod (convened by Theodoric in 501) which decided that Symmachus had been validly elected. He has been called "the last representative of the ancient schools of rhetoric"; and his writings contain valuable historical information.

St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (c. 470-c. 543), of noble birth, a student first at Lerins and then at Arles, became the ranking bishop of Gaul in the year 502 and for a period of forty years devoted himself to the restoration of Church discipline and to the suppression of the Semi-Pelagian heresy, especially at the Second Council of Orange in 529. He was one of the greatest preachers of the Latin Church. In addition to a rule for monks and a rule for nuns, his writings include sermons and theological treatises.

St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours (c. 538-594), wrote *The History of the Franks* and *The Miracles of St. Martin*, and also one or two theological works of lesser importance.³³ At a time when, in his own words, "cruelty and lawlessness were causing more harm to the Church than Diocletian himself ever caused," he came forward to protect the people—differing

³² The Gregorian *Sacramentary* and the Gregorian *Antiphony* connected with his name are not actually his work.

³³ Although well informed and sincere, he was extremely credulous with regard to stories of the supernatural.

Among the friends of Gregory of Tours was Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530-601), a native of Italy and a student of Ravenna, who settled in Gaul where he became bishop of Poitiers. One of the most gifted poets of the Latin Church, he wrote some three hundred (extant) hymns, the best known of which is *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt*.

from many contemporary bishops who lacked the courage to denounce the injustice of the half-civilized kings and nobles.

St. Martin of Braga (c. 515-580), a monk of Palestine who went to northern Spain about the middle of the century and founded a monastery at Braga, the capital of the Suevi, became archbishop of that city and labored for the conversion of his Arian neighbors. His works include moral and pastoral writings, letters, and a valuable collection of canons promulgated by Oriental, African, and Spanish councils.

St. Leander (534-601), a Benedictine monk and bishop of Seville, presided at the Third Council of Toledo (589), when the Visigoth nation renounced Arianism in favor of Catholicism; and he began the successful organization of the Spanish Church which was perfected later by his brother, St. Isidore. After St. Leander's establishment of a school for the study of religion, art, and science at Seville, similar schools were founded in nearly all Spanish sees. Of his writings only two are extant—a monastic rule composed for his sisters and a series of homilies on the conversion of the Goths.

St. Gildas (516-570), born in the Clyde district, probably preached among the Picts; eventually he settled in Britain and founded a monastery there. His fame rests upon his book, *De excidio Britanniae*—a Latin history of Britain from the Roman invasion to his own day and the earliest source of our knowledge concerning the English conquest of Britain. In it he castigates his British countrymen, both lay and clerical, as a disgrace to the Christian name.

Procopius of Caesarea (d. 562), most important of the later Greek historians and intimately acquainted with the period of which he wrote, is our chief authority for the reign of Justinian.³⁴ His history contains much bitter invective against Justinian, Theodora, and Belisarius—in fact against almost all the authorities in Church and state at the time. He carried his account of contemporary events down to 554.

Among the Syrians, orthodox theology had fallen into a decline; and the most distinguished writers were Monophysites. **Philoxenus**, Bishop of Mabbogh (d. 523), was among the greatest masters of Syriac prose. He wrote many theological treatises and numerous letters highly prized for their historical value and he supervised a Syriac translation of the New Testament (partly preserved at Trinity College, Dublin).

Crippled by its struggle with the Arian Vandals, and then by the at-

³⁴ In the Greek Church the influence of heresy and the despotic conduct of the emperors helped to bring on an intellectual decline and although a number of writers defended the orthodox doctrine against the Monophysites, they were not comparable in ability to their predecessors. Best known among them was St. Leontius (c. 484-c. 543), a monk of noble birth, who loyally defended the teaching of Chalcedon. Emperor Justinian (d. 565) is sometimes included among the theologians by reason of his different edicts against heresy.

tacks of the Semi-Pelagians, the African Church produced few writers, none of them very important with the exception of St. Fulgentius (468–533), Bishop of Ruspe, the defender of St. Augustine's teaching.

3. OPPOSITION

Heresies: Monophysitism. Despite the efforts of Justinian to effect a compromise with a Monophysite sect, the Acephali, the extremists refused even to consider his offer; in fact the Monophysite bishops of Egypt and Syria went so far as to "depose" him and to set up independent churches, one of which was called the "Jacobite" Church after its founder, Jacobus Baradai, Bishop of Edessa.⁸⁵

Arianism: This heresy persisted among the Lombards of Italy. In Spain it died out at the end of the civil war which caused the martyrdom of Hermengild; and King Recared accepted the Catholic faith for all Spain at the Third Council of Toledo (589)—the council that anathematized everyone who refused to believe "that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son."

Priscillianism: The last of the Priscillianists disappeared after their condemnation at the Synod of Braga in 561.

Origenism: During the controversies which divided monastic factions in the first half of the century, the Origenist monks were by turns punished, pardoned, and punished again. In 543 Justinian wrote his *Book Against Origen* and had twenty-four texts from Origen's *De Principiis* anathematized by all the patriarchs, including Pope Vigilius. One Origenist faction, which affirmed the pre-existence of the soul of Christ, persuaded the Second Council of Constantinople to condemn a rival faction, which held that just men will become equal to Christ at the final resurrection. After the decision of the council had been promulgated, those monks who refused to accept it were expelled from their monasteries.

⁸⁵ An indirect consequence of the Monophysite heresy was a schism led by the anti-Monophysite patriarchs of Aquileia (who were metropolitans of Illyria). Another schism was formed by bishops of north Italy, Dalmatia, and Africa who united in opposition to Pope Vigilius when that pontiff concurred in Justinian's condemnation of the *Three Chapters*. Some of the schismatics returned to communion with the Holy See at the end of the sixth century, others not until the close of the seventh.

Manichaeism: In accord with the civil law, some Manichaeans were put to death at Ravenna in 556.

The Jews: Antagonism between Jews and Christians became more pronounced; Justinian strictly enforced the anti-Semitic laws. Naturally enough the Jews allied themselves with Christendom's fiercest enemies, the Persians; and during the Persian occupation of Syria they took part in many atrocities committed upon Christians. When Heraclius regained possession of Syria he ordered cruel reprisals.

In southern Arabia, where the Jews were numerous and powerful, one of their leaders, Dhu Nuwas, drove the Abyssinians out of the kingdom of Yemen in 523 and killed some twenty thousand Christians who would not renounce their faith. A Christian expedition from Abyssinia then invaded Yemen and killed a thousand Jews, including Dhu Nuwas. The Jews applied to the emperor for help to expel the invaders; and when he refused on the ground that the Abyssinians were fellow-Christians, they applied to Chosroes, the king of Persia, with whose aid they routed the Abyssinians. A little later, in northern Arabia at Hira, under Persian influence at that time, hundreds of Christians were killed. In the Frankish kingdom and in Spain the Jews suffered from oppressive legislation and in some regions they had to choose between baptism and banishment.

At the close of the century the official attitude of the Church was outlined by Gregory I, whose letters laid down as a fundamental principle that Jews should be subject to no injury so long as they kept within the law, that their property rights should be respected and that they should be free to follow their customary religious practices. This sentiment dominated ecclesiastical policy during all the Middle Ages.³⁸

4. MISSIONS

East of the Euphrates, missionaries from Mesopotamia founded numerous churches. How many of these were Nestorian it is dif-

³⁸ Gregory's ruling was incorporated almost literally into the so-called *Constitutio pro Judaes*, published by Pope Callistus II about the year 1120 and renewed by more than twenty popes during the next four centuries.

ficult to say; but probably Nestorians made up the majority of Christians in Persia, India, and China. Meanwhile the Monophysites, who were protected by the Empress Theodora, kept possession of their churches in Egypt and also spread into Nubia, Abyssinia, and Arabia.

As narrated above, Franks, Visigoths, and Ostrogoths became Christian; Ireland had already been converted; England and northern Scotland were being successfully evangelized. Everywhere the Church was promoting the assimilation of the barbarian tribes into the native population and smoothing the transition from the old order to the new.

We must remember, however, that the people into whose lives Catholicism was being introduced were as yet in many instances not far removed from savagery. Long years had to elapse before the new Europeans would become thoroughly Christianized. Throughout the Middle Ages, therefore, we shall constantly encounter two contradictory tendencies, the one a Catholic, and the other a barbarian heritage.

SUMMARY

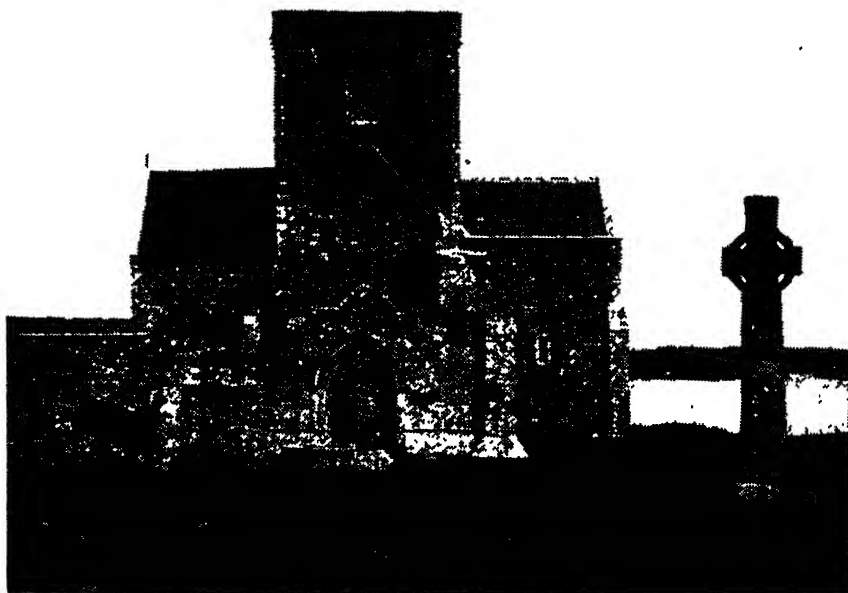
The Church found its first champion among the new kings of the West in Clovis; a little later Theodoric, an Arian Christian, ruled Italy; afterwards came the fierce Lombards, also Arian. Before the end of the century Spain was a Catholic country. In 597 the reconversion of England began.

Among the notable popes were Hormisdas, author of a celebrated *Formula*; Felix IV, who secured for clerics immunity from civil law; Boniface II, who tried to appoint his own successor. One may measure the progress of the politico-ecclesiastical revolution by marking the vivid contrast between the harried Vigilius and the audacious Gregory I, who sent Maurice a letter such as few emperors have ever received.

Councils at Agde, Orleans, Arles, helped to organize the Frank-

ish Church and to clarify its doctrine; the Second Council of Orange condemned Semi-Pelagianism; the (ultimately) ecumenical Council of Constantinople—more reluctant to alienate the Monophysites than to slight the pope—condemned the *Three Chapters*; at Toledo a council registered the Catholicizing of Spain.

Far-sighted monks set up spiritual power houses—Benedict at Monte Cassino, Columba at Iona, Columban at Luxeuil and Bobbio. Writers published books destined to live long: Justinian published the *Corpus Juris*; after the Franks had taken full control of Gaul, Gregory of Tours wrote their history; from Pope Gregory the Great came the *Regulae Pastoralis Liber*, the medieval classic on the priesthood.



Ewing Galloway

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, IONA

Near site of Columba's monastery destroyed by Danes in 802

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL	MISCELLANEOUS
503-543 Caesarius, Bp. of Arles	
506 Council of Agde	
511 Council of Orleans	511 Clovis d.
519 End of Monophysite schism	
524 Council of Arles	524 Boethius d.
	526 Theodoric d.
529 Second Council of Orange	529 Justinian I closes pagan schools
c. 529 St. Benedict's Rule, Monte Cassino	
532-537 Santa Sophia	
	533-534 <i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i>
537 St. Silverius d.	
544 Justinian condemns <i>Three Chapters</i>	
553 Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II)	553 Fall of Ostrogoth Kingdom •
563 Columba founds Iona	
	568 Alboin, Lombard king of Milan
575 Gregory of Tours writes <i>History of the Franks</i>	
	583 Cassiodorus d.
585 Columban founds Luxeuil	
589 Spain becomes Catholic	
591 Gregory's <i>Regulae Pastoralis Liber</i>	
595 Gregory the Great vs. Emperor Maurice	
597 St. Augustine in England	

CHAPTER VII

(The Six Hundreds)

East vs. West

PREVIEW

IMPERIAL interference in Church affairs dangerously increased the antagonism between East and West, especially during the Monothelite controversy. Even more serious was the threat to the very life of Christendom which came when the Moslems established their rule in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. But for the desperate resistance encountered during the long siege of Constantinople (673-678), they would in all probability have poured through the valley of the Danube into central Europe.

The growth of the West was marked by the widening influence of the papacy, by the development of Christian nations in Gaul, Spain, and Italy, by the rapid spread of monasticism. Ireland completely Catholic and England reconverted, functioned as vital religious centers from which missionaries went forth to preach the faith on the Continent.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The East was the least fortunate region of Christendom in these days; for although the Greeks overcame the Persians, they themselves were in turn defeated by the Arabs. Islam soon seized control of the eastern and southern provinces of the Empire; and many flourishing churches completely disappeared.

In the West, after the first welter of confusion, there took place four chief concentrations of Teutonic tribes—the Lombards in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. The Lombards, at first Arian, seem to have become Catholic by the end of the seventh century; Visigothic Spain developed rapidly into a powerful independent Christian state, with bishops and kings coöperating in the administration of the country; the Frankish tribes retained the faith they had accepted; England was gradually won back to the faith. All these events contributed to the shaping of a new Europe—at once Roman, German, Celtic, and Christian. That shaping was a gradual process, however; and many regions were slow to emerge from moral and cultural chaos. This century forms a confused and often tragic chapter of Church history.

1. THE EAST

The Empire: The power of Byzantium declined steadily, except for a brief period during the reign of Heraclius, who recovered Armenia and Syria and brought the True Cross back from Persia to Jerusalem in 629. First the Persians overran the eastern part of Asia Minor, captured Antioch, and seized Jerusalem in 614; later the Moslems, by a rapid succession of victories, in less than fifteen years took possession of Damascus, Jerusalem, North Africa, and Cyprus, and, after winning control of Armenia and Asia Minor, advanced close to Constantinople. Half a century later they all but captured the Byzantine capital. The Moslem invasion had the double effect of checking the Monophysite movement in Egypt and Syria, and of driving many Greek Christians into Sicily and Italy. Meanwhile, on the western borders, Croats and Serbs settled in their present territory; and the Bulgarians organized a powerful state south of the Danube. The shrunken empire included hardly more than Asia Minor.

Busy as they were with the defense of their dominions—and partly on that account—the emperors continued to interfere in doctrinal disputes and in Church government. Heraclius and Constans II—motivated by the desire to promote peace through

religious unity—attempted to arrange a theological compromise between Catholics and Monophysites; Constantine IV was responsible for the assembling of the Sixth General Council (III Constantinople); Justinian II made a determined attempt to impose his theories of ecclesiastical discipline upon the pope.

Phocas (602–610), who murdered Maurice and seized his throne in 602, was the first emperor to be crowned in church, and the ceremony of royal coronation then received its formal religious character. Phocas, unlike other Eastern emperors, definitely acknowledged the universal supremacy of the See of Peter. He had lost much territory to the Persians, Avars, and Slavs, when Heraclius deposed him and drove back the invaders.

Heraclius (610–641) carried on campaigns against the Persians which lasted for years and took the form of a holy war. They were financed by the sale of ecclesiastical treasures, and they ended with the practical destruction of the Persian Empire. They had the further effect of promoting the consolidation of the Eastern Empire; but Heraclius, in his effort to reconcile Monophysites and Catholics, recommended an heretical formula, the *Ecthesis* which became a bone of contention.

Constans II (642–668) composed another document, the *Type*, as a substitute for the *Ecthesis*, and when Pope Martin I refused to accept it, the emperor banished him. After the Moslems had advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople, Constans went to Italy with the thought of transferring the capital of the empire back to Rome; but he died before putting this idea into effect. The extent of the imperial claim to ecclesiastical jurisdiction is illustrated by the edict of Constans II removing Ravenna from the patriarchate of Rome and making it subject to Constantinople. This edict was issued in answer to an appeal made by the archbishop of Ravenna, who had quarreled with Pope Vitalian.

Constantine IV (668–685) who drove the Moslems away from Constantinople by the use of "Greek fire"¹ had to surrender considerable territory to the Bulgarians south of the Danube. He convoked the Sixth General Council (III Constantinople) in 680.

Justinian II (685–695) exercised a disastrous influence in both religious and political affairs. Without consulting Pope Sergius, he convoked the so-called Trullan Synod of 692 which ruled that the Eastern discipline allowing a married clergy should be extended to the whole Church. When the *Acta* were sent to Rome for the pope's signature, Sergius refused to sign them. Dethroned in 695 and sent into exile after his nose had been cut off, Justinian, with the aid of the Bulgars, later regained the throne;

¹ A secret mixture—possibly of sulphur, naphtha and quicklime.

and, wearing a nose of gold, he reigned until his second deposition and his execution in 711.

2. THE WEST

a. The Frankish Kingdom, Italy, Spain

The Frankish Kingdom: During the seventh century the Merovingian line disintegrated into a series of weak, incompetent kings; and public affairs were controlled by petty officials—dukes, counts, and bishops. St. Gregory of Tours, our chief source of information for the history of the Franks at this period, gives a depressing picture of the brutality and immorality prevalent in his day. Eventually, the Mayors of the Palace took charge of the kingdom.

Clotaire II, who ruled over all Gaul, restored peace and framed a constitution. He made Pepin of Landen (d. 639) and Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, regents (623) during the minority of his son Dagobert.² **Dagobert**, the last strong Merovingian, reunited all the old territory of the Franks; and during his reign missionaries went into the Basque country of the south and into Flanders.

As mayor of the palace, **Pepin of Héristal**, grandson of Bishop Arnulf of Metz and father of Charles Martel, made himself master, first of Austrasia (c. 680) and finally of the whole Frankish Kingdom (687–714). He established a strong central government, waged successful war against neighboring pagan tribes, and supported Willibrord's missions in Frisia.

Italy: A large part of north Italy was at this time ravaged by war. Ten Lombard kings—most of them Arians—reigned between 590 and 700; and some of their queens, who were Catholic, exerted considerable influence for good.

Agilulf's wife, Theodolinda, a Bavarian and a Catholic, founded numerous churches and monasteries, endowed Columban's foundation at Bobbio, and converted her husband. **Arioald** (625–636) too, had a Catholic wife.

Rothari (636–652) headed an Arian revival which threw the country into disorder for sixty years; when **Grimoald** became king in 662, he ex-

² By the marriage of their children, Pepin and Arnulf were ancestors of the Carolingians.

pelled the Frankish invaders; Clotaire III, who drove out the Avars, also codified the Lombard laws. But the country soon fell back into semi-anarchy; and order was not restored until the following century.

Spain: The life span of the Visigothic kingdom was almost co-extensive with the seventh century; and the outstanding characteristics of the period were reflected in the celebrated councils of Toledo, fourteen of which were held between 633 and 694.⁸ Endowed with legislative jurisdiction over the whole country, the councils decided political and religious questions, checked high-handed or disorderly monarchs and nobles, and molded the national life. Among the foremost churchmen were Leander, Isidore, Ildephonsus and that energetic archbishop of Braga, Fructuosus, whose religious foundations lined the west coast. The monastery of Agli at Toledo became a training school of saints and scholars. The country however, was facing two grave dangers—the restlessness of the nobility under ecclesiastical control and the hatred smoldering in the hearts of the 90,000 Jews who had been forced to submit to baptism as an alternative to banishment.

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: Under the fervent convert, King St. Ethelbert of Kent, the conversion of England went forward rapidly; and with the help of Ireland, strong religious leaders were developed. But a setback occurred in the north when King Edwin of Northumbria, a vigorous champion of Christianity, was killed in battle with the pagans in 633. After Edwin's death, St. Paulinus, Archbishop of York, had to leave his see, which remained without a bishop until the coming of St. Wilfrid in 664.

Although Oswy of Northumbria defeated the last pagan king, Penda of Mercia, about the middle of the century, the conversion of the country was still hampered by the feud between the older Celtic clergy and the newcomers from Rome. The Celts were dis-

⁸ The fourth council (633) admonished King Sisikind to rule more justly; the twelfth council (681) forbade King Wamba to renounce the monastic vows which he had taken when apparently at the point of death; the sixteenth council (694)—in the celebrated *Fuero Juzgo*—affirmed the principle that the power of the king is strictly limited by the moral law. "Rex eris, si recte facis; si autem non facis, rex non eris."

pleased at the introduction of new liturgical customs, at the friendly attitude of the Roman monks towards the Saxons, and at the substitution of the Benedictine rule for the older discipline in the English monasteries. At Whitby (664) the controversy aroused so much feeling that when the synod voted in favor of the Roman usage many of the Celtic clergy withdrew from the country.⁴

The dominant figure of the English Church in the latter part of the century was a Northumbrian noble, Wilfrid (634-709), who had studied at Lindisfarne and Rome and on his return to England had been appointed tutor to the son of King Oswy. Having been named archbishop of York, Wilfrid went to France to receive consecration from the bishop of Paris; and, during his absence, the Celtic party succeeded in having St. Chad inducted into the see of York. Through the intervention of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Wilfrid finally obtained his see; but his troubles were not yet over. Ten years later, after a quarrel with Theodore over the division of the diocese of York into four sees, Wilfrid was banished by the new King Egfrid;⁵ and although Theodore, now reconciled, secured his readmission, new

⁴ Foremost on the side of the Roman usage at Whitby was St. Wilfrid. Conspicuous among his opponents was St. Colman (605-676), monk of Iona and bishop of Lindisfarne, who resigned his see and returned to Ireland where he established an abbey for English monks. (He is not to be confused with some five or six other saints of the same name, most of whom lived in the preceding century.)

The new regulations as to the time of celebrating Easter were based upon the cycle established by Dionysius the Little in 525. It was only with reluctance that the Irish accepted this as a substitute for the usage which had originally come to them from Rome through St. Patrick. See Horace K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, I, Part I, 215.

The fact that the Celtic usage differed from the Roman in some respects has been magnified by some controversialists into an argument for the non-Roman origin of the Celtic church; but this theory is comparatively modern and is supported by no strong evidence. According to Henry Jenner, Assistant Librarian at the British Museum, "the only points of difference between the British church of St. Augustine's time and the Roman, of which we can be certain are: (1) the rule of the keeping of Easter; (2) the tonsure; (3) some difference in the manner of baptizing." See "Celtic Rite," *Cath. Encyc.*, III, 494.

⁵ Theodore, believing that one bishop for each of the eight Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was insufficient, formed three new sees, consecrating a bishop for each. Wilfrid appealed to the Holy See, and in 679 appeared in person before a council summoned by Pope St. Agatho. The council decreed that Wilfrid should be restored, that the bishops who had taken his place should be deposed; and that Archbishop Theodore should consult with Wilfrid as to the coadjutors to be selected. When Wilfrid returned to England King Egfrid affirmed that the decision of the council had been bought and banished Wilfrid from Northumbria.

difficulties arose and Wilfrid was forced to resign his see. Wilfrid went to Rome once more (704); the Holy See ordered that justice should be done; and an English synod arranged a compromise which Wilfrid accepted. The net result of all these disputes was to establish the English Church's independence of the crown and also to place beyond question the right of appeal to the Holy See. For the next four centuries no English king ventured to depose a bishop.

The British Celts, who had retired to the west of England, fused into one body with the older Gaelic Celts. For a while they kept up the old antagonism to Saxons and Romans, refusing to recognize the authority of Augustine and his successors; and during these years Wales drifted into a position close to schism. Eventually the bishops conformed to the decision of the Holy See and recognized the jurisdiction of Canterbury.

Ireland: It is now commonly recognized that much injustice has been done to Ireland by overlooking the importance of its contribution to the intellectual and spiritual development of Europe in these years. During the untroubled era which lasted from the conversion of the country in the fifth century to the coming of the Danes in the eighth, Ireland remained in many respects the brightest area in Christendom. Monasteries and schools multiplied; Irish missionaries and teachers carried on their work in foreign countries; Irish monks helped to evangelize the pagan Celts and Saxons; English students sought instruction in Irish schools and under Irish masters. The Celtic usage gradually yielded to the Roman; Pope Honorius, in the second quarter of the century, induced the bishops of southern Ireland to adopt the Roman date of Easter.

Scotland: St. Kentigern evangelized the region around Glasgow. The Scottish Church continued to prosper.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Repeated imperial attempts to secure papal endorsement of Monothelitism occasioned many historic episodes, which illus-

trate the changing relationship between pope and emperor: the wavering attitude of Honorius I; the brutal punishment of the independent Pope St. Martin I; the tactful but firm stand of St. Vitalian; St. Leo II's outspoken repudiation of his predecessor, Honorius.

In 681 the Council of Constantinople formally healed the schism between East and West (which had lasted since 635), thus theoretically restoring the old conditions; but in reality the papacy maintained its newly adopted attitude of independence toward the enfeebled emperor. Ten years later when Justinian II sent an officer to arrest Pope Sergius, the Romans drove the imperial agent from the city—an incident which marked the close of an era.

Sabinian (604–606),⁶ whose pontificate was disturbed by a famine and by fears of a renewed Lombard invasion, had to economize the corn in the granaries for a while in order to forestall disaster. Apparently he did not share the enthusiasm of his predecessor, Gregory, for monastic assistants, but rather preferred the secular clergy. At one ordination he consecrated twenty-six bishops.

Boniface III (607) was favored by the Emperor Phocas who snubbed the patriarch of Constantinople and declared the title "Universal Bishop" to be the exclusive possession of the See of Rome—a statement curiously in contrast with the claim of the Emperor Justinian I, a half century earlier. Boniface, who reigned less than a year, published a decree prohibiting all activity for the election of any new pope until three days after the burial of the preceding pope.

St. Boniface IV (608–615), with the approval of Phocas, made the Roman Pantheon a Christian church and transferred to it the bones of the martyrs from the catacombs. From St. Columban, then at Bobbio, he received a letter reproaching him for having subscribed to the decrees of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (II Constantinople) of 553, and urging him to give proof of his orthodoxy. During the reign of Boniface, Rome suffered greatly from ruinous wars and from inundations of the Tiber.

St. Deusdedit (615–618), zealous in extending relief in time of pestilence, also did much to encourage the clergy during political troubles. The leaden seals (*bullae*) used on pontifical documents are said to have originated with him. It is from this usage that the term "Papal Bulls" is derived.

⁶ Charges against Sabinian—including the accusation that he allowed the poor to starve—have been based on documents written long after his time and entitled to little or no credence.

Boniface V (619–625), who showed especial care for the progress of the faith in England, sent letters to Mellitus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Edwin, King of Northumbria.

Honorius I (625–638) is best known through the anathema pronounced upon him at the Sixth Ecumenical Council more than forty years after his death. The condemnation was occasioned by a letter of the pope to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in which Honorius seemed to favor a compromise with the Monothelites. The letter was not a doctrinal definition and did not involve papal infallibility; but Honorius was apparently negligent of his official duty; hence the condemnation.⁷

Severinus (640) reigned only from May to August. He refused to sign the *Ecthesis*, despite pressure exerted by the emperor. He proclaimed the true doctrine of the Church—that there are in Christ two natures, two wills, two operations.

John IV (640–642) aided the Christians of Dalmatia during the Slavic invasions. He wrote to the bishops of northern Ireland to warn them of the Pelagian heresy and also to persuade them to adopt the Roman Easter usage. He condemned the *Ecthesis*, which was thereupon repudiated by Heraclius. He wrote an apology for Pope Honorius, defending him against the charge of Monothelitism and affirming that Honorius meant only to deny the existence of two mutually antagonistic wills in Christ.

Theodore I (642–649), son of a bishop, was a Greek born in Jerusalem. He opposed the Monothelites and withheld recognition from Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople, whose predecessor had been illegally deposed.

St. Martin I (649–654) soon after his consecration convoked a council of the Lateran attended by over one hundred bishops. It condemned both the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius and the *Type* of Constans II, and defined the Catholic doctrine of two wills in Christ; and Martin sent the decree to all the bishops of the world. Incited by the patriarch of Constantinople, the emperor charged Martin with having been improperly elected, had him brought to Constantinople (653 or 654), treated brutally, tried, and banished. Martin's period of exile is not usually included in his pontificate.

St. Eugene I (654–657) was placed on the papal throne by the emperor at the time St. Martin was in exile. Later his election was endorsed by St. Martin. Refusal to recognize the Monothelite patriarch of Constantinople provoked the anger of the emperor, who in 656 threatened Eugene with the fate of Martin, and probably would have carried out the threat but for the trouble caused by the Moslem attacks.

St. Vitalian (657–672) sent friendly messages to Constans II and to Peter, Patriarch of Constantinople, and restored good feeling between Rome and Constantinople. The patriarch entered Vitalian on the dip-

⁷ A detailed discussion of the controversy will be found under "Heresies" in this chapter.

tychs of the Byzantine Church, where no pope's name had appeared since the time of Honorius I (638);^{*} he also sent the pope an ambiguous letter which seemed to profess the orthodox faith. Vitalian is especially remembered in England for his appointment of Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Adeodatus (672-676) was active in the promoting of monastic discipline and in the repression of the Monothelite heresy. (He is sometimes called Adeodatus II and his predecessor, Deusdedit, is occasionally known as Adeodatus I.)

Donus (676-678), in a reign of less than a year and a half, restored and improved several churches in the vicinity of Rome, suppressed a group of Nestorian monks, and forced Reparatus, Archbishop of Ravenna, to admit the papal supremacy.

St. Agatho (678-681), who is said to have been more than one hundred years old at the time of his election, restored Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. Agatho's legates presided at the Sixth Ecumenical Council (III Constantinople) which in 680 condemned the Monothelites. The pope's dogmatic letter on the union of two natures in the One Person of Christ was received by the Fathers of the council with the classic phrase, "Peter has spoken through Agatho."

St. Leo II (682-683) was elected in 681; but his consecration was delayed for more than a year by negotiations between the Holy See and the Byzantine court concerning the tax which the popes on their consecration had to pay to the emperors. In 681 he confirmed the decrees of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, over which the legates of his predecessor, Pope Agatho, had presided; and he called upon all the bishops of the world to subscribe to its decrees condemning Monothelitism. He added by way of explanation that Honorius I had been condemned, not for having taught heresy, but for having neglected to repress it. He persuaded Emperor Constantine IV to revoke the edict of Constans which had removed the archbishop of Ravenna from the jurisdiction of the pope; and in return, the pope abolished the tax which Ravenna had been accustomed to pay. In fear of the Lombard invasion, he transferred the relics of many martyrs from the catacombs into a church built for the purpose near the Church of St. Bibiana.

St. Benedict II (684-685) persuaded the Emperor Constantine IV to relinquish the imperial privilege of confirming papal elections. He was active in enforcing the decrees of the Sixth General Council.

John V (685-686), as papal legate, had attended the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Having won the favor of the Emperor Constantine, he succeeded

^{*} The next patriarch of Constantinople removed Vitalian's name from the diptychs; but it was restored after the suppression of Monothelitism at the Sixth Ecumenical Council of 681.

in getting him to reduce the taxes imposed upon the Church. He kept the church of Sardinia subject to Rome.

Conon (686-687) consecrated the Irish missionary, St. Kilian, as bishop and sent him to preach the faith in Franconia. He was friendly with the Emperor Justinian II, who agreed to remit certain taxes due to him from papal patrimonies.

Theodore (687)—antipope.

Paschal (687-692)—antipope.

St. Sergius I (687-701)—a compromise candidate—was elected to end the deadlock between the archpriest Theodore and the imperial candidate, Paschal. In defiance of a peremptory message from Justinian II, Sergius refused to sign the decrees of the Trullan Synod, and declared he would rather die than endorse this document. When the irritated emperor sent the captain of his bodyguard to Rome to seize the person of the pope, Roman citizens and soldiers hurried to the Lateran; and the imperial envoy, to save his life, hid himself under the pope's bed and then fled from the city. Sergius favored St. Wilfrid in his struggle with the supporters of the old Celtic customs, and ordered his restoration to the dignity of which he had been deprived.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: A recurrent topic in these documents is the Catholic doctrine of the two wills in Christ.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Gregory I</i> (590-604)	
601	Letter to the bps. of Ireland	On heretical baptism; on Orders; on the Hypostatic Union.
	<i>Honorius I</i> (625-638)	
634	Letters to Sergius	On the two wills in Christ.
	<i>John IV</i> (640-642)	
641	Letter to Emperor Constantine	On the orthodoxy of Honorius.
	<i>St. Martin I</i> (649-654)	
649	Lateran Council	On the Trinity, Incarnation, etc.; against Monothelites.
	<i>Adeodatus</i> (672-676)	
675	Eleventh Council of Toledo	On the Catholic faith; against the Priscillianists.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Agatho</i> (678-681)	
680	Letter of pope and the Roman Council	On the Hypostatic Union.
680-681	Third Council of Constantinople (Ecum. VI)	On the two wills in Christ; against the Monothelites.
	<i>St. Sergius I</i> (687-701)	
688	Fifteenth Council of Toledo	On the Trinity and the Incarnation.
694	Sixteenth Council of Toledo	Profession of faith concerning the Trinity.

Councils: The Sixth Ecumenical Council (III Constantinople) in the year 681 reaffirmed the full doctrine of Chalcedon by teaching that Christ possesses both a divine and a human will. This amounted to a rejection of the Monothelite modification of Monophysitism.

Among the councils described elsewhere in this chapter are: the Lateran Council of 649 under Martin I, which condemned the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*; the famous Synod of Whitby in 664; the numerous national councils of Toledo.

The "Trullan" Synod of 692 (sometimes called the Quinisext, that is, the Fifth-Sixth) was convoked by Emperor Justinian II to promulgate disciplinary canons omitted by the preceding Fifth and Sixth General Councils of 553 and of 680. It received its name from the domed hall in which it assembled. All of the 211 bishops who attended or sent representatives were Orientals, except one bishop from Crete; the Eastern Church recognizes the 102 canons of the synod as acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, but Rome does not. A copy sent to Pope Sergius I (687-701) for his signature remains unsigned.

Organization: The law of celibacy was growing stricter in the Eastern Church. The Trullan Synod decreed that priests, deacons, and subdeacons, if married before ordination, might continue in conjugal relationship; that clerics in these orders might not marry after ordination; that a bishop married before his consecration must separate from his wife. This legislation is substantially that which governs most of the Eastern churches at the present time.

Among the new peoples of the West the bishops continued to

act as leaders, and Catholic doctrine affected both civil legislation and social life. The episcopate was on equal footing with the lay nobility and the civil officials; and the dual aristocracy often divided into lay and clerical factions during political or ecclesiastical disputes.

In theory, the Holy See everywhere possessed supreme power in matters of doctrine and of discipline; but in practice, the pope seldom intervened in the local affairs of France and Spain, where the kings had a voice in the ordination of priests, the nomination of bishops, and the assembling of councils.

In Spain the national councils of Toledo established a solid foundation of religious and political unity. In England the Church was fashioned on a different pattern; the hierarchy kept independent of the civil rulers and remained under the ecclesiastical control of the archbishop of Canterbury, who in turn depended upon the pope. An interesting development in England was the rise of distinguished abbesses, women often of great ability and occasionally of royal lineage. They possessed official status, attended councils, and signed decrees, sometimes immediately after the bishops and before the priests. More than one abbess attended the Synod of Whitby.

In the Irish Church the monastic element tended to overshadow the episcopal office. This was not merely because unforeseen changes had reduced the importance of towns originally chosen as sees, but much more because of the prevailing deep reverence for the monastic vocation. A large proportion of the great abbots were bishops, but many—apparently from choice—were not; and these latter were among the most distinguished. Thus it came about that in Ireland the bishop was largely hidden in the abbot; and the Church was ruled in the monastic spirit.

Marriage: Both East and West showed notable laxity in their attitude towards the indissolubility of marriage. The Eastern Church, as we have seen, conformed to the loose standards of the imperial code; and the Trullan Synod failed to repudiate—as it should have repudiated—the opinion that dissolution of a valid marriage is sometimes legitimate.

In the West, apparently through the influence of Theodore of

Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury—who accepted the stricter doctrine in principle, but in practice permitted divorce—the Greek usage was introduced first into England and then into Gaul.

Worship: Decisive steps were taken to bring about liturgical uniformity. In Gaul most of the features of the old Gallic usage were suppressed in favor of the Roman. In Spain, on the other hand, the councils of Toledo eliminated all the distinctively Roman features and retained the Gallican. On this account the old Gallican liturgy survived longer in Spain than elsewhere.

In England the liturgical controversy was settled for Northumbria in favor of the Roman usage at the Synod of Whitby in 664; and that usage was extended to the whole kingdom a few years later by Theodore of Canterbury. Theodore granted certain minor concessions for the sake of peace; thus the Anglo-Saxon liturgies retained the Gallic usage in many details.

The ritual prescribed by the Oriental bishops in 691 instructed communicants to place the right hand over the left in the form of a cross, to receive the Host in the open palm, and to carry It to the mouth without uncrossing the hands. In many places the practice of administering Communion under both forms gave way to “Intinctio”—the custom of dipping the consecrated Host into the Precious Blood on a gold or silver spoon.

Art: The Arab conquests which checked the growth of Christian art in Asia, indirectly affected its character in the West. For, after the fall of Alexandria in 641, many of its artists took refuge in Mediterranean cities and helped to infuse a Greek strain into the developing Latin culture.

Communities: Monasticism flourished. The monks of the British Isles were especially active in missionary work; and it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the part they played in the history of the following centuries. The great monastic establishments of Ireland, then at the height of their vitality, sent forth a stream of missionaries to continental Europe; and the Irish monasteries in Gaul, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy remained beacons of learning and holiness through the whole mediæval period. Chief pioneer in this movement was St. Columban

(already mentioned in the preceding chapter) who came into conflict with the Frankish bishops over the question of the date of Easter, and aroused even more serious trouble by his outspoken denunciation of the wickedness prevalent at the royal court. Expelled from the country in 610, he crossed the Alps into Italy and at Bobbio, near Pavia, founded a monastery which became the principal school of learning in North Italy. The rule drawn up by him was adopted in many monasteries; but it proved so stern that it gradually yielded place to the milder rule of St. Benedict.

The zeal of the Irish monks was unquestionable, and they won a well-deserved reputation for extreme austerity;⁹ but in certain respects, especially with regard to traveling, the Celtic tradition allowed a freedom which sometimes led to disorder. The Benedictine Rule, milder and more compatible with stable organization, considered the monastery to be the monk's proper abode; and a priest who became a monk had to give up his parish and follow the routine of prayer and work prescribed in the monastery unless sent out by his abbot to labor under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Whether or not Gregory I had all this in mind when he chose Benedictine monks to be the missionaries to Britain, his policy undoubtedly effected a notable change in the character of western monasticism. The Benedictine system proved to be well adapted to the character of the English. Canterbury, Jarrow, and other monasteries developed into religious centers of the first importance and gained a strong hold on the affections of the people. The Celtic spirit gradually yielded to the Roman; and within two centuries the Benedictine Rule came into general use throughout Western Europe.¹⁰

Saints: In addition to the popes, scholars, and missionaries conspicuous among the saints of this century we note also a Northumbrian prince, a Gallic bishop, and five Celtic monks.

⁹ Long prayers, frequent vigils, strict fasts were included in the ordinary routine, and faults were punished by whipping, imprisonment, dismissal. On the influence of St. Gildas and St. David in forming the character of Irish monasticism see John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism; Origins and Early Development*, p. 164.

¹⁰ In Ireland, however, the system established by Columban persisted for centuries; and when finally replaced, it yielded not to the Benedictine, but to the more austere Cistercian rule. (*Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.)

St. Oswald (c. 605–642), son of the king of Northumbria, after his father's death in battle, took refuge among the Scots and adopted the Christian religion. Having defeated the Britons and regained his throne in the year 634, he promoted Christianity until his death in battle with Penda of Mercia.

St. Arnulf of Metz (c. 580–c. 640), a high official of the Austrasian court and prominent as statesman, as military commander, and later as bishop, illustrates the wide influence of the episcopacy during the Merovingian period. He was chief counselor to Clotaire of Neustria and tutor as well as adviser to the young king, Dagobert. Married before his appointment as bishop, he became a direct ancestor of Charlemagne through the marriage of one of his sons to a daughter of Pepin of Landen. Toward the end of his life he resigned his bishopric and spent his remaining years in a hermitage near the Vosges.

St. Aidan (d. 651). Bishop of Clogher, resigned his see and became a monk at Iona in the year 630, and a few years later, first bishop of Lindisfarne. With the aid of Oswald, he made this see a missionary center for monks who came from Ireland and Scotland to evangelize Essex and Mercia and all the north country¹¹—an undertaking which was continued by his successors.

St. Cuthbert (c. 635–687), the wonder-worker, whose shrine was a favorite resort of pilgrims until the Reformation, was born probably near Melrose. With other Celtic-rite monks, he left Ripon because that monastery adopted the Roman customs in 661; but a few years later, having accepted the decision of Whitby, he was sent to Lindisfarne to introduce the Roman usage there. Consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne by St. Theodore in 685, he kept up his missionary labors until death.

St. Egbert (c. 639–729), born in Northumbria, went to study in an Irish monastery as a youth, and in later life sent Willibrord and others to the continental mission field. He passed his last years at Iona where by gentle methods he persuaded the monks to adopt the Roman date of Easter.

St. Gall (d. c. 646), one of the twelve disciples of St. Columban, assisted in the founding of Luxeuil and after his leader's departure for Italy in 612, settled as a hermit in a wilderness in Suabia, in a place which after his death became the site of one of the most celebrated monasteries of the Middle Ages. Details of his life are contained in a largely legendary biography written about the year 800.

St. Kilian (c. 640–c. 689), "Apostle of Franconia," monk and perhaps abbot of Iona, journeyed to the Continent with eleven companions. Either before or after leaving Ireland, he was admitted to the class of *episcopi vagantes*—monks who on account of their piety or scholarship

¹¹ From the eleventh century onward Lindisfarne was known as the "Holy Isle."

were consecrated bishops but not assigned to particular sees. After receiving missionary faculties from the Holy See, he evangelized a large area in Franconia and Thuringia. He is regarded as a martyr because he and two companions were slain after he had denounced the marriage of Duke Gozbert to his brother's widow.

Education: Intellectual activity slackened and schools dwindled both in numbers and in efficiency. To be sure, monasteries continued to be educational centers; but in many places the pupils (usually children of the upper classes destined for the clerical or monastic vocation) received a minimum of academic training. Catholic Africa disappeared under the devastating influence of Islam; Italy suffered from the Lombard wars. Learning was at a particularly low level in Gaul where—as surviving literary fragments attest—writers were frequently too ignorant of syntax to connect ideas intelligently and the very script revealed decadence. On the other hand, the cathedral schools of Toledo and Seville maintained a standard of excellence which is reflected in the education imparted to the astonishing Isidore.

As teachers, the Irish monks stood out prominently. Irish monasteries sent masters abroad to establish and conduct schools in many lands; foreign students journeyed to Ireland. St. Egbert and St. Willibrord were trained in Irish schools; St. Aldhelm studied under an Irish teacher. Lismore in central Ireland took rank with Armagh in the north and Clonmacnoise in the south. Overseas, Columban's foundation, Bobbio, home of fervent and learned monks, was favored by Pope Honorius in 628 with exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. His Luxeuil, spiritual and intellectual capital of Burgundy, most famous of continental schools, was frequented by youths from several countries. In the Swiss Alps the monastery of St. Gall developed into an important house of study. Alcuin, among others, bore direct witness to the fact that the Irish were the most learned instructors in Britain, Gaul, and upper Italy. As for England, Aldhelm, first Anglo-Saxon man of letters, the learned Benedict Biscop, the Venerable Bede, are proof of the scholarship of Malmesbury, Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, and Jarrow.

Writers: From the monastic schools at this time came forth

scholars and writers, leaders of a long line that bears never-ending witness to the essential harmony of intelligence and virtue.

Isidore of Seville (560–636) succeeded his brother, Leander, as the leading churchman of Spain. Having mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in the cathedral school, he became the best scholar of his day, introduced the study of Aristotle, helped to carry on the educational campaign begun by the Fourth Council of Toledo, and originated much of the ecclesiastical legislation of the period. His writings, which form the earliest chapter of Spanish literature, include a *Dictionary of Synonyms*; a *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* (our best source book for the early history of Spain); and *Etymologies*, an epitome of universal knowledge, one of the most widely used texts of the Middle Ages. A contemporary of Isidore's called him "the man who saved Spain from barbarism"—although from a modern point of view, Isidore's work is open to more than one indictment, for it was done in pre-scientific, encyclopedic fashion, and, through guileless plagiarism and uncritical copying, kept erroneous ideas in circulation.

St. Ildephonsus (c. 600–667), abbot of Agli and later archbishop of Toledo, wrote a defense of Church rights, *De Viribus Illustribus*, which placed him among the distinguished authors of the time.

John of Biclaro (c. 550–621), who studied at Constantinople, was banished by Leovigild to Barcelona for his refusal to accept Arianism. Later he founded a Benedictine monastery, became its abbot and, as bishop of Gerona, attended the Synods of Saragossa and Barcelona. He wrote a chronicle (continuing an older work by Victor of Tunnuna) which is complete and impartial, and remains our best authority for the period of the Visigothic conversion.

St. Benedict Biscop (c. 628–690), an Anglo-Saxon of noble birth, a monk from Lerins, founded Wearmouth in 674 and Jarrow in 682, and brought to England from Rome precious relics and valuable manuscripts. Some of the foremost scholars of England were his disciples. Benedict is credited with having introduced into England the art of making glass windows.

St. Aldhelm (c. 639–709), abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, "the first Englishman who cultivated classical learning with success," gave credit for his training to Adrian of Monte Cassino who came to England with Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury.

St. Adamnan (624–704), abbot of Iona in 679, wrote a life of St. Columba which has been called the most complete biography of the Middle Ages.

Jonas of Bobbio (d. c. 659), born at Piedmont, entered a monastery in Gaul and became a missionary in northern France and Belgium. His chief

work, *The Life of St. Columban*, written a short time after the Saint's death in 615 and based on the testimony of personal friends of Columban, contains much precious historical information.

St. John Climacus (525–606), of Syrian birth, became abbot of the monastery of Mt. Sinai at the age of seventy-five in the year 600. His treatise, *Scala Paradisi* (*Ladder of Paradise*), written at the request of a neighboring abbot living on the shores of the Red Sea, was one of the most popular devotional books of the Middle Ages. It was translated into Spanish, Italian, and modern Greek in the sixteenth century.

St. Maximus, Confessor (580–662), born at Constantinople, member of a noble Greek family, was secretary to the emperor Heraclius. He became a monk and then abbot of a monastery at Chrysopolis near Constantinople; and he wrote a treatise on asceticism and several other spiritual books highly prized by his contemporaries. A disciple of St. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and one of the chief defenders of orthodoxy during the Monothelite controversy, he was brutally treated by the Monothelites then in power; and at the age of seventy-five he was exiled to Thrace. Six years later (662) he was tried and condemned at Constantinople, together with two of his disciples. Their sentence was to be beaten, to have their tongues torn out and their right hands cut off, to be exhibited in this condition in every part of the city, and then to be banished. St. Maximus died in the same year. He is numbered among the chief theological writers of the Greek Church and is known as "the Theologian." His ascetical writings have always been held in honor in the East.

"**Fredegarius**"—a name used to designate the supposed author of a crude and inaccurate chronicle, *Chronicon Fredegari*—carried the history of the Franks from the earliest times down to 658.

3. OPPOSITION

Heresies: Monothelitism. This heresy came into existence because the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople hoped to formulate a doctrinal statement which would reconcile the Oriental factions with one another, and would also serve as a basis of unity between East and West. An abortive effort, it brought forth only a series of documents which left the situation more complicated than before. Chief among them were: (1) The letter of Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Honorius, and the reply of the pope. (2) The formula known as the *Ecthesis*, composed by Sergius and circulated by Heraclius. (3) The formula known as the *Type*, composed and circulated by Constans II. In

addition to these documents there appeared papal letters and conciliar decrees, condemning Monothelitism in its various forms. A detailed description of the controversy follows.

About the year 634, Pope Honorius received a letter from Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, asking whether it was more correct to use the formula, "one operation" ¹² or the formula "two operations," when speaking of Christ's human activity and divine activity.

In place of answering the question of Sergius directly, Honorius replied that it would be better to avoid both expressions, so as to favor neither the Eutychians nor the Nestorians; and Honorius added, "We acknowledge one will of our Lord, Jesus Christ." ¹³ Sergius then suggested that as it was only a war about words, Honorius should let the controversy remain unsettled.

Later, Sergius composed an explanation (*Ecthesis*) which the Emperor Heraclius published in 638, at the same time ordering all his subjects to avoid both the expressions "one operation" and "two operations," and to recognize one will in Christ.

What the opinion of Honorius upon this pronouncement would have been cannot be determined, as he was dead when the imperial edict appeared. But the next two popes, Severinus and John IV, condemned the *Ecthesis*; and the emperor repudiated it before his death in 641. Pope John IV, in condemning the *Ecthesis*, stated that "one will" is an inaccurate expression; but he added that Honorius had meant to use it in an orthodox sense.

In 648 the Emperor Constans II, as a substitute for the *Ecthesis*, published another document called the *Type*, which did not discuss the doctrine involved, but forbade anyone to use either the expression "one will" or the expression "two wills."

Both the *Ecthesis* and the *Type* were condemned by Pope St. Martin I in the Lateran Council of 649. In consequence, Constans had the pope arrested, dragged to Constantinople, and then exiled to the Crimea where, after much suffering, he soon died. The Abbot Maximus and two monks, all friendly to the pope, were charged with treason and practically tortured to death.

There followed a schism between East and West which lasted until the Emperor Constantine IV (Pogonatus) convoked the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 680 for the purpose of effecting reunion. This council condemned all those who held the doctrine of "one will,"

¹² The formula "one operation" which seemed to favor the Monophysites, had been used by St. Cyril and by the Emperor Heraclius in 622.

¹³ The defenders of Honorius argued that the pope meant to deny that our Lord had two contrary wills, other persons regarded his statement as certainly heretical.

including Pope Honorius.¹⁴ The condemnation ran as follows: "We anathematize Honorius who did not attempt to sanctify this Apostolic Church with the teaching of apostolic tradition, but by profound treachery, permitted the teaching to be polluted." The condemnation was confirmed by Pope Leo II, who succeeded St. Athanasius.

The Paulicians: This sect of obscure origin, appeared in Armenia about the year 657 and established a number of centers in different parts of western Asia Minor. They held several Manichaean and Marcionite doctrines, considered Christ to be an angel, not a man, and rejected the episcopacy, the sacramental system, and the monastic life. They regarded themselves as "Evangelical Christians," free of the superstitions which had gathered around the primitive Gospel; and they wished to be called not "Catholics," but "Christians."

The Moslems: An epoch-making event was the upward rush of Islam. In the year 610 Mohammed (c. 570–632), a native of Mecca in Arabia, proclaimed that he had been divinely delegated to establish a national religion for the Arabians.¹⁵ Accused of antagonism to the existing form of worship, he escaped death by flight (Hegira) in the year 622; and his followers made this date

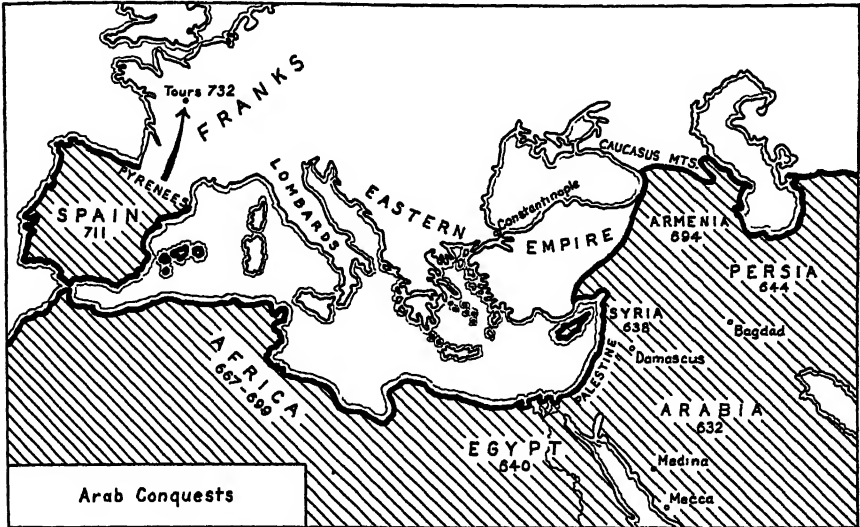
¹⁴ It does not state that Honorius imposed heretical doctrine upon the Church in his official capacity, but that he fostered heresy by his negligence.

From this condemnation by the Council of Constantinople the conclusion has sometimes been drawn that Honorius did not possess the infallibility which is claimed for the pope. But this conclusion is illogical, as Honorius did not issue a solemn definition of faith for the whole Church; and it is only in such definitions that papal infallibility is exercised. With regard to the charge that Honorius personally believed a heresy, we must remember. 1. That two of the most learned theologians of the time, Sophronius and Maximus, considered Honorius to be personally orthodox. 2. That the letter of Honorius to Sergius failed to reject the false doctrine and to define the true one, but did not explicitly affirm a heresy. 3. That the Council of Constantinople possessed the force of an ecumenical council only in so far as approved by the pope. 4. That Pope Leo II approved the condemnation of Honorius for the stated reason that he had not "extinguished the flame of heretical doctrine from the beginning, but rather had fanned it by his negligence."

¹⁵ The Arabs were notoriously quick to alter their religious belief in the interests of greater freedom and self-indulgence. Mohammed made his appearance at "the psychological moment," for Christianity had almost disappeared with the expulsion of the Abyssinians in the south, and the Peninsula—except for scattered Christian groups—was inhabited chiefly by Jews and heathens.

Mohammed possessed more than ordinary courage and military ability. Morally speaking, he did not measure up to the standard commonly accepted by Jews and Christians. He was, on the whole, friendly to the Christians, who frequently protected his followers; but he made the Jews and heathen Arabs either accept Islam or leave the country. It is said that on his death-bed he decreed that none but Moslems should be allowed to remain in Arabia.

the beginning of the Mohammedan era. Mohammed established his headquarters at Yathrib, now Medina, raised an army of 40,000 men and united all the tribes of Arabia in a politico-religious



system to which he gave the name Islam.¹⁶ The success of the new movement was assured by four able men, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, who succeeded one another as caliphs after the

¹⁶ Islam, an Arabic word which means "surrender," is associated with Mohammed's appeal, "Surrender to the will of God." The disciple who has surrendered is called "Moslim," corrupted into "Moslem." The Mohammedan religion teaches faith in an infinite God, immortality of the soul, the doctrine of fatalism (irresistible predetermination to good or evil), and a sensual paradise in which each believer will possess 72 wives and 80,000 servants. It imposes on its disciples the practice of prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimages to Mecca. The Koran (Qu'ran), a volume not quite so large as the Christian New Testament, written in rhymed Arabic (which Mohammed claimed to have received by divine revelation), contains in its 114 chapters an amalgam of doctrines, history, laws, prayers, legends, and denunciations of pagans, Jews, and Christians. It has had more influence than any other book in human history except the Bible, and appropriates many good principles from other religions but adds objectionable elements of its own. It allows four wives, an unlimited number of slave-mistresses and concubines, and divorce obtainable at will. In disputes between husband and wife, only the husband may give evidence. Translations of the Koran are forbidden.

Islam is broken up into numerous parties, sometimes alluded to as the "seventy-three jarring sects." The great division is between the Orthodox Sunnites (disciples of the three caliphs who succeeded Mohammed) and the Schismatic Shiites (disciples of Ali, the husband of Mohammed's daughter, Fatima). The Sunnites, who predominate in Turkey, Arabia, and Africa, constitute the majority of the Moslem world (about 150,000,000). The Shiites, who prevail in Persia, Oman, and Afghanistan, look for the coming of the Messianic "Mahdi"; and their belief that Ali and his successors are rulers by divine right has had great influence on Persian nationalism.

death of Mohammed. Their military campaigns created a vast Islamic empire, Omar conquering Syria, Palestine, Persia, and Egypt, and Othman adding Armenia, Cyprus, and north Africa. By the end of the century Islam was in almost complete control of the southern Mediterranean.

The Jews: In Persia the Jews continued to prosper. The Talmudic school of Babylon acquired world fame; and the Jewish colony there developed into an almost independent state.

The progress of Islam was a misfortune to the Jews; for Mohammed, after having vainly tried to win their support, became their relentless enemy. When Islam gained control of Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt, anti-Jewish laws were enacted.

In Spain, where Jews were numerous and prosperous and in close alliance with the Arians, King Sisebut early in the century ordered them to accept baptism or leave the country—a decree against which Isidore of Seville protested. A few years later many of the banished Jews returned; some of the baptized openly professed Judaism again; others remained nominal Christians, but secret Jews. Repeatedly the councils of Toledo and the kings passed vigorous and even cruel anti-Semitic decrees—chiefly, however, “against the secret Jews, whom the clergy considered more dangerous than the unbaptized ones.” It is hardly surprising then that “the Jews, either directly or through their coreligionists in Africa, encouraged the Mohammedans to conquer Spain.”¹⁷

4. MISSIONS

Both in the British Isles and on the Continent, Irish monks carried on an intensive missionary campaign. The continental monasteries—missionary centers as well as schools—which observed Columban’s rule and the bishops who were influenced by him make an impressively long list.¹⁸ From Luxeuil, we are told by Abbot Jonas, more than six hundred monks went out to mission work in Bavaria. St. Kilian and two associates suffered martyrdom near Würzburg. Irish monks were pioneers in much of the area evangelized by St. Boniface in the following century.

¹⁷ Joseph Jacobs, “Spain,” *Jewish Encyc.* XI, 485.

¹⁸ See Montalembert’s *St. Columban*, ed. by E. J. McCarthy.

Three years before St. Augustine's death in 604 he received the archiepiscopal pallium from Rome; and before long the progress of the faith led to the erection of the dioceses of London and Rochester and the archdiocese of York. Yet the conversion of England was retarded by the Celtic-Roman controversy;¹⁹ and, with a view to ending the disturbance, Pope Vitalian in 668 appointed the Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, bestowing upon him all the privileges formerly possessed by St. Augustine. Theodore—a worthy predecessor of Anselm, Lanfranc, and Thomas Becket—stilled the feuds and controversies which were disturbing the English Church, appointed bishops to the vacant sees, convoked an important synod at Hertford in 673, and, according to Bede, was the "first Archbishop whom all the English church obeyed."²⁰

St. Willibrord, a Benedictine of York, crossed the North Sea, began the conversion of the savage Frisians, became a bishop, and built a church and monastery at Utrecht in 695. First of the Slavic tribes to embrace Christianity were the Croats and Serbs from southern Russia, who settled in the region between the Adriatic and the Danube, and became allies of the empire during the reign of Heraclius (610–641).

In the Far East, where Christianity had been introduced by the Nestorians, the patriarch of Ctesiphon was recognized as the head of the (Nestorian) hierarchy of India. In the latter half of the century the Nestorians, after a short period of persecution, won toleration in China. East of the Euphrates, however, Christianity did not penetrate deeply into the life of the converts, except among the Syrian-speaking races; and, after the coming of Islam, the Christians dwindled both in numbers and in influence.

¹⁹ At the close of a conference with Celtic bishops who refused to collaborate with him in missionary work among the Saxons, St. Augustine is reported to have said: "If ye will not preach the Way of Life to the English, ye shall suffer the punishment of death at their hands." As it happened, Aethelfrid the Destroyer massacred a number of the Celtic monks some ten years later.

²⁰ Theodore's only extant work is *The Penitential*, a collection of disciplinary decisions, the genuine edition of which has been finally identified.

SUMMARY

The emperors showed unmistakable interest in religious affairs. Phocas was the first to be crowned in church; Heraclius circulated the *Ecthesis*; Constans II composed the *Type*; Constantine IV convoked the Sixth General Council; Justinian II was responsible for the Trullan Synod. This intimate relationship between Church and State entailed the disgrace of the timid Pope Honorius I, the exile of brave St. Martin I, the imperial threat to St. Eugene I. Yet St. Vitalian sent Theodore to Canterbury; St. Agatho finally condemned the Monothelites; St. Leo II confirmed the censure passed on Honorius I.

The Church fared well at the hands of Grimoald the Lombard, enlightened law-maker, and Pepin the Carolingian, sponsor of missions. The Lateran Council, which condemned the *Type*, was an important assembly; so was the Synod of Whitby. Even more important was the Sixth Ecumenical Council which healed the Monothelite schism; soon afterwards the Trullan Synod reawakened bitter feeling between East and West.

Saints stood out: Isidore of Seville, leader of Spain; Wilfrid, champion of the Roman usage in Britain; Cuthbert, who "Romanized" Lindisfarne. Columban and Gall, by introducing Irish scholarship into Switzerland and Italy, and Benedict Biscop by establishing Jarrow, gave promise that medieval Europe would be solicitous about preserving the old culture and developing the new.

But already the *Hegira*, dating the appearance of Mohammed, had warned Christendom of storms to come.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

	602 Phocas kills Maurice
604 <i>Gregory the Great</i> d.	
613 Foundation of Bobbio	
	614 Persians capture Jerusalem
	622 The <i>Hegira</i>
	623 Pepin and Arnulf, regents
629 Recovery of the True Cross	629 Heraclius recovers Syria
	632 Death of Mohammed
633 The Great (IV) Council of Toledo	
636 <i>Etymologies</i> of St. Isidore	
638 <i>Ecthesis</i>	638 Dagobert I d.
	639-752 "Do-nothing" Frankish kings
648 The <i>Type</i> of Constans II	
649 Lateran Council condemns the <i>Type</i>	
653 Exile of <i>Martin I</i>	
654-657 <i>Eugene I</i>	
	655 Penda of Mercia d.
	662-671 Grimoald, Lombard king
664 Wilfrid, Bp. of York	
Synod of Whitby	
668 <i>Vitalian</i> sends Theodore to Canter- bury	
	678 Islam retreats from Constantinople
680 Sixth Ecumenical Council (Con- stantinople III)	
682 Foundation of Jarrow	
685 Cuthbert, Bp. of Lindisfarne	
	687 Pepin II, Frankish ruler
	692 Justinian II calls Trullan Synod
695 Willibrord in Frisia	

CHAPTER VIII

(The Seven Hundreds)

Christendom in Peril

PREVIEW

BOTH East and West now underwent radical transformation. The Byzantines lost territory to the Moslems, the Bulgars, the Lombards, the Franks; meanwhile, doctrinal looseness accompanied political enfeeblement. The emperor's promulgation of Iconoclasm involved a series of grave consequences—disputes over the Seventh General Council (Second of Nicaea) in 787; rupture between Rome and Constantinople; finally the establishing (or re-establishing) of a rival Western empire, Catholic and Roman, in which the orthodox faith was imposed on all the people. Iconoclasm also helped to clear the ground for another epoch-making change—the pope's rise to the position of an independent sovereign, ruling over most of Italy.¹

The loss of Spain—overrun by Islam—was a serious disaster. On the other hand, the British Isles, not only maintained but accelerated their rapid rate of progress in the spiritual and intellectual field; and to them Charlemagne turned for assistance in the uplifting of his own subjects.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Wars, rebellions, depositions, executions, heresy, and schism made up a troubled era in Byzantium. The fleet dispatched

¹ Iconoclasm (literally "image breaking"), which opposed religious veneration of pictures and images, was not the sole factor in this change, however, and its effect on Italy is sometimes exaggerated. See Duchesne, *The Beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes*, p. 19.

against Italy by Emperor Leo III during the Iconoclastic controversy foundered; and a similar expedition sent out by Empress Irene some seventy years later was destroyed by Charlemagne. Thus ended the last serious efforts of the Greeks to impose their authority on the West by force.

For the Franks, these were years of rapid expansion. The Carolingians enlarged their domains enormously, drove off the Lombard assailants of the Holy See, made the pope a sovereign by donations of territory. The religious break between Rome and Constantinople, and the papal alliance with the Franks led up to the great drama with which the century closed—the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome on Christmas Day in the year 800.

1. THE EAST

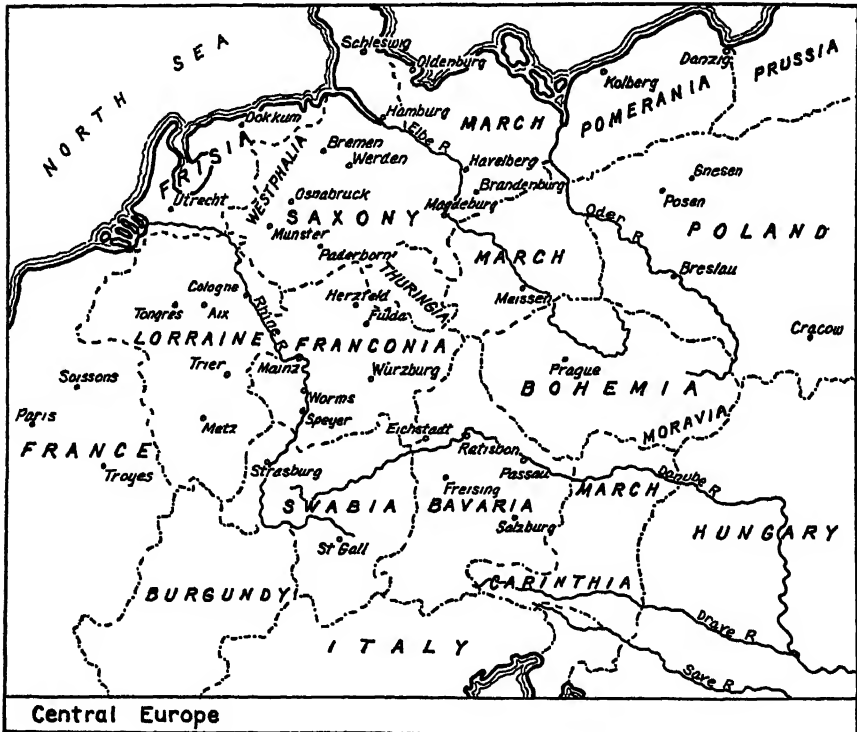
The Empire: Of tremendous moment in Christian history was the policy adopted by the Isaurian peasant who, as Emperor Leo III (717–740), gained the name of “Iconoclast.” Up to a certain point he improved conditions by introducing some badly needed reforms; but his attempt to suppress the veneration of images and to ban the crucifix convulsed the East and led to a serious quarrel with the West. His son, Constantine V, Copronymus, following his footsteps, persecuted the orthodox “with a cruelty which recalled the times of Diocletian.”² Later in the century Emperor Leo IV (775–780) exiled his wife Irene, largely because of her sympathy with the orthodox tradition; but Irene returned to power, and aided the Second Council of Nicaea to effect the restoration of images.

During this whole period the Byzantine possessions in Italy were dwindling, and at the end of the century they included little more than Calabria and a few scattered areas in south Italy. Rome, Venice, and Naples, nominally subject to Constantinople, were practically autonomous.

Many Byzantine rulers at this time were unpleasant or tragic figures. With the slaying of **Justinian II** in 711 the House of Heraclius came to an end. **Philippicus** (711–713) lost Sardinia to the Arabs. **Anastasius II**

² Hefele, *op. cit.*, V, 318.

(713–715) was deposed, sent to a monastery, and executed in 721, on suspicion of having conspired to regain the throne. **Theodosius III** (715–717) was deposed by **Leo III** (717–740), who drove off the Arabs, established a strong government, made war on images, and published the first Byzantine code of laws written in Greek—a code more considerate towards the lower classes and more Christian in its decrees on marriage and the family than the older legislation. **Constantine V** (740–775) reorganized Constantinople after the Great Plague of 746 and carried on three wars with the Bulgarians. After **Leo IV** (775–780) came **Constantine VI** (780–797), a bigamist, defeated by the Bulgars and hated for his cruelty, who was dethroned in 797 by his mother, Irene, blinded and imprisoned in a monastery.



2. THE WEST

a. The Frankish Kingdom, Italy, Spain

The Frankish Kingdom: Pepin of Héristal, who as Mayor of the Palace ruled France until his death in 714, did much to

restore the prestige of the Franks. Charles Martel, his son, succeeding him as mayor, battled successfully against the Frisians and the Saxons, defeated the Moslems near Poitiers in 732, and within the next few years repelled two other Moslem invasions. His refusal to aid Gregory III against Liutprand, the Lombard, was motivated partly by his indebtedness to Liutprand for help against the Moslems, and partly by his reluctance to give indirect aid to the Byzantines.

At the death of Charles in 741, the rule of the kingdom was divided between his two sons, Pepin the Short and Carloman. Later Carloman retired to a monastery; and Pepin, with the pope's approval, deposed Childeric III, the last Merovingian, sent him to a monastery, and proclaimed himself king. Pepin, having been crowned by Pope Stephen II (III) at St. Denis in 754,³ invaded Italy twice, and made a grant to the pope of a large area which included the old exarchate of Ravenna—a gift known in history as the "Donation of Pepin."⁴

Pepin's two sons, Carloman and Charlemagne, divided his kingdom; and on the death of Carloman, Charlemagne became sole ruler of an immense domain, including the original territory of the Franks and at least seven other countries occupied by different races and following different codes of law. In 776 Charlemagne set up missionary districts in Saxony; but, during his absence, Witikind the Saxon expelled the missionaries. Charlemagne returned, defeated Witikind in battle, and decreed that all Saxons should accept baptism under pain of death and should also pay tithes to the Church. The Saxons rose up against the

³ When Stephen anointed Pepin as king, he anointed also his two sons, Charles (Charlemagne) and Carloman; and he laid down as the rule of succession that for the future the king should be chosen from this family.

⁴ With what precise understanding he made the gift remains an unsolved problem. The pope's title was clouded by the fact that the exarchate had been taken by force from the Lombards who had taken it by force from the Eastern Emperor; but the claim is made that the Greeks by failing to protect the territory lost their sovereignty over it. To the Byzantine ambassadors who requested that the exarchate be returned to the emperor, Pepin replied that he had come to fight for St. Peter and to St. Peter alone would he "restore" the region he had conquered. In any event, his action naturally caused a strengthening of the pope's alliance with the Franks and a deepening of his estrangement from the emperor. The lands subject to the pope were known as the States of the Church; and they formed the only portion of the old Roman Empire of the West which was not under the domination of foreign conquerors.

Franks in 778, slaying soldiers and civilians alike, and burning the monastery at Fulda. By way of reprisal for these massacres, Charlemagne killed more than four thousand Saxon prisoners at Verden in 783. Shortly afterwards Witikind abandoned paganism and was baptized, Charlemagne acting as his godfather.⁵

Meanwhile at the appeal of Pope Adrian, Charlemagne had crossed the Alps, defeated the Lombard king, Desiderius, and, by a renewal and extension of the "Donation of Pepin," confirmed the pope's sovereignty over a large part of Italy. But the papal throne was still insecure; and, for a combination of reasons, Pope Leo III undertook to strengthen his own power and to cement his friendship with the great sovereign of the West by making that sovereign the heir of the imperial title. On Christmas Day, 800, therefore, Leo crowned Charlemagne emperor.⁶

Charlemagne was now the head of Europe with the responsibility of protecting the Church and of advancing Christian faith and culture, Roman discipline, clerical reform. All this responsibility he took seriously, placing his military resources and his organizing ability at the service of the pope; and the pope, in turn, lent his spiritual prestige to the support of the Western Empire.⁷

⁵ Charlemagne's method of securing political and religious unity was to make the conquered tribes choose between Christianity and death; and at the end of his thirty years of war with the Saxons every living member of that people was a Catholic. Alcuin pointed out that this policy could bring only a superficial and unsatisfactory result; the event proved Alcuin right.

⁶ The significance of Pope Leo's coronation of Charlemagne has provoked endless dispute. Briefly the facts are these: In 797 Constantine VI, the emperor of Constantinople, had been deposed by his mother, Irene. Pope Leo, as head of Christendom, apparently assumed the right to set Irene aside, to bestow the Roman Empire on a Frankish king, and to make Old Rome again the imperial capital. Charles was registered in the chronicles as the sixty-eighth emperor of Rome, next in order after Constantine VI. The legality of his claim to the title of emperor was denied by the Byzantines who continued their own imperial line. Except on rare occasions the two emperors did not recognize each other's title; they were no longer co-rulers, but rivals. This rivalry had much to do with the ultimate ecclesiastical break between East and West.

The step taken by Pope Leo III made it possible for Pope John XII, one hundred years later, to revive the latent imperial succession and select a Saxon dynasty to preside over Christian Europe. It enabled other popes—Gregory VII, Alexander III, and Innocent III—to speak of the pope as "the Master of Emperors" and to affirm that the Holy See could transfer, and indeed had transferred, the imperial office from East to West and bestowed the imperial crown upon a prince of its own choosing.

⁷ Charlemagne's first capitulary of 769 was suggested by Pope Adrian. The emperor obtained books and teachers from the pope; he fashioned court procedure and academic curricula on Roman lines; and he imported Roman cantors to teach the Franks Gre-

Italy: Italy was divided into three areas of political influence, the Lombard north, the papal center, the Greek south. Both political and religious affairs were in a state of confusion throughout the peninsula. The Lombards extended their control to the east and to the south at the expense of the pope and of the Greeks.⁸

The Byzantine Emperor quarreled with the Holy See over imperial assessments on papal property and over the theological issue of Iconoclasm. At first the pope was supported in his resistance to the emperor by the Lombards, notably Liutprand (712-744), a devout Catholic, "greatest and perhaps best of the Lombard princes," who enacted enlightened laws and suppressed paganism in his domains. But after the Romans aided his enemies, the dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum, Liutprand seized four towns in the Duchy of Rome. Later, moved by the pleading of Pope St. Zachary, he relinquished these towns, and signed a twenty years' truce; and, at the pope's behest, he also refrained from seizing Ravenna. Pope Zachary was able to obtain another long truce from King Ratchis (744-749); but the next king, Aistulf (749-756), less amenable to persuasion, occupied Ravenna in 752 and, except in Venice, put an end to the Byzantine rule in northern Italy.⁹

Aistulf levied a tax on the Romans and apparently proposed to make Rome a part of the Lombard kingdom. Alarmed at the prospect, Pope Stephen II (III) turned for help to the Franks. Pepin marched into Italy in 754 and again in 756 and subdued Aistulf. But the Lombard encroachments continued; the Franks

gorian chant—thereby occasioning bickering among the two groups of musicians. His capitulary of 787, "the Charter of the Carolingian Renaissance," ordered that schools should be attached to all cathedrals and monasteries.

⁸ The Duchy of Rome, which included part of Tuscany, had originally been a military province. In the eighth century it became a "self governing state, nominally subject to the Greek empire, but really attached to it by very loose bonds." (Duchesne, *Beginnings of Temporal Sovereignty*, p. 20.) Like Naples and Venice, it had an imperial representative as civil and military governor, but it was under the supervision of the pope whose authority "tended in the direction of sovereignty."

Pavia was the residence and capital of the Lombard kingdom; and the king, usually chosen by the chiefs of the tribe, was nominal head of the whole nation, sharing his power with the dukes of the different territories, more than thirty in number. Between the king and the dukes (notably the powerful dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum), there was often lack of harmony and at times warfare.

⁹ Ratchis abdicated in favor of his brother, Aistulf, and became a Benedictine monk; his wife and daughter also entered religion.

came again to the rescue of the pope. Eventually the Lombards were crushed; their last king, Desiderius, died in battle in 774; North Italy was added to the Frankish Empire; and the Frankish kings took the title of "Rex Langobardorum." From this time on the pope ruled as sovereign over the States of the Church formed from the old papal properties and the lands bestowed by Pepin—roughly two-thirds of the Italian peninsula.¹⁰

Spain: Invited by the Spanish Christian, Count Julian,¹¹ and aided by the treachery of the sons of Wamba and by the Jews, Moslems from Africa crossed the Straits into Spain, seized Algeciras in 711, and, having defeated King Rodrigo, took Toledo, Saragossa, and other cities, and penetrated through the valley of the Ebro into France. The Christians meanwhile retired into the mountains of Galicia and the Basque country, after a collapse due more to domestic divisions than to the invading force, which was comparatively small.¹² Religious and moral disorder followed. Many Christians abandoned the faith; others were made serfs by the Mohammedans; some of the leading bishops fell into heresy. A letter of Pope Adrian's in 785 reveals his distress at Spain's disintegration.

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: The faith made steady progress. After leadership of the petty kingdoms shifted from Wessex to Mercia, Offa ruled for almost forty years; and his son was crowned at a Church council. By the last quarter of the century the country had almost completely recovered from the disastrous effects of the Saxon invasions. Latin was again in use; monasteries and schools had multiplied; the churches were in close touch with Rome. But in 789 the first Danish raiders descended upon the Dorset

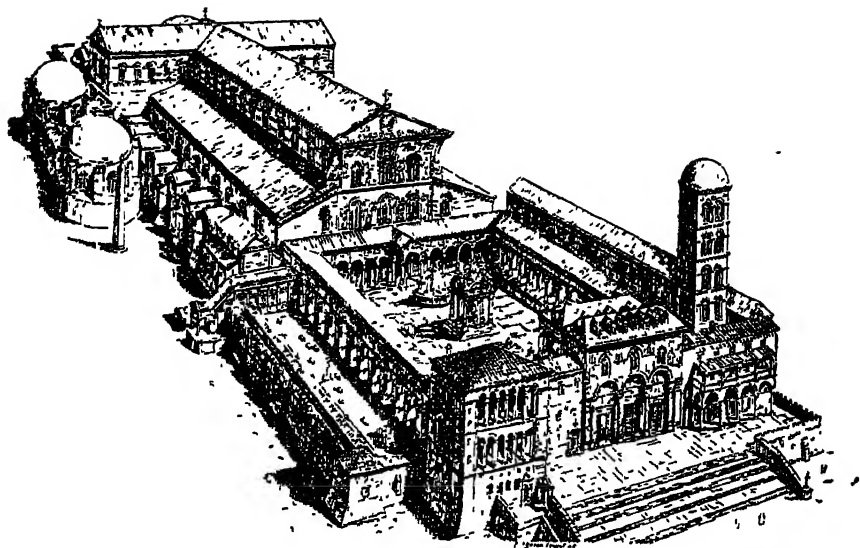
¹⁰ For information on the quarrels of this period involving the Lombards, we possess no documents of Byzantine or Lombard origin. "In common justice we must remember that it is the winning side from whom we hear most, and that the others have not a fair chance of stating their case." See Duchesne, *Beginnings of Temporal Sovereignty* . . . , p. 32.

¹¹ "This name is disputed. The opinion now most favored is that Julian, or rather Oulban, was a Berber." Bertrand, *History of Spain*, p. 14, n.

¹² The Moslems never constituted a majority of the inhabitants of the peninsula, but rather a garrison. (*Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.)



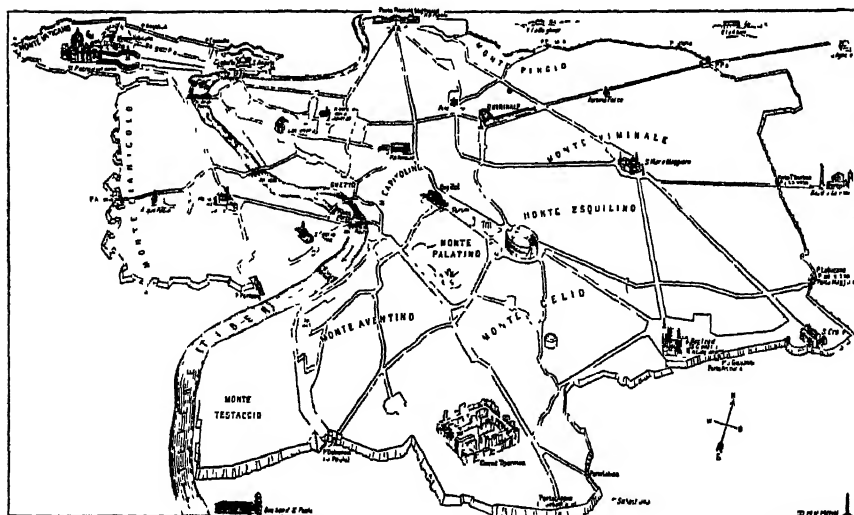
"THE GREAT LAURA" (6th century)
Founded by St. Saba, near Jerusalem



(Crostarosa)

OLD BASILICA OF ST. PETER

Founded by Constantine (4th century); rebuilt (15th to 17th century)



(F. J. Bayer)

THE WALLED CITY OF THE POPES

coast; in 793 they ravaged Lindisfarne, sacked the church, and slaughtered the monks.

Ireland: The activities which made Ireland the chief educational and missionary center of Christendom continued until the latter years of the century, when the Danes began to raid the coasts, burn villages, destroy monasteries, kill priests and people, monks and nuns. Even before this period—as already told—Irish scholars and missionaries had been busy in many foreign countries; and from this time on the best known of the Irish religious leaders were those who labored abroad. The brightest chapter of Ireland's cultural history was drawing to a close.

Scotland: During most of the century Angles, Picts, and Scots were fighting; and the invading Danes and Norsemen made things worse. In 717 the Columban monks were expelled from Pictland; but they were replaced by the Culdees, ascetic solitaries who gradually organized themselves into communities for missionary work.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Two notable events affected papal history at this time: the serious rift between East and West caused by Iconoclasm, and the growing intimacy between the Holy See and the Franks.

The Byzantine emperors caused constant trouble. Justinian II summoned Pope Constantine in 710 to explain his attitude towards the anti-Roman canons of the Trullan Synod; the Iconoclast, Leo III, threatened Pope Gregory II and, in the pontificate of Gregory III, sent a fleet to attack Italy; Leo's son, Constantine V, inflicted cruel punishments upon the eastern supporters of the pope. Concurrently Italian hostility to the Greeks grew acute, and Byzantine influence in Rome diminished; in 715 a series of seven Oriental popes was followed by a Roman, Gregory II; and of the subsequent popes in the eighth century, all but two were Italians.

For help against the Lombards menacing his possessions and

his independence, Gregory III turned to Charles Martel in vain. But Pepin, and later Charlemagne, came to the aid of Pope Stephen II and Pope Adrian I, and made the papacy a sovereign power. It was in conformity, therefore, with the practical logic of events that, at the century's end, Pope Leo III took his great decision and crowned Charlemagne emperor of the western world.

John VI (701-705), a Greek by birth, received a visit from the imperial exarch which aroused suspicion that the emperor intended evil. The Roman people gathered in defense of the pope and refused to disperse until they had seized the "informers" who had cooperated with the imperial officials. John, in supporting St. Wilfrid of York, followed the policy of his predecessor.

John VII (705-707), also a Greek, having received a message from the Emperor Justinian II asking him to note those canons of the Trullan Synod which were objectionable and to indicate his approval of the others, sent the canons back without comment. The emperor demanded a definite answer; but Pope John died before matters came to a crisis.

Sisinnius (708), a Syrian, died after a reign of three weeks.

Constantine (708-715), a native of Syria, was ordered by Justinian II to proceed in person to Constantinople. He did so, and, through his deacon Gregory—the future Pope Gregory II—answered the difficulties proposed by the emperor so tactfully that he was allowed to return to Rome without having given any further approval of the Trullan canons.

St. Gregory II (715-731), a Roman by birth, defied the Greek emperor, Leo III, both in the matter of image worship and with regard to the increase of the imperial tax in Italy; he encouraged St. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to resist the Iconoclasts; and, in a synod convoked at Rome in 727, he defined the Catholic doctrine on the veneration which may lawfully be paid to images. Gregory's two letters to Leo III on the Iconoclastic dispute are regarded as forgeries by some scholars, but classed as authentic by others.¹³ Gregory, who was deeply interested in missionary work, made St. Boniface (Winfrid) a bishop, sent him to Bavaria, and secured for him the valuable support of Charles Martel.

St. Gregory III (731-741), of Syrian parentage, condemned Iconoclasm at synods held in Rome and sent protests to the Emperor Leo III; but this only brought reprisals upon himself.¹⁴ Meanwhile, the pope's appeal

¹³ See Mann, *op. cit.*, I, Part II, 189.

¹⁴ "In order to punish the Pope, Rome, and Italy for their opposition to Iconoclasm, the Emperor Leo sent out a powerful fleet against them. It suffered shipwreck in the Adriatic Sea, and Leo now raised the taxes in Sicily and Calabria, and confiscated the patrimonies of the two apostle princes, i.e. the $3\frac{1}{2}$ talents of gold coming annually to their churches (at Rome) for the exchequer. Besides, Leo now separated, besides Calabria

to Charles Martel for help against the Lombards who were giving trouble, was ignored.

St. Zachary (741-752), a Calabrian Greek and probably a deacon of the Roman Church, was unanimously elected by the Romans immediately after the death of his predecessor; and he sent notice of his election both to the Church of Constantinople and to the Eastern emperor. By conciliatory methods he persuaded the Lombards to abandon a projected attack upon Ravenna and he also negotiated a treaty of peace with the Lombard king, Ratchis; but the most important event of his pontificate was his friendly intervention in Pepin's assumption of royal authority. That intervention had the double effect of establishing a strong government among the Franks, and also of securing for the papacy the support of the strongest monarch of the West.¹⁵

The papal elections remained free from interference on the part of the Eastern emperor and not until well on in the following century did the Western emperors claim the right of confirming them. In a synod held at Rome in 743, attended by sixty bishops, Zachary settled a number of questions concerning Church discipline; and in another synod of 745 he anathematized two heretics who had been condemned by the Frankish bishops.

Stephen II (752) died after election and before consecration.¹⁶

Stephen II (III) (752-757), who had been brought up in the Lateran Palace, was elected pope while the Lombards were overrunning Italy and menacing Rome. As already narrated, he took the decisive step of appealing to the Franks, crossed the Alps to crown Pepin, and received from the Frankish king a large "Donation" of territory.

St. Paul I (757-767), a brother of the preceding pope, appealed to Pepin for aid against Desiderius, the Lombard king; but the situation was so complicated by political entanglements involving Franks, Byzantines, and independent Lombard dukes, that Pepin stood aloof from the quarrel and maintained friendly relations both with the pope and with Desiderius.

Constantine (767-768)—antipope.

and Sicily, also the Illyrian provinces which hitherto belonged to the patriarchate of Rome, namely, Old and New Epirus, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, *Dacia Ripensis* and *Mediterranea*, Moesia, Dardania, and Praevalis (with its metropolis Scodra), and subjected them to the patriarchate of Constantinople, an act of violence which in great measure became the cause of the later unhappy schism." Hefele, *op. cit.*, V, 303-04.

¹⁵ "No action of the medieval popes up to this period has been more discussed or more variously viewed. While some writers would condemn the conduct of the pope, others would approve of it." Mann, *op. cit.*, I, Part II, 267.

¹⁶ Because Stephen II died before consecration his name is not included in some lists; and this omission has resulted in confusion with regard to the numbers attached to the popes named Stephen. Our text follows the traditional Roman practice.

Philip (768)—antipope.

Stephen III (IV) (768–772). Upon the death of Pope Paul the lay nobles advanced the claim that, since the pope was now a sovereign, all the subjects of the Papal States should have a voice in his election; and a preliminary meeting took place of representatives of the clergy and of the military aristocracy. Then suddenly a group of nobles forced their way into the Lateran and proclaimed Constantine (who was not even a cleric), successor of Paul I. Thirteen months later a Lombard priest effected the election of another candidate, Philip, superior of a monastery in Rome. Still later, two men who had been officials in the preceding pontificate, Christopher and his son, Sergius, aided by the Lombard king, Desiderius, assembled the Romans, clerical and lay, in the Forum and elected a third pope, the Sicilian priest, Stephen. Many of the supporters of Constantine and Philip had their eyes torn out; and after the acts of Constantine had been declared illegal, he too was blinded and imprisoned in a monastery for life. A council of almost fifty Frankish and Italian bishops assembled in the Basilica of the Lateran in 769 and decreed that thereafter only cardinals and deacons would be eligible for election to the papacy and that no layman would possess a right to vote.¹⁷ The council repudiated the decisions of the Iconoclast council of Constantinople (754) and endorsed the veneration of images. According to one account, Christopher and Sergius plotted against Desiderius, who with the collusion of the pope, seized and blinded them. Stephen died soon afterwards.

Adrian I (772–795), a Roman of noble birth, elected by the clergy and people of Rome despite the protest of King Desiderius, appealed to Charlemagne for help against Lombard encroachments. Charlemagne crossed the Alps in 773, ratified Pepin's gift, and gave Adrian the document which remained the charter of papal sovereignty for over a thousand years.¹⁸ Adrian rebuilt the city of Rome, reconstructing churches, walls, and aqueducts; he also assisted Charlemagne to spread civilization in Gaul, and to establish Roman usages there. This pontificate was made significant by the destruction of the papacy's most threatening enemy, the Lombards, and by the shattering of Iconoclasm both in the East and in the West.

St. Leo III (795–816), a Roman, papal treasurer and cardinal priest of the church of Santa Susanna, was unanimously elected successor of Adrian I. For motives unknown, he was disliked by some members of the military aristocracy; and, during a procession through the streets of Rome, he was attacked by an armed group of conspirators, led by the

¹⁷ This rule remained in force for a period of years, but was finally annulled.

¹⁸ The famous "*Privilegium Hadriani*" (giving Charlemagne the right to nominate popes and bishops) attributed to Pope Adrian is a forgery.

nephew of the late Pope Adrian. Leo was rescued after an unsuccessful effort had been made to tear out his eyes and tongue; but his enemies followed up their attack by accusing him of perjury, adultery, and other crimes. An assembly presided over by Charlemagne exculpated Leo and condemned the conspirators to death; at Leo's request, however, the sentence was commuted to one of banishment.¹⁹ Charlemagne had come in person to Rome on this occasion and, on Christmas Day in St. Peter's, Leo crowned him Emperor of the Romans, placing his name in the list of Roman emperors after that of the recently deposed Constantine VI. Thereafter the pope and the new emperor coöperated harmoniously in carrying out reforms, in suppressing heresy, in organizing the Church, and in promoting missions.

Leo proved himself to be both bold and diplomatic. Against the Eastern emperor he firmly upheld the monks who had condemned Constantine's bigamous marriage. On the other hand, in order to avoid offending Constantine unnecessarily, he refused the request of Charlemagne to have "Filioque" inserted in the Nicene Creed. During the reign of Michael I, he helped to negotiate a treaty between Michael and Charlemagne. Leo's Lombard subjects aided him to suppress a rebellion which broke out in Italy after Charlemagne's death.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: Iconoclasm in the East and Adoptionism in the West were the chief disputes which troubled the Church at this time. In addition to pronouncing upon these questions, the Holy See also issued instructions on the sacraments and proclaimed again the doctrine of Rome's supremacy.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Gregory II (715-731)</i>	
726	Letter to St. Boniface	On baptism.
	<i>St. Gregory III (731-741)</i>	
739	Letter to St. Boniface	On baptism and confirmation.
	<i>St. Zachary (741-752)</i>	
748	Letter to St. Boniface	On baptism.

¹⁹ This assembly made up of leading clerics and nobles, both Frankish and Roman, did not presume to judge the pope; but Leo declared he was ready to clear himself by oath, and ascending the pulpit with the book of the Gospels in his hand, he proceeded to make oath, that he had neither committed nor ordered the crimes with which he had been charged.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Adrian I (772-795)</i>		
785	Letter to the Second Council of Nicaea	On the Roman primacy.
785	Letter to the Spanish bps.	On Adoptionism; on Predestination; on various abuses in Spain.
787	Second Council of Nicaea (Ecum. VII)	On sacred images; on tradition; on the election of bishops.
793	Letter to the bps. of Gaul and Spain	On Adoptionism.
794	Council of Frankfort (from the council's letter to the Spanish)	On Adoptionism.
<i>St. Leo III (795-816)</i>		
796	Council of Friuli.	On Adoptionism.

Councils: The Seventh Ecumenical Council (II Nicaea), held in 787, defined the Catholic doctrine with regard to the veneration of images and condemned Adoptionism (the heretical theory that Jesus was the "adopted," and not the "natural" Son of God). It also promulgated twenty-two canons on points of discipline.

Noteworthy among the local councils were those of Frankfort, Aix, Friuli, and Ratisbon, which condemned Adoptionism. A council held at Hieria (near Chalcedon) endorsed Iconoclasm in 754, and was anathematized in the Lateran Synod of 769. The council, convened at Frankfort in 794, "by authority of the pope, and by command of Charlemagne," included not only Frankish bishops but others from Aquitaine, Italy, and England.

Organization: Although Charles Martel was responsible for the placing of several unworthy men in ecclesiastical office, the Carolingians as a rule worked in coöperation with the Church authorities and helped to promote reform. How badly that reform was needed may be realized by a reading of the decrees of the local councils in the different countries.²⁰ As for conditions in the East, the canons enacted by the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787 throw light especially on the defects of bishops and on the low state of discipline among the clergy and in monasteries.²¹

The practice of celibacy had fallen into complete disuse in many quarters, and even the obligation itself had become un-

²⁰ For the Councils of Spain, England, and Italy, see Hefele, *op. cit.*, V, 250 ff.

²¹ See Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-156.

certain. Efforts to clarify and to enforce the law were furthered by the organization of clerical groups and cathedral chapters living under a rule which prescribed a common routine of study, prayer, and pastoral activity.

Roman institutions gained new importance because of the enlarged temporal jurisdiction of the pope, and because, through Charlemagne's influence, Roman customs set the standard throughout the empire. Rome at this time contained many buildings erected to shelter pilgrims, invalids, foundlings, and aged persons, which were supported by revenues drawn from the landed property of the Church.²² The papal government included both a military and an ecclesiastical administration, the first housed on the Palatine in the old palace of the Caesars, and the other in the Lateran Palace of the popes. Dukes, counts, tribunes supervised military affairs; cardinal priests, cardinal deacons, and other lesser ecclesiastics took charge of spiritual and charitable activities.

The Roman clergy included an upper class recruited from the sons of noble families, and a lower class trained in the *Schola Cantorum* near the Lateran. The clerics who became assistants to the cardinals did not undertake the obligation of celibacy until their promotion to major orders.²³ The bishops of the seven sees nearest Rome took turns presiding at the daily service in the Lateran, the pope's own church.

In England a series of councils held at Clovesho,²⁴ which brought together the English bishops and abbots south of the Humber and also the kings and leading nobles, indicated the good organization of the English hierarchy and its close union with Rome. Some time before the reign of Alfred, England introduced the custom of Peter's Pence—an annual tribute of one penny payable by each householder to the Holy See.

Marriage: There can be no doubt that abuses were widespread at this time, although the account of them is often exaggerated. That divorce was tolerated to some extent seems to be plain from the decrees enacted at the Council of Verberie (756), and also—

²² These revenues had been seriously lessened by Byzantine confiscations and Lombard encroachments. Nor had the Holy See received any gifts of large private estates after the year 600.

²³ "Even then, they only severed their family relationships as far as was absolutely necessary. The wives of the superior orders of clergy were not sequestered in cloisters, and they even shared, to a certain extent, in the promotion of their husbands, becoming *diaconae*, *presbyterae*, or *episcopae*. On the day of the clerk's preferment to the priesthood, or the diaconate, their wives were also honoured with a kind of consecration ceremony, in celebration of this access of dignity." Duchesne, *Beginnings of Temporal Sovereignty* . . . , pp. 65-66.

²⁴ Probably a town near Rochester.

by a council partly composed of laymen—at Compiègne (757). On the other hand, the indissolubility of marriage was reaffirmed repeatedly by the Holy See and by various local councils.²⁵

Worship: This century registered a notable advance in liturgical conformity between Gaul and Rome. Pope Paul I in the year 760 sent Pepin a copy of the Roman Antiphonary; and Charlemagne, with the encouragement of Adrian I, imposed the Roman usage upon his subjects. The Franks supplemented the Roman ritual with certain additions popular in Gaul; and thus the new Gallican liturgy represented a fusing of older rites.

Priests celebrated Mass as often as they wished; Pope Leo III is said to have offered as many as seven Masses on a single feast-day. Yet the reception of Holy Communion was comparatively infrequent; in some places devout persons received Communion not oftener than two or three times a year—a custom deplored by St. Bede who urged a more frequent reception.

In the primitive Church—as shown by frescoes in the catacombs—the bread used in the Blessed Eucharist had not differed in form from the loaves served as ordinary food. Gradually the custom of using small round disks of unleavened bread for the Communion of the faithful became common; and molds for the making of hosts—resembling modern waffle-irons—were probably in general use in the eighth century. The Eucharist was carried to the sick in a little vessel called a “pyx,” made sometimes of gold and sometimes of ivory.²⁶

In their respective attitudes towards religious pictures and images, the East and the West—quite independently of the doctrinal issue involved in Iconoclasm—offered a marked contrast, originating in differences of temperament and social usage. Byzantine churches multiplied images so that they often covered walls from floor to roof. The Oriental love of prostrations, incense, kissing—and other signs of respect and affection—seemed undignified and even idolatrous to the Franks who, in more sober

²⁵ For example, Gregory II (715–731), Zachary (747), Stephen II (III) (754)—although an equivocal statement in a letter of Gregory II to St. Boniface (726) has led some writers to charge the pope with permitting divorce under certain circumstances.

²⁶ Councils passed laws requiring the use of a pyx, in order to end the custom of carrying the Host in a corporal suspended from the priest's neck or placed between the pages of a book.

fashion, gave what they considered appropriate veneration to pictures, images and relics.

Art: In the early Middle Ages, the copying and illuminating of manuscripts took up the largest number of working hours in the cloister; and the masterpieces thus produced became the chief medium for the transmitting of styles and motifs from place to place in a period when artists traveled little. Typical of Irish art at its best (and in the opinion of some, a sample of the finest craftsmanship known) is the celebrated Book of Kells, otherwise known as "The Great Gospel of Columcille," which belongs to the early eighth or late seventh century. This manuscript (now in Trinity College, Dublin) contains the four Gospels, a fragment of Hebrew, and an ancient collection of canons. Of equal, or almost equal, beauty is the book known as the Lindisfarne Gospel ("St. Cuthbert's Gospels") written about the year 700, and containing the earliest copy of the Gospels in English (preserved in the British Museum).

Communities: The Carolingians did much to promote the growth of monasticism and to have all monasteries adopt the Benedictine Rule. Among the notable foundations were Reichenau, founded by the (possibly) Irish St. Pirmin on an island in the Lake of Constance in the year 724; Fulda, established by St. Sturm, a disciple of Boniface, in 744; and Lorsch near Worms, founded by St. Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz, in 764—all of which developed into important educational centers. Fulda, the great monastery of Germany (ranking with Monte Cassino in Italy, St. Gall in the Alps, Corbie in Picardy, Iona in Scotland), became the mother house of many smaller monasteries and acquired estates in different parts of the country.²⁷ The German monasteries contained a large proportion of Irish exiles; Irish monks and abbots played a distinguished role in molding the culture of central Europe.²⁸

²⁷ A dispute which broke out between the monks of Fulda and Bishop Otto of Freising in 798 was a typical instance of conflicts which took place between monasteries and bishops over questions of jurisdiction.

²⁸ A modern writer, Sommerlad, writing in 1900, devoted a whole chapter of his book, *Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland*, to the influence of the Irish monastic rule on the political and economic ideas of medieval Germany. See also, William Stang, *Germany's Debt to Ireland*.

In the effort to raise the level of discipline quasi-monastic clerical groups were sometimes organized in cathedral churches; and the members of these groups followed a common order of life and recited office together. At Metz, for example, St. Chrodegang (703-766) gathered the clergy of his cathedral into a community and gave them a rule adapted from that of St. Benedict. As the churches grew richer, however, this custom declined. Factors retarding reform were the appointment of laymen as abbots and the confiscation of monastic property by powerful nobles who wished thus to finance their military expeditions. Charles Martel and his successors were notable offenders in this respect.

A number of monasteries, many of them Greek, existed in Rome; but as a rule the popes did not encourage the development of these into large institutions, possibly because of the frequent disorders caused by monks in the East.

Charlemagne attempted to check (through the authority of the bishops) the presumption of certain abbesses who, contrary to established discipline, were accustomed to bless the people by imposing hands and to use formulas reserved exclusively to priests. Elsewhere we learn of abbesses who required their subjects to confess their sins to them (although not regarding this as a sacramental confession or imparting absolution).

Saints: Among the saints described elsewhere in this chapter were five who sat on the papal throne; two writers of renown, St. Bede and St. John Damascene; St. Vergilius, Irish bishop of Salzburg; St. Boniface, English "Apostle of Germany," who, like his fellow countryman, Bede, stamped his personality upon a whole generation.

Education: Notable episodes in this chapter of educational history were the vanishing of the Spanish schools and the dawning of the Carolingian renaissance. The growth of St. Gall and the founding of several great Benedictine monasteries foreshadowed the cultural revival inaugurated by Charlemagne, who, voicing his dissatisfaction with the ignorance of the Franks, enacted decrees designed to improve the intellectual status not only of churchmen, but of his subjects generally.²⁹ Converting the Palace

²⁹ He affirmed that some bishops and abbots were unable to write a presentable

Ecumenical Council (Second of Nicaea)—convoked with the approval of the pope and the aid of the Empress Irene—defined the Catholic doctrine, making clear the distinction between the adoration due to God and the veneration paid to the saints, and also explaining that the veneration of an image is really an act of homage offered not to the inanimate object but to the person represented.

The Frankish bishops, deceived by an incorrect Latin translation of the conciliar decrees (originally written in Greek), concluded that the council of 787 had sanctioned the adoration of images; and at the Council of Frankfort (794) they sent a formal refutation of that error to Constantinople in the “*Libri Carolini*,” at the same time expressing their dissatisfaction that the Council of Nicaea had not inserted the phrase “*Filioque*” in the Creed.

Adoptionism: This modified form of Nestorianism taught a double sonship of Christ, one natural and one adoptive, thus making the Man, Christ, not the true Son of God. It arose in a part of Spain then under the control of Islam, where many Nestorians had taken refuge years before. The heresy was supported by Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, and by Felix, Bishop of Urgel, a skillful controversialist, who quoted in defense of Adoptionism many texts of Scripture and of the liturgy, and many expressions used by the Fathers. Adoptionism soon spread into France. It was condemned by Pope Adrian I in letters to the bishops of Spain (785), and to Charlemagne (794), and also by councils held at Ratisbon (792), Frankfort (794), and other places.

Alcuin wrote a treatise against Adoptionism and, in a council at Aix-la-Chapelle (799), Felix, after six days of discussion, acknowledging himself convinced by the arguments of Alcuin, renounced his heresy.³⁵ St. Benedict of Aniane reported twenty thousand converts from Adoptionism before the year 800.

The Paulicians: This sect spread rapidly through Asia Minor. Some of the Iconoclast emperors protected them; but others persecuted them cruelly, forced many to take refuge among the Moslems, and drove them into relentless hostility towards the empire.

The Moslems: Conquering North Africa, Islam grew bolder in

³⁵ Papers discovered after his death showed that he remained an Adoptionist at heart.

Egypt and persecuted the Christian Copts. In the East, Moslem armies besieged Constantinople (718). In the West, after having conquered Spain, they advanced into Gaul; but the victory of Charles Martel at Poitiers terminated their chance of mastering Christendom.

Soon afterwards the internal divisions of Islam marked the end of its greatest era; for the schism which took place in 755 was never healed. One of the Omayyad caliphs, having been deposed in Damascus, fled to Spain and founded a dynasty at Córdoba. The Abbassids, descendants of Ali, who had displaced the Omayyads, transferred their capital from Damascus to Baghdad (762), where it remained for five centuries.

The Jews: In this period the Jews were free from persecution practically everywhere, except for a short interval around the year 720, when they were ill-treated in the East both by the Caliph of Damascus and by Emperor Leo III, who forced them to accept baptism. Some submitted; others took refuge in neighboring countries, founding Jewish communities in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and other places.

In France, under the Carolingians, the Jews were tolerated and often favored. In Spain, the aid given by the Jews to the Moslem invaders secured for them the favor of Islam. "The conquered cities, Cordova, Malaga, Granada, Seville, and Toledo were placed in charge of the Jewish inhabitants who had been armed by the Arabs . . . Southern Spain became an asylum for the oppressed Jews of other parts."⁸⁶ Before long the Jews of Spain acquired considerable wealth from traffic in slaves and the silk trade; Spain was noted as a home of Talmudic study; Córdoba was the meeting place of Jewish scholars; and efforts were made to obtain proselytes from among Spanish Christians.

4. MISSIONS

The great missionaries of this period were St. Willibrord and St. Boniface. St. Willibrord met with only limited success among the Frisians, until reinforced by Charles Martel, who destroyed

⁸⁶ S.v. "Spain," *Jewish Encyc.*, XI, 485.

the pagan temples and idols in 734. Willibrord died in his see of Utrecht in 739.

Boniface (c. 675–c. 755)—Benedictine monk from Devon, originally named Winfrid—who had labored under the direction of Willibrord, acquired the title “Apostle of Germany,” and was made bishop in 722 by Pope Gregory II, who called him “Boniface.”³⁷ He preached the faith in Frisia and Saxony, established sees in Franconia and Thuringia, and organized the Church in Bavaria, erecting the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Passau, Freising, Ratisbon—and later Eichstadt. He also convoked a Bavarian synod in 740 and a council of the whole German nation in 742, founded a monastery at Hersfeld, and commissioned Sturm, his disciple, to establish Fulda. Having been requested by Pepin to reform the Church of the Western Franks, he assembled a synod at Soissons in 744 and a national Frankish synod in 745. Pope Zachary made him archbishop of Mainz with jurisdiction over Utrecht, Tongres (later Maestricht), Cologne, Worms, and Speyer; but in 754 Boniface resigned his see, returned to the Frisian missions in company with a bishop, three priests, three deacons, and four monks, and was slain with his companions by the pagans at Dokkum.³⁸

As the unconverted pagans of the north remained a constant menace to the empire, Charlemagne embarked upon a policy of forcible baptism, shedding much blood in this procedure.³⁹ In less cruel fashion he aided religion, by building a church at Paderborn in 777. St. Wiho became bishop of Osnabrück, the first see founded by the emperor in Saxony; and St. Ludger, first bishop of Münster, carried on mission work throughout north-western Saxony, building a monastery at Münster and a convent (the first in Westphalia) at Nottuln, and laying the foundation of a Benedictine monastery at Werden in 799.

The conversion of the Frisians was attempted by St. Gregory of Utrecht and also by St. Willehad, first bishop of Bremen, who

³⁷ The Latin equivalent of his original name.

³⁸ In addition to his achievements as missionary, Boniface wrote a number of letters and poems, a compendium of the Latin language, and a compendium of Latin prosody, which are extant. The sermons which are attributed to him are possibly spurious.

³⁹ The severe laws enacted by Charlemagne were in sharp contrast with the legislation of the Church. Alcuin and others made ineffectual protests against the emperor's policy.

labored among them until he was expelled. His companions were slain in 782.

East of the Caspian Sea, Christianity spread over a large region on both sides of the Oxus; and about the year 781 the Nestorian patriarch, Timothy, reported a great number of conversions, including that of a Turkish kahn. Had Islam not appeared, all this region might have accepted Christianity. As it was, the peoples in the valley of the Oxus followed the example of the Persians and became Moslems. Meanwhile, Nestorian missionaries carried the faith across the mountains eastward, and into many cities along the overland routes between Mesopotamia and China. The celebrated Nestorian monument in Hsianfu (erected in 781 in what was then the capital of China) records the generosity of a wealthy Christian who had conferred great benefits on the poor and had won the favor of the Chinese rulers.

SUMMARY

Towards the popes the emperors were both offensive and cruel, Justinian II displaying his anger at Pope Constantine over the unsigned decrees of the Trullan Synod, and Leo III the Iconoclast, threatening St. Gregory II and St. Gregory III. The Iconoclasts dominated the Synod of Constantinople in mid-century, condemning St. Germanus the patriarch and St. John Damascene; but they themselves were repudiated by the Seventh General Council in 787.

The popes had trouble also from the Lombards and although the tactful Pope St. Zachary handled the situation successfully, Pope Stephen II (III) was less fortunate. So the popes made friends of Pepin and Charlemagne, named them Roman Patriarchs, and accepted their gift of lands. In the long pontificate of Adrian I (772-795) the Lombard power was completely crushed, the papal sovereignty firmly established, and the heresy of Iconoclasm finally condemned. Then at the close of the century

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>723 Winfrid becomes Bp. Boniface</p> <p>727 <i>Gregory II</i> defies Leo III</p> <p>731 <i>Gregory III</i> condemns Iconoclasm
Bede's <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i></p> <p>742 Treaty of <i>Zachary</i> and Liutprand
Boniface holds first German council</p> <p>743 John Damascene writes <i>De Fide Orthodoxa</i></p> <p>744 Sturm founds Fulda</p> <p>753 <i>Stephen II</i> (III) anoints Pepin</p> <p>754 Iconoclastic synod of Hieria</p> <p>760 Chrodegang's reform</p> <p>769 Lateran Council vs. Iconoclasm</p> <p>777 A church in Paderborn</p> <p>781 Alcuin at Palace School</p> <p>785 Witikind a Christian</p> <p>787 Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II) vs. Iconoclasm</p> <p>792 Ratisbon Council vs. Adoptionism</p> <p>794 Frankfurt Council vs. Adoptionism and vs. Second Council of Nicaea</p> <p>795 <i>St. Leo III</i> succeeds <i>Adrian I</i></p> <p>800 Holy Roman Empire</p> | <p>711 Moslems in Spain</p> <p>718 Moslems at Constantinople</p> <p>726 Leo III's edict against images.</p> <p>732 Charles Martel at Poitiers</p> <p>738 Emperor Leo III defeats Moslems</p> <p>754 Pepin invades Italy</p> <p>755 Caliphate of Córdoba</p> <p>756 Picts in Northumbria
Pepin's "Donation"</p> <p>762 Caliphate of Baghdad</p> <p>774 Charlemagne ratifies Pepin's gift</p> <p>776-85 Conquest of Saxons</p> <p>787 Charlemagne's <i>Charter Capitulary</i></p> <p>789 Danes in England</p> <p>797 Irene, Empress</p> |
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CHAPTER IX

(The Eight Hundreds)

Division and Confusion

PREVIEW

THE results of Charlemagne's activities were visible for a while in the flourishing Church of Saxony, the religious reform of Gaul, the revived interest in education. Amid the general chaos which followed his death the Church stood out as the one solid, enduring institution; her bishops attained unique importance; her monasteries were islands of refuge for helpless people. Unfortunately, these conditions suggested to many ambitious men the pursuit of an ecclesiastical career as the most promising path to wealth and power.

The disintegration of the empire was reflected in Rome where shocking episodes occurred; yet the intimate relationship between the Franks and the papacy continued, and on several occasions Western sovereigns interfered to settle disorders caused by the ambition of Roman nobles or by the weakness of popes.

To the British Isles where religion had been developing happily for two centuries, the Danes brought for a while confusion and destruction, burning churches and monasteries; and the still pagan Normans raided the continent, sacking Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle and other northern towns in Germany and plundering the river valleys in France as far as Paris.

The East at this time was in a state of almost continual disorder. Endless political intrigues were complicated both by the ever troublesome Iconoclast heresy and by the Photian schism.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Eastern Empire was under attack from Bulgars, Slavs, and Moslems. Meanwhile, men's loyalties were confused by depositions, excommunications, assassinations, and a constantly shifting imperial policy. The hierarchy sank to the status of a body of political appointees, obedient to the will of the emperor; orthodoxy lost ground; the idea of an imperial church grew in favor among the higher clergy.

In the West Charlemagne's empire (800-887) endured for almost a century. Then (after the deposition of Charles the Fat), the great state was broken up—first into several kingdoms and before long into more than fifty principalities. Out of this situation developed the feudal system. Dukes, counts, and bishops grew more and more independent—and fortunately, more powerful, for, although they fought much among themselves, they drove back invading Moslems and Northmen and Magyars sufficiently to let Christendom survive.

Bulgaria and Russia were developing into strong states; and the people of both countries became Christian after a fashion. Italy was still agitated by the struggles of rival claimants for power. The Christians of Spain were making headway against the Moors. In the British Isles Danish invaders inflicted great injury on the Church and the people; but by the end of the century Alfred the Great ruled over a united and prosperous England.

1. THE EAST

The Empire, Bulgaria, Russia

The Empire: The Catholic policy introduced by Irene was reversed by her Iconoclastic successor, Nicephorus. His policy was reversed by Michael I; and Michael's policy was reversed by Leo V. The persecution inaugurated by Leo, interrupted by Michael II, and renewed by Theophilus, was checked again in 842, when the regent, Theodora, mother of the four-year-old Michael III, ordered the restoration of images.

The reigns of Michael III, Basil the Macedonian, and Leo VI—that is to say, the whole second half of the century—were disturbed by a series of controversies in which Photius was the central figure. The Byzantine Empire attained a high level of material prosperity in this century; but in the religious field bitter disputes were almost uninterrupted.

Nicephorus I (802–811), the Iconoclast, abandoned the religious policy of Irene, whom he succeeded. He checked Pepin's threat to Venice by sending a Greek fleet there. **Michael I** (811–813) engaged in negotiations which led to Byzantine recognition of Charlemagne's title of Emperor and to the agreement that Venice should pay Michael a yearly tribute. **Leo V** (813–820) defeated the Bulgarians. **Michael II** (820–829) lost Crete to the Arabs, who then overran Sicily. **Theophilus** (829–842) let the Arabs take south Italy away from the Byzantines. **Michael III** (842–867), the Drunkard, had to let northern Italy pass into the hands of Lothair, son of the Western emperor. **Basil the Macedonian** (867–886) killed Bardas (administrator of the kingdom), and in the following year, having murdered Michael III, ascended the throne as Basil I. **Leo VI** (886–912) published a new code of laws (to replace the *Ecloga* of Leo III). He conquered Thrace; he fixed the Greek capital of Italy at Bari; he drove the Saracens away from the southeastern coasts; but he failed to seize a larger area, as he might have done in the absence of effective opposition from Franks or Lombards.

Bulgaria: During this checkered period, Bulgaria (which had achieved independence a hundred years before) grew rapidly. The Bulgar race—recently from the Volga—fused with the neighboring Slavs; and Prince Boris, apparently for political reasons, became a Christian in the year 865.¹ His son and successor, Symeon (893–927), developed the country into an extensive and prosperous kingdom, stretching from the Danube to the Rhodope Mountains, and from the Black Sea to the Ionian.

Russia: About the year 862 a band of Northmen under the half-legendary Rurik, settled in Novgorod and organized the Slavs of that region into an independent state—the nucleus of the future Russia. Kiev became its capital about twenty years later.

¹ Boris, who sought civil and religious independence for his country, requested Pope Nicholas I to make Bulgaria a patriarchate. During the negotiations Nicholas died; and shortly afterwards Boris decided to place Bulgaria under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

Before the end of the century, missionaries from Constantinople converted many of the inhabitants to Christianity.²

2. THE WEST

a. France, Germany, Italy, Spain

France and Germany: Charlemagne did much to determine the political character of medieval Europe by making the *Regnum* and the *Sacerdotium* two departments of the one government—an arrangement not unlike the original design of Constantine. This system involved the danger of that same type of interference which occasioned so much harm to religion in the East; but Charlemagne had comparatively little opportunity to intervene in serious issues. With regard to matters of Church discipline and doctrine, he took the correct attitude as a rule—although he did urge the Synod of Frankfort to condemn the Council of Nicaea for its mildness towards the Iconoclasts, thus equivalently rebuking the pope who had approved the action of the council. He consistently supported the missionaries in their efforts to evangelize the pagans and he labored to improve the clergy.³

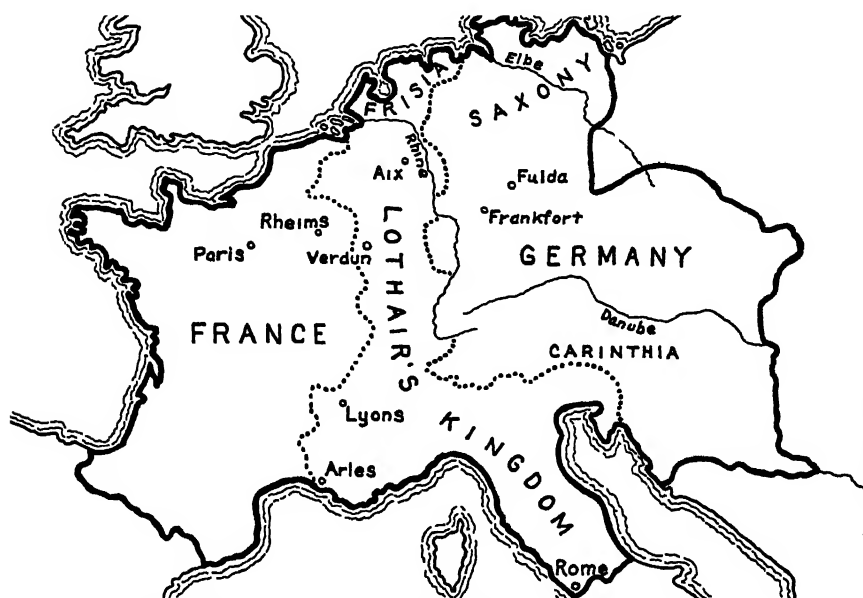
Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, who was crowned emperor by Pope Stephen IV (V) in 816, died in 840. He had named Lothair, one of his three sons, co-ruler; but the succession was disputed and the brothers engaged in civil war. At the end of the war, by an arrangement credited to Hincmar of Rheims, the Treaty of Verdun (843) divided the empire into three kingdoms, giving the East (Germany) to Louis the German, the West

² The credit of having dispatched these missionaries to Russia is given by some writers to Photius and by others to the preceding patriarch, St. Ignatius.

³ Charlemagne died in 814. According to medieval tradition, in his private life he showed little respect for the moral law. In all he had nine wives or mistresses, two of whom he divorced. Apparently he recognized the children of these various unions as his own and provided for them. But he would not allow his daughters to marry—a policy disastrous to their morals.

Charlemagne was buried in the Romanesque church at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) which he had decorated with pillars of Italian marble. He soon developed into a legendary hero and was even represented as a saint. The antipope, Paschal III, canonized him; Frederick Barbarossa promoted his cult; and an office was composed for his feast. Charlemagne is called "beatus" and his feast is still observed in some parts of Germany; but his name does not occur in the Roman calendar of saints.

(France) to Charles the Bald, and the Middle Kingdom, Lorraine (together with Italy and the title of Emperor), to Lothair.⁴



Charlemagne's Empire (as divided in 843)

From Lothair the imperial title descended to his son Louis II, who died in 875—the last Carolingian with an undisputed title; and the rest of the century was taken up with contests among the various descendants of Louis the Pious. In these contests the popes were deeply involved because of their twofold anxiety to save the empire and to get help for Christendom against the Moslems. John VIII crowned Charles the Bald in 875 and Charles the Fat in 881, but from neither did he obtain much aid; for Charles the Bald was hampered by restless nobles and Norman raiders at home, and Charles the Fat was generally incompetent. After the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887, things went from bad to worse—how much worse may be measured by the Formosus epi-

⁴ Germany dates its national existence from the year 843. The Franks, west of the Rhine, were already being absorbed in a new Romano-Celtic state then in process of formation. The Middle Kingdom soon dissolved into separate territories which in the following century would be at times independent and at times annexed to neighboring states. The agreements made by Louis and Lothair with Popes Paschal I and Eugene II are discussed below under "The Papacy."

sode in which the pope's body was exhumed and brought into court for trial.⁵

Italy: When the question arose whether Charles, the French king, or Louis, the German king, should become emperor (and thereby protector of the Holy See and political head of Italy), the Romans favored Charles. Italy, of course, suffered greatly during the rivalries and struggles that filled the closing years of the century. A suggestion of frightful conditions is found in the protest published by the Synod of Ravenna (898) against outrages for which Roman, Lombard, and French marauders were responsible; and Pope John IX, writing to the emperor, said he would much rather die than see such horrors as he had witnessed on his travels through Italy.

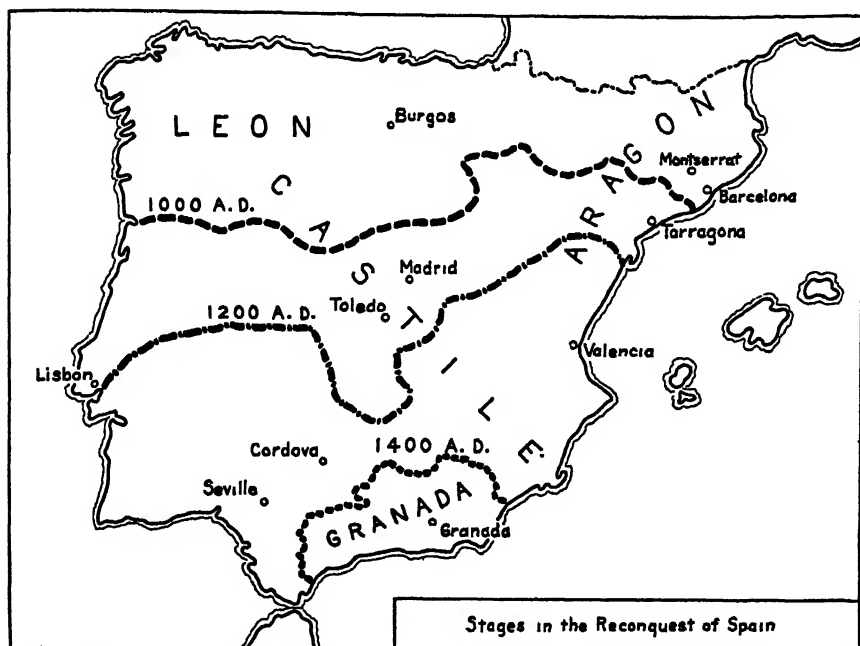
The condition of the minor Italian states was chaotic. The Greeks drove the Moslems out of Bari and other parts of the east and south, and solidified their own control of Venice and the Adriatic. On the other hand, some of the Lombard dukes entered into friendly alliance with the Moslems who, thus encouraged, advanced farther north and ravaged the neighborhood of Rome. Because of this alliance, the popes were unable to break the Moslem hold on Italy.

Spain: The Moslem invaders—a minority in comparison with the renegades and Jews—could not afford to destroy the existing administrative system. Nevertheless, the bad treatment of Christians developed into a more or less methodic persecution. Among the martyrs was the distinguished St. Eulogius of Córdoba, Archbishop of Toledo, beheaded in 859.

Most of the churches were turned into mosques; but scattered groups of Christians in many places—Saragossa for example—kept up the practice of their religion. One by one, rallying points for the reconquest were established. Barcelona fell into Christian

⁵ At the death of Charles the Fat in 888, the only legitimate male heir of the Carolingian line was Charles the Simple. In addition, there were the illegitimate Arnulf and three princes born of Carolingian mothers, Guy of Spoleto, Louis of Provence, Berengar of Friuli. Each of these four at one time or another became emperor: Guy of Spoleto was crowned by Pope Stephen V (VI) in 891; Arnulf was crowned by Formosus in 896; Lambert's son, Guido, was crowned by John XI in that same year. Louis of Provence, crowned in 900 by Benedict IV, was blinded five years later and sent back to Provence by Berengar.

hands in 801; the Basques in the western Pyrenees achieved independence twenty years later; about the middle of the century Alfonso III made Burgos his capital and built so many strongholds that this region came to be known as Castilla, "land of the castles." Aragon too, with its abbey of Montserrat, the famous shrine of the Black Virgin, became an important Christian center.



b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: Egbert, after passing thirteen years at the court of Charlemagne, became king of the West Saxons in 800. As the recognized leader of the Heptarchy (the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms) he made England a single state before his death in 839; and his support strengthened the position of the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of the Church in England. Yet the Danes renewed their invasions during the reign of Egbert's successor; and by the middle of the century they had seized a large part of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, and had destroyed many schools and monasteries, including Jarrow. Then came Alfred

the Great, King of Wessex (871–c. 900), who conquered the Danes, persuaded their leader, Guthrun, to become a Christian, raised the level of faith and morals, promoted learning, made apostasy and heathenism legal crimes, and coöperated with the bishops in punishing disorderly clerics.

During this century the opposition of the Welsh bishops to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury disappeared; and Wales relinquished such usages as had been disapproved by Rome.

Ireland: The first Danish raids coincided with the beginnings of that extraordinary Irish academic invasion of the Continent which carried so many scholars into far-off places and formed a notable chapter in the history of education.⁶ The invasions were followed about the middle of the century by the establishment of the Danish Kingdom of Dublin which was to last for two hundred years.⁷

Scotland: About the middle of the century the Picts and Scots formed a united state; and their first king, Kenneth MacAlpine, brought the relics of St. Columba to Dunkeld. A little later King Grig helped to give definite organization to the Scottish Church.

⁶ Unfortunately, the scholars who participated in the Carolingian revival left posterity without adequate information of the movement. "There is not a single contemporary narrative to tell us who they were that contributed to its success, or to trace its progress through the various provinces of the vast empire over which Charles reigned." We do know, however, that "the movement owes much to the Irish teachers, who, under Charles and his successors, appeared here and there throughout the continent of Europe. . . . We have in the manuscripts to be found in the principal libraries of Germany, France and Italy a trustworthy and perfectly objective account of the literary activity of the Irish scholars in the 9th and 10th centuries." William Turner, *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival*, Catholic University Bulletin, XIII (1907), p. 383. Bishop Turner in the article cited above, gives the results of his own study of the manuscripts in question and summarizes the conclusions gathered by Ussher, who was first in this field, and by Dummmler, Traube, Zimmer, Hauréau, Ozanam and Bellesheim.

⁷ The famous "round towers" (of which many still exist), probably first erected for religious purposes, were used as strongholds for defense against the Danish invaders. Towards the year 900 Cormack McCuilennain, the king-bishop of Cashel, wrote a commentary on the Irish laws which had grown up from the decisions of the old Brehons (Druids) and codified them in the text, *Senchus Mór*. The claim is made that in the year 438 the *Senchus Mór* had already been edited by St. Patrick, who eliminated all that conflicted with Christian teaching; but the truth of this claim is difficult to establish.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

With the increased importance of the papacy came more determined attempts to control papal elections. The Roman nobles were usually divided into two factions, one for and one against the Frankish emperor; and each group tried to secure the election of its own candidate. The Pact of 817 between Paschal and Louis gave the emperor the right to decide disputed elections; and the agreement made by Eugene II and Lothair seven years later allowed the emperor to be present at elections but not to vote.

In 824 the laity—powerful enough to carry a papal election for the first time—made Eugene II pope against the opposition of the Roman clergy. Other successes followed this one; and before the century ended the noble families of Rome brought more shame and harm to the Church than Byzantine emperors and Lombard dukes had ever done.

St. Leo III (795–816). See preceding chapter.

Stephen IV (V) (816–817) was elected without the approval of the emperor, in accord with the custom which had obtained since the time of Pope Zachary. Stephen at once crossed the Alps and crowned Louis the Pious emperor at Rheims. Pope and emperor then renewed the existing treaty of friendship; and Louis confirmed the privileges of the Roman see.

St. Paschal I (817–824), immediately after his election, notified the emperor; and the emperor drew up a "Privilegium" in which he guaranteed the freedom of papal elections, reserving however, his right to entertain appeals from the subjects of the pope. After the emperor divided his territory among his four sons, naming Lothair co-emperor, Lothair went to Rome and was crowned king of Italy by the pope (823).

As Paschal opposed the growing power of the Roman nobles, they sought aid from the Franks, accusing Paschal of having blinded and executed two men devoted to Lothair; but in the presence of an imperial commission the pope cleared himself by oath of all responsibility for the deed.⁸ On Paschal's death the Roman clergy presented a candidate who favored the policy of Paschal; but the Roman nobles, although they had been deprived of all voice in the election by Pope Stephen's decree of 769, prevented the selection of this candidate and secured the election of Eugene II.

⁸ As Leo III had done in another case in the year 800.

Eugene II (824-827), at the request of Lothair, pardoned several nobles who had been exiled by Paschal. The pope and the emperor then drew up the Roman Constitution of 824—based on Pope Stephen's decree of 769—which provided that in future the pope should be consecrated in the presence of the emperor or his representative; that the people should swear allegiance to both; and that pope and emperor should coöperate in the enforcement of the laws.

Valentine (827) reigned from August until October.

Gregory IV (827-844)—the candidate of the Roman nobles who were steadily gaining influence in papal elections—was involved in the family disputes of Louis and his four sons. The Moslems, admitted into Italy by quarreling princes, gained much territory. At the request of Emperor Louis I, Gregory made Ansgar archbishop of the new see of Hamburg

John (844)—antipope.

Sergius II (844-847) was elected pope by the Roman clergy and laity—again without consent of the emperor. Lothair therefore sent his son Louis to Rome to investigate the validity of the election. Sergius consented to crown Louis king of Italy but declined to take an oath of allegiance to him, promising fidelity only to the Emperor Lothair.

Sergius allowed his brother Benedict, Bishop of Albano, to control both civil and ecclesiastical affairs; and it was said that Benedict would sell any office or appointment to one who had the price. When in 846 a Moslem army advanced to the very walls of Rome and plundered the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul, the people regarded this disaster as the punishment of God upon a corrupt administration. Sergius named Drogo of Metz legate to France and Germany in the hope of reuniting all the bishops of the empire; but the French bishops were not willing to submit to the authority of a German ecclesiastic, and Drogo resigned.⁹

St. Leo IV (847-855), like his predecessor, was elected by the Romans without waiting for the emperor's consent.¹⁰ In Italy, in France, and in the East, he upheld the rights of the Holy See against the archbishop of Ravenna, the archbishop of Rheims, and the patriarch of Constantinople. He legislated in favor of education and good discipline. Of particular interest during this pontificate was the visit to Rome (853) of the future Alfred the Great, the young son of Ethelwulf, king of the West Saxons. Leo became godfather to Alfred at confirmation and also anointed him as king—the only English king to receive the sacred unction in Rome at the hands of the pope.¹¹

⁹ Much of the information about the reign of Sergius comes from an anonymous author violently hostile to Sergius.

¹⁰ Because the Moslems were threatening Rome.

¹¹ This story, although disputed, is sustained by good authority. Alfred made a second journey to Rome two years later in the company of his father during the pontificate of Benedict III. See Mann, *op. cit.*, II, 279-280, 318.

Benedict III (855-858)¹² was elected immediately after the death of Leo IV; but the envoys sent to obtain the imperial confirmation of the election deserted Benedict, and attempted to secure the papal throne for Cardinal Anastasius, at that time under sentence of excommunication. Driven from the Lateran, Benedict was reinstated by the Roman clergy and people; and Anastasius was degraded to lay communion. Benedict made efforts to restore order in the Frankish kingdom, reproached the Frankish bishops for their failure to maintain discipline, and came into conflict on more than one occasion with powerful persons among the Franks.¹³

Anastasius (855)—antipope.¹⁴

St. Nicholas I (858-867) came to the throne at a critical period. The Emperor Lothair had died three years earlier; and the Frankish territory had been divided into several different kingdoms. The Slavs were invading the eastern borders; Normans were raiding the north, and Saracens the south; kings and nobles, avaricious and aggressive, were thrusting unworthy relatives into ecclesiastical office. Nicholas, possessing a clear conception of his mission to defend Church rights and to uphold Christian morality, fearlessly denounced all wrongdoers, whether princes or prelates. Although elected pope by favor of the emperor, he firmly resisted imperial encroachments upon papal authority; and, when in 863 the archbishops of Cologne and Trier sanctioned the adulterous second marriage of King Lothair, the emperor's brother, Nicholas promptly excommunicated them.¹⁵ Only the emperor's illness prevented the speedy punishment of the pope for this affront to the imperial dignity.

In the West Nicholas made his authority felt by forcing Hincmar, the metropolitan of northern France, to reinstate the bishop of Soissons and

¹² The fable about the papal throne having been occupied by a woman, "Pope Joan," in the years 855-858, first appeared in the thirteenth century, four hundred years after the alleged fact. We have the testimony of contemporary writers, such as Hincmar of Rheims, that Pope Leo IV, who died in 855, was succeeded by Benedict III in the same year. Further, we have documents and coins issued under Benedict III and dated in the year 855.

¹³ One was the subdeacon, Hubert—son of Count Boso and brother-in-law of King Lothair (who had married Hubert's sister Theutberga). Benedict threatened Hubert with excommunication for his wicked conduct; and Hubert, after having lost the favor of the emperor, was slain by one of the emperor's friends. Benedict came into conflict also with a Lombard noblewoman, Ingeltrude, wife of another Boso, who had abandoned her husband and was leading a scandalous life in France. Pope Benedict wrote to the emperor and to several bishops and princes to persuade them to send the unfaithful wife back to her husband; but she was protected by King Lothair, himself an adulterer. Later, by order of Nicholas I, Ingeltrude was excommunicated at the Council of Milan in 860.

¹⁴ See an account of Anastasius below under "Writers."

¹⁵ The two archbishops apparently appealed to Photius to assist them in resisting the pope; but no further response from Photius is on record except what seems to be an allusion to this message in his encyclical to the Oriental Bishops protesting against the Latin invasion of Bulgaria. Mann, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 57 and 65.

to acknowledge that no bishop might lawfully be deposed without the consent of Rome; and in the East Nicholas decreed the restoration of the deposed Patriarch, St. Ignatius, and annulled the election of Photius.¹⁶

Adrian II (867-872), candidate of the Roman clergy, followed the bold tradition of Nicholas. He forced King Lothair to take back his repudiated wife, Theutberga; ¹⁷ he made Hincmar of Rheims recognize the right of priests to appeal to the Holy See over the heads of bishops and metropolitans; and he manifested his breadth of mind by approving—despite opposition—the Slavonic translation of the liturgy which Sts. Cyril and Methodius composed for the western Slavs.

John VIII (872-882), a vigorous and efficient ruler, supported the work of Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs of Moravia and authorized them to use the Slavonic tongue in the Mass and other liturgical functions. When the two missionaries encountered opposition from German princes and prelates, who wished to retain control of the Slavs, John intervened, rebuked the bishop of Freising and others who had persecuted the missionaries, and called upon the archbishop of Salzburg to obey the instructions of the Holy See.¹⁸

Several high Roman ecclesiastics, friends of Emperor Louis II, made themselves obnoxious to the pope; and, after the death of the emperor in 875, John drove them out of Rome, forcing one of them, Bishop Formosus, to sign a promise that he would never return.¹⁹ John predicted to Boris of Bulgaria that his country would be led into heresy and schism, if it were united to the patriarchate of Constantinople instead of to Rome—and later this prediction came true. A contemporary rumor attributed the death of John to poison; but the charge lacks confirmation.

Marinus I (882-884),²⁰ as representative of John VIII in Constanti-

¹⁶ Nicholas gave other examples of vigorous administration. He excommunicated John, Archbishop of Ravenna, for his oppression of the poor, his unjust treatment of bishops and priests, and his practice of extorting money. When Frankish bishops excommunicated Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, for having married without her father's consent, Nicholas intervened and effected a reconciliation between father and daughter.

¹⁷ Lothair had bribed the papal legates at the Synod of Metz to sanction his repudiation of his wife Theutberga, and to approve his second marriage to Waldraga. St. Adeo of Vienne reported the fact to the Holy See, and Adrian promptly nullified the acts of the synod.

¹⁸ A certain Wiching, presumably an agent of Arnulf, circulated a false report that John had condemned Methodius, and he apparently even forged a letter with the pope's signature.

¹⁹ Formosus, Cardinal Archbishop of Porto, had been sent on important diplomatic missions to Bulgaria by Nicholas I, and to France by Adrian II; and he was sent again to France by John VIII to invite Charles the Bald to be crowned in Rome.

²⁰ Owing to a confusion of names, Marinus I has sometimes been listed as Martin II; and Marinus II in the following century is listed as Martin III. On account of this error the pope who succeeded Nicholas III in 1281 is called Martin IV.

nople, had been imprisoned for obedience to the pope's orders. He reversed John's policy with regard to Bishop Formosus of Porto, whom he permitted to return to Rome.

Adrian III (884-885), a pope of whom little or nothing is recorded, was popularly regarded as a saint.²¹

Stephen V (VI) (885-891), whose family belonged to the Roman nobility, used his inherited wealth for the relief of poverty, the redemption of captives, and the reconstruction of damaged churches in Rome. He defended the rights of the Holy See against the archbishops of Lyons, of Bordeaux, and of Ravenna; and he renewed the condemnation of Photius. He intervened in a dispute for the imperial crown by rejecting the claim of Arnulf, the German, and crowning Guy of Spoleto.²²

Among the more important acts of this pontificate was Stephen's decree condemning the use of Slavonic in the liturgy (885). That decree seems to have been secured by the misrepresentations and forgeries of Wiching, who claimed to have received from John VIII a letter censuring Methodius. Stephen's decree, enforced by Swatopluk, the ruler of Moravia, terminated the Slavonic usage in Moravia; the decree was renewed by John X (914-928) and other later popes.

Formosus (891-896), following the policy adopted by his predecessor, Stephen, recognized the claim of the Spoleto family to the imperial crown. Then, in fear of their rapidly growing power, he secretly invited Arnulf, their rival, to invade Italy, and in 896 solemnly crowned him in Rome. A few days later Formosus died; and Lambert of Spoleto soon regained control of Rome.

Boniface VI (896), pope for only fifteen days, was perhaps identical with that Boniface mentioned by a council (held in 898) as an unworthy and vicious character who had been degraded from the priesthood; but there is some uncertainty about this identification.

Stephen VI (VII) (896-897)—forced by the Emperor Lambert and his mother, Agiltrude—had the body of Formosus exhumed, vested in the papal robes, seated on a throne, and placed on trial before the Roman Synod for having invalidly occupied the papal throne. All the dead pope's decrees were annulled; and all the orders conferred by him were pronounced invalid.²³ At the conclusion of the trial the vestments were torn from his body, two fingers of the right hand were cut off, and the corpse, dressed in lay clothing, was thrown into the Tiber. Stephen required several clerics who had been ordained by Formosus to resign their offices. Shortly afterwards Stephen was strangled.

²¹ His cultus in the diocese of Modena was confirmed by the Holy See in 1892.

²² At the same time he crowned Guy's son, Lambert, co-emperor.

²³ This matter is further discussed in Chapter X.

Romanus (897) became pope probably about August, 897. Some say he died a few months after his election, and others that he was deposed by one of the Roman factions.

Theodore II (897) had the body of Formosus reinterred with full honor in St. Peter's; he annulled all the decisions of Stephen; and he declared the orders conferred by Formosus valid.

John IX (898-900), a Benedictine, one of the wisest and most vigorous of the popes, banished and excommunicated a rival candidate, Sergius (afterwards Pope Sergius III). He condemned the synod which had tried Formosus, burned its Acts, and restored the clergy deposed by Stephen. In order to end factional fights in Rome, he decreed that future popes should be consecrated only in the presence of imperial representatives. He tried to stop the custom of plundering the palaces of bishops and popes on their deaths, and to discourage the deeds of violence which were everywhere common.

Acceding to a request of Moimir, son of Swatopluk and ruler of Moravia, John established a hierarchy there. He met with a stiff protest from the German bishops.²⁴ But the dispute was terminated by invading Magyars who destroyed both the political and ecclesiastical life of Moravia.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The sources treat chiefly of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the sacraments, the relation of divine grace to the human will, the Church's claim to freedom, the lawfulness of venerating images.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Leo III</i> (795-816)	
811	Profession of faith by Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, offered to the pope	On the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
	<i>St. Leo IV</i> (847-855)	
850	Council of Pavia	On extreme unction.
853	Council of Quierzy	On divine grace and human freedom; on predestination; against Gottschalk.
855	Council of Valence	Condemnation of predestination; against John the Scot. ²⁵

²⁴ The archbishops of Mainz and Salzburg, the bishop of Passau, and several other bishops.

²⁵ Directed also against the Council of Quierzy which was (erroneously) supposed to favor the errors of John the Scot.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>St. Nicholas I (858-867)</i>	
861 and 3	Council of Rome	On the primacy of the pope; on the distinction between the divine and human natures of Christ; on the regeneration of the soul in baptism.
865	Letter to Emperor Michael	On Church and State.
866	Responses to the Bulgars	On the necessity of free consent for valid marriage; on the correct form for baptism.
	<i>Adrian II (867-872)</i>	
869-870	Fourth Council of Constantinople (Ecum. VIII)	On veneration of images; on the canonical method of choosing bishops; on the freedom of the Church from secular interference; on the unity of the soul; against Photius. ²⁶

Councils: The Eighth Ecumenical Council (IV Constantinople)—convoked in 869 at the request of the Emperor Basil and the reinstated patriarch, Ignatius—was presided over by three papal legates. As all those who had been associated with the deposed patriarch, Photius, were required to sign a retraction before being admitted to the council, the early sessions were attended by less than forty bishops; and at the tenth and final session there were only thirty-seven archbishops and sixty-five bishops. In addition to endorsing Ignatius and repudiating Photius, the council condemned Iconoclasm and affirmed the unity of the human soul. The council recognized the primacy of Rome, requested the pope to confirm its Acts, and gave Constantinople precedence over Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, sees which since the Mohammedan invasions were hardly more than titular.²⁷

Besides local councils dealing with the heresy of Gottschalk and the schism of Photius, other local synods decided problems raised

²⁶ Four of the 27 canons mention Photius by name.

²⁷ The Acts of the Council are extant in two editions—one Latin and the other Greek—which differ in many important respects and have long formed a puzzling problem for historians. Pope Adrian II approved the Acts of the Council, and in so doing departed from the traditional Roman policy which had hitherto ignored the claim to precedence in the Orient put forward by Constantinople.

The followers of Photius denied the ecumenical character of the council; and, when Photius returned to power, he held another council, in 879, which assumed for itself the title of "Eighth General Council"—although in the West it was named the "Pseudo-synod of Photius."

by the incessant religious and political disputes of the time.²⁸

Organization: The disciplinary canons of the Eighth General Council indicate certain existing difficulties and the measures taken by the Church to remedy them. In order to protect the Church's independence, the council denied the right of secular princes to attend ecclesiastical synods or to interfere in Church affairs, and insisted upon due respect from civil rulers to bishops. The council also affirmed the right of patriarchs to summon metropolitans to synods, limited the power of metropolitans over bishops, and forbade bishops to act harshly with tenants on Church lands, or to alienate Church property (except for the redemption of captives). In conformity with the First Council of Nicaea, the council laid down that the right of electing a bishop belonged to the bishops of the province; and it also affirmed the right of each priest to appeal from his bishop to the metropolitan, and from the metropolitan to the patriarch. Canon 21 declared that in controversies regarding the Church of Rome a general council should examine and dispose of the questions with proper respect and reverence.

The control exercised by the papacy over the Church of France and the value of that control were manifested on many occasions—for example, when a Roman synod (863) reversed the decision of the Synod of Aix which had approved of King Lothair's divorce, and when Pope Nicholas checked the highhanded Hincmar of Rheims.

In view of the fact that in the West education was the almost exclusive privilege of the clergy, civil rulers seeking trained assistants, whether in secular or religious affairs, were usually forced to employ churchmen; and in the Carolingian "State-Church" the episcopacy played an important role. The chief imperial officials were ecclesiastics; the bishops were temporal lords.²⁹ As a by-product of these conditions, the selection of bish-

²⁸ For example, the war between Louis the German and Charles the Bald (Quierzy, 858); Hincmar's disputes (Soissons, 861); the divorce of King Lothair (Aix, 860, 862, Metz, 863, Rome, 863); and the disturbances caused by Roman, Lombard, and French armies (Ravenna, 898).

²⁹ Charlemagne described himself, and was accepted as "Lord and Father, King and Priest, Leader and Guide of all Christians." "The Church was a State church, and the State was a church State; membership of the latter involved membership of the former

ops under the Carolingians became more systematic, the nominations, as a rule, being made by the clergy and nobles, subject to the approval of king or emperor.

In this century clerical celibacy declined; and although the ideal was never wholly surrendered, comparatively little effort was made to enforce the law. Many priests and bishops married openly and bequeathed their benefices to their children.

At an interesting phase in the development of the cardinalate, Pope John VIII formed the bishops of the seven sees nearest Rome into the order of cardinal bishops, making them supervisors of discipline and judges of the ecclesiastical courts.

Marriage: The Church's insistence upon indissolubility came into clear relief during King Lothair's attempts to divorce Theutberga—sanctioned by several "packed" councils, conditionally approved by Hincmar of Rheims, but unequivocally condemned by Nicholas I.⁸⁰ Among the Franks vain efforts were made to eliminate the custom of contracting marriage without a religious ceremony.⁸¹ The Greeks were more successful in a similar attempt; and Emperor Leo VI (886–911) went so far as to declare such marriages invalid. Towards the end of the century the grounds of divorce established by Justinian were incorporated in the ecclesiastical law of the Eastern Church.

Worship: The liturgy used by the Frankish Church in the ninth century was based upon the service book of the Roman Church sent to Charlemagne by Adrian I.⁸² Alcuin and others added supplements according to the needs of churches in different places; and these additions became fused with the Roman nucleus. To the original Roman rite, which was severely simple, the Franks added several ceremonial and symbolic features—for example,

and the personnel of government was practically the same. . . . Thus the Carolingian or unitary conception of the relations between Church and State tended at once towards the secularization of the former and the clericalization of the latter." Christopher Dawson, in *Church and State*, p. 60.

⁸⁰ Hincmar (basing his opinion upon a fantastic interpretation of conciliar and patristic texts) affirmed that the marriage would be null from the beginning if, as alleged, Theutberga could be proved to have been previously guilty of incest. Vacant-Mangenot, *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, IX, 2118 ff.

⁸¹ That the attempts were not successful is clear from the language of contemporary writers, e.g., Jonas of Orleans (d. 844) and Pseudo-Isidore (d. c. 850).

⁸² This so-called "Gregorian Sacramentary" had been introduced into England by St. Augustine two centuries before.

the use of ashes and palms, together with many details of the Holy Week services. Enlarged with these amendments, the Gregorian Sacramentary ultimately returned to Rome and became the foundation of the present Roman missal.³³

Ritual directions contained in ninth-century manuscripts prescribe a celebration of Mass much more like our modern rite than like the Mass of apostolic times. In accord with ancient custom, both priests and people brought gifts of bread and wine for the Oblation—a usage still followed at Milan and in certain parts of France. The ceremonial recognized three different orders—the clergy, the military, and the civil officials; and in solemn ceremonies the bishop and his attendants played a prominent part.

Generally speaking, the tendency towards liturgical uniformity was marked; a law of 802 decreed that priests should be instructed in the recitation of the office according to the Roman rite.

Shrines multiplied in all parts of Christendom, notably in France, Spain, and Italy. Penitents and pilgrims, including many persons of noble birth, traveled long distances and endured many hardships in order to discharge their religious obligations and to pay honor to the saints.

Art: Both in the British Isles and on the Continent monks and nuns produced richly illuminated manuscripts. Much of this work was of the Celtic type.

In the East artistic development was temporarily retarded by the Iconoclasts, who destroyed religious images and decorations, broke mosaics into pieces, and covered frescoes with whitewash.³⁴ With the triumph of orthodoxy and devotional tradition, however, Byzantine art revived, to become even more vigorous than before.

In Ireland, after the burning of Iona by the Danes in 802, the monks made Kells their headquarters and formed there a celebrated center of art and learning.

Communities: Except for a few monasteries in Ireland and

³³ The other Western liturgies, except the Ambrosian of Milan and the Mozarabic of Spain, eventually fell into disuse.

³⁴ "It [Iconoclasm] must not be confounded with a puritanical hatred of all forms of art; its fury was directed against religious art of a specific kind, and of all that lay beyond this it was widely tolerant." O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 14.

Spain, the Benedictine rule was now in general use throughout Western Christendom; and several attempts at monastic reform were undertaken. The monastery built for St. Benedict of Aniane by King Louis the Pious established a standard of discipline; and in 817 all the abbots of the kingdom assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle and adopted a series of eighty *capitula* intended to make their monasteries uniform. Corvey in Westphalia, founded about 820 by Benedictines from Corbie in Picardy, became a home of learning and of missionary activity.⁸⁵ The centralized system adopted in 817 soon died out and, during the subsequent invasions and civil wars, religious communities deteriorated greatly. Nevertheless, Benedict's carefully gathered traditions exercised a permanent influence for good; and monastic revivals at Cluny and elsewhere in the following century were traceable to the work done by Benedict of Aniane.

Saints: In addition to the two writers, Paschasius Radbertus and Theodore of Studium elsewhere described, other saints who deserve special mention are Benedict of Aniane and the missionaries, Ansgar, Cyril, Methodius.

St. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821), son of a Gothic noble, was brought up at the court of Pepin. The monastery founded by him on the banks of the river Aniane in Languedoc became the center of a religious movement so widespread that Benedict has been called "the second Father of western monasticism." He was given the task of reforming all the monasteries of the Frankish kingdom during the closing years of the eighth and the early years of the following century. His success, due in no small measure to the support he received from Charlemagne, proved to be a turning-point in monastic history.

St. Ansgar, or Anschar (801-865), a Benedictine, "Apostle of Scandinavia," archbishop of the new see of Hamburg (832), became archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen when the two sees were united, after the Danes had destroyed Hamburg (845). His life of St. Willihad and some letters are extant. His biography by his successor, St. Rimbart is valuable.

St. Cyril (827-869) and **St. Methodius** (826-885), two brothers of Thessalonica, were in a monastery near the Bosphorus when a request for missionaries came from the Crimea. Answering the call, the two brothers converted many Khazars there and later continued their apostolate in the

⁸⁵ To the monks of Corvey we owe the preservation of the first books of the *Annals* of Tacitus.

Slavic regions. After inventing a Slavonic alphabet, the missionaries translated the Gospel and the liturgy into the Slavonic tongue. Jealousy on the part of Germans caused them to be summoned to Rome; but Pope Adrian II commended their work and consecrated both of them bishops in 868.³⁶

Cyril died in Rome. Methodius returned to his chosen field and completed the translation of the Bible and of the canon law into Slavonic. Having been named Archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia, he was deposed and imprisoned by Louis the German and a synod of German bishops at Ratisbon; then by order of Pope John VIII, he was freed and restored to his see. New charges against his orthodoxy occasioned a second summons to Rome; but he was again vindicated by Pope John who approved the use of the Slavonic liturgy, stipulating only that at Mass the Gospel should be read first in Latin and then in Slavonic. The feast of these two saints under the title of "Apostles of the Slavs" was extended to the Universal Church by Pope Leo XIII in the year 1880.

Education: After a brief decline which followed the death of Charlemagne, the intellectual movement revived. Emperor Lothair passed laws to improve conditions in Lombardy; Pope Eugene did the same for the papal dominions.³⁷ Charles the Bald during his long reign (843-877) followed the family tradition in his patronage of letters. Conspicuous for their cultural influence east and west of the Rhine were Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. Fulda, Corbie, Reichenau, St. Gall, with their richly stocked libraries, were among the most active educational centers. The list of writers connected with Fulda includes Einhard, biographer of Charlemagne, Walafrid Strabo, best poet of his day, Rabanus Maurus, "teacher of Germany," Loup of Ferrières, the classicist. Corbie's chief scholars were the theologians, Paschasius and Ratramnus.

As compared with the earlier phase of the Carolingian revival, the later phase brought out a greater number of writers—chiefly of Frankish origin—and a display of finer talent. Poetic compositions were especially numerous; so were biographies of the saints; so also were annals—not yet replaced by chronicles. Scholars com-

³⁶ Methodius certainly, and Cyril probably.

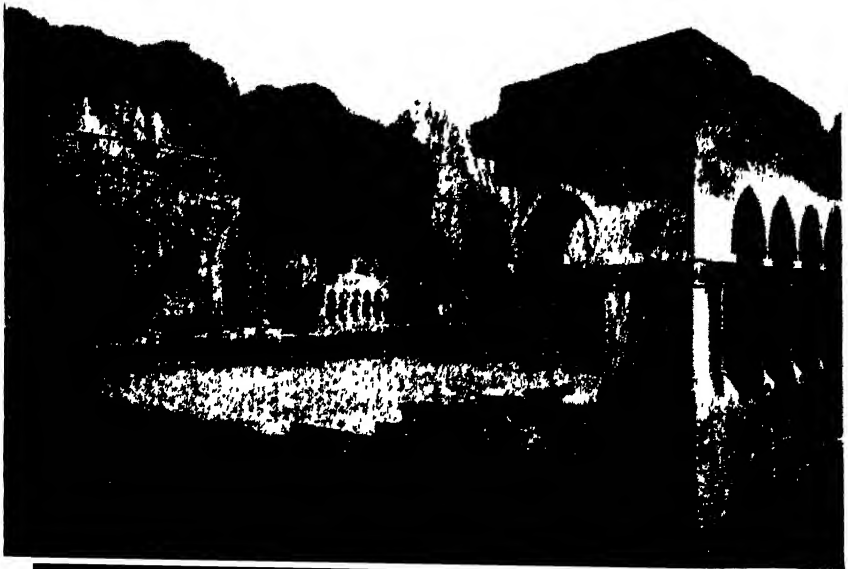
³⁷ A Roman council in 826 ordered the suspension of bishops and priests who lacked sufficient knowledge for the discharge of their ministry, and decreed that teachers were to be attached to episcopal palaces, cathedral churches, and elsewhere according to need, to give instruction in letters and liberal arts, as well as in religion.



Courtesy of Avery Library, Columbia University

CASHEL OF THE KINGS

Visited by St. Patrick. c.450; fortified by Brian Boru. 990; see of an archbishop since 1152; given by Elizabeth to the apostate Bishop of Down



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

CONG, GALWAY, IRELAND (7th century)

An abbey with 19 dependent parishes; deathplace of the last Irish king



Courtesy of New York Public Library

ABBEY OF WHITBY (7th century)

Founded by St. Hilda; refounded by de Percy (11th century)



(M. R. James)

GLASTONBURY ABBEY (12th century)

On site of a pre-Saxon church, "Cradle of British Christianity"

piled manuals from the writings of Cassiodorus, Isidore, and Boethius to aid in the formation of future scholars. Books were carefully treasured and very little was lost of what had been received from antiquity; in fact, most of our extant classics have come down to us through manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The Danish invasion, which crippled the schools of Ireland, sent to the Continent many Irish scholars, chief of whom were John Scotus Eriugena who (probably) taught at Paris, and Sedulius who taught at Liège. Among other distinguished teachers were Clement of Ireland; Dungal, appointed "Master" at the imperial school of Pavia; Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole; Dicuil, a celebrated geographer. Eric, monk of Auxerre, writing about the year 850, speaks of Ireland "whose sons have flocked to our shores, the whole country, one might say, having emigrated with its crowds of philosophers." Foremost schools founded by Irish monks in Germany were Rheinau where St. Findan came about 850, and Reichenau which became distinguished as the home of Irish scholars learned in Greek.³⁸

In England Alfred the Great did much for education by founding and restoring monasteries, by encouraging students, by bringing in John the Old Saxon and other learned men.

In Spain, despite the Mohammedan occupation, good work was done by a number of scholars, including three defenders of the faith against Islam—Alvarus, Eulogius, and Spereindeo.

Writers: This era brought forward many authors whose works still rank high in the world's esteem. .

Einhard (c. 770–840), educated at Fulda, and at the Palace School, later a tutor of Lothair (the future emperor), and then founder of a Benedictine abbey on the Main, was the author of the *Vita Caroli Magni*, regarded by some scholars as most satisfactory of all medieval biographies.

Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), poet, historian, and tutor of King Louis's son Charles, was educated at Reichenau and Fulda. Until recent times he was credited with the authorship of the celebrated *Glossa Ordinaria* (a commentary used by Thomas Aquinas and much favored by Catholic writers

³⁸ On the numerous foundations in Germany see the authorities cited by Benedict Fitzpatrick, *Ireland and the Foundation of Europe* (New York; Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1927).

until the seventeenth century), which illustrates the meaning of the Scripture with extracts from the Latin Fathers. Part of this work is now credited to Peter Lombard.

Haymo (d. 853), a monk of Fulda who became bishop of Halberstadt, wrote an ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries basing it on Rufinus. He also summarized earlier commentaries on the Scriptures. Numerous other writings have been incorrectly ascribed to him.

Rabanus Maurus (776-856), a devoted disciple of Alcuin, educated at Fulda and at Tours, head of Fulda and then archbishop of Mainz, gained fame as teacher, grammarian, encyclopedist, versifier. Like most of his contemporaries, he was a plagiarist in his revision of the works of older men; and he is less highly rated now than in his own century. His authorship of the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" is not proved.

Gottschalk (c. 805-869), Saxon count and Benedictine monk of Fulda, who had been forced to enter religion by Rabanus Maurus, was dispensed from his vows at the Council of Mainz in 829. The emperor compelled him to return to religious life, with the privilege of leaving Fulda and living at Orbais. He got himself ordained a priest by a bishop other than his own, and preached heretical doctrine in many parts of Italy. He was condemned in 848 by the Council of Mainz, handed over to his metropolitan, Hincmar of Rheims, deposed from the priesthood, flogged and forced to burn his writings. He died mentally deranged twenty years later. Despite his heretical tendencies, his works, which include a number recently discovered, give him an honorable place among medieval writers.

Hincmar of Rheims (806-882), an outstanding personage in the civil and ecclesiastical government of the West, took part in most of the important events in that part of the world during the second half of the century. He is remembered particularly for his controversy with Gottschalk and for his quarrel with Pope Nicholas I. He published writings on the Holy Eucharist and the Church canons and left many letters.

Nithard (d. 843), Charlemagne's grandson, wrote of his own times.

St. Paschasius Radbertus (786-860)—chosen abbot of Corbie although only a deacon—was a classical scholar and also the chief theologian of France. Paschasius sent his best known work, a treatise on the Body and Blood of our Lord, to Emperor Charles the Bald in 844; and the objections made to it by two other Benedictines, Ratramnus of Corbie and Rabanus Maurus, occasioned the first Eucharistic controversy.⁸⁹

Ratramnus (d. c. 868) of Corbie, widely read and a good critic, wrote several controversial works, one on the Holy Eucharist against Paschasius Radbertus, another in defense of the "Filioque" against Photius, and a third vindicating the use of the phrase "Trina Deitas" against Hincmar.

⁸⁹ Paschasius composed two apocryphal works, one of which was a panegyric on the Assumption attributed to Jerome.

His statement that Christ in the Eucharist is not in every respect the same as the Christ of the Gospels is said to have paved the way for the later heresy of Berengarius. Ratramnus also wrote in defense of his pupil, Gottschalk.

Loup, or **Lupus** (d. 862), book lover and humanist, after some years spent at Fulda became abbot of Ferrières. The finished style of his one hundred twenty-seven letters make him an important figure in medieval Latin literature.

Eric of Auxerre (841–c. 887), chief disciple of Loup and trained by Irish teachers at Laon, wrote classical and theological anthologies which helped to link the older and the newer literary era. His chief work was the *Life of St. Germanus*. He was less well known, although no less able, than his disciple, Remigius (Remy) of Auxerre.

Wala (d. 836), a cousin of Charlemagne and abbot of Corbie, who was summoned to court to act as adviser to Louis the Pious, proved to be an able statesman. His biography—entitled *Epitaph of Arsenius*—is an anti-imperialist political history of the times which gives fictitious names to the persons described in its pages. When interpreted by the key which Mabillon discovered in the seventeenth century, the book was recognized as one of the most valuable of the extant sources of ninth-century history.

Notker Balbulus (c. 840–912) of St. Gall was noted for his *Gesta Caroli Magni*, which preserves much valuable folklore, for his hymns in honor of St. Stephen, and for several liturgical works.

John Scotus Eriugena (c. 810–880), educated in Irish monastic schools, an ardent disciple of St. Augustine, set up a system of modified Neo-Platonism, the most ambitious philosophical undertaking since the time of Augustine himself; and he translated the works of Denis the Areopagite into Latin about the year 867. He was invited to direct the court school of Charles the Bald about the middle of the century; he may have been asked to England by Alfred the Great; and he may be the author of a treatise which denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. But there is much uncertainty with regard to his precise teaching and most of his personal history.

Dungal, who enjoyed a high reputation for learning, was a scholar at Paris in 811, received a royal appointment as Master of the imperial school at Pavia in 825, and was (probably) the person who debated Iconoclasm with Claudius, Bishop of Turin. Among Dungal's bequests to the library at Bobbio was the *Antiphonary* of Bangor—later carried to the Ambrosian library at Milan, with other treasures, by Cardinal Borromeo.

Sedulius (not to be confused with the fifth-century author of the *Carmen Paschale*, nor with his own contemporaries of the same name), taught at Liège about 850, wrote many poems and composed a treatise on the duties of Christian rulers which ranks with the works on that sub-

ject by St. Thomas and Dante, and is important enough to have been twice republished in the twentieth century.

Alfred the Great (849–899) translated several books into Anglo-Saxon, including *The Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius, the *Pastoral Rule* and *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, *The Ecclesiastical History* of Bede. He also continued the Anglo-Saxon chronicle down to 891.⁴⁰

St. Theodore Studite (759–826), abbot of the monastery of Studion near Constantinople, exiled for his resistance to the imperial wishes with regard to the worship of images and other matters, wrote a number of theological treatises which entitle him to be included among the distinguished Fathers of the Greek Church. His extant works, which include some three hundred small treatises and over five hundred letters, throw light upon the intellectual and spiritual condition of the Greeks in his day. He wrote an able treatise on papal infallibility.

Nicephorus (c. 758–829), Patriarch of Constantinople, banished by the emperor because of his opposition to Iconoclasm, wrote a number of theological and historical books during his exile—including a chronography from the beginning of human history down to the year 829 which was translated into Latin by Anastasius the Librarian.

Anastasius "the Librarian" (810–c. 879), appointed librarian of the Roman Church by Nicholas I, was the author of a Church history known as *Chronographia tripartita*, based upon earlier works of three Greek writers. Modern scholars discredit the theory that he was also the compiler of the first part of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Sent by Adrian II to Constantinople, he ably defended the papal side at the Eighth Ecumenical Council in 869, and carried back to Rome a Greek copy of the *Acta*.⁴¹

Photius (815–897), one of the finest scholars of his day, ranks among the most extraordinary figures in history. The larger part of his writings have perished. Among the more important of his extant treatises are the *Bibliotheca*, made up of notes and extracts from nearly three hundred different books, both pagan and Christian; and the *Amphilochia*, a series of answers to philosophical difficulties on some three hundred different subjects.

The *False Decretals* were published about the year 850, under the name "Isidore"—to suggest Isidore of Seville. Although falsely dated,

⁴⁰ The several editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles stemmed from a common root—as in the case of many other medieval chronicles. Alfred's Chronicle was probably first compiled in the south, then expanded in the north, and then brought back to the south to be continued there down to 891, thus acquiring characteristics which made it invaluable to later historians.

⁴¹ Anastasius was an outstanding figure in the western world: an ambitious cardinal; a scholar, writing histories and biographies and translating from the Greek, a man of action; librarian of the Roman Church and secretary to the Holy See. Whether Anastasius the Librarian and Anastasius the antipope are identical, is a question still debated. See Mann, *op. cit.*, II, 280, and III, 156, n. 1.

they show the general condition of the times and the actual legislation of the Church. The unknown compiler evidently wished to protect the rights of the bishops, in particular their right of appeal to Rome; and he pre-dated the document in order to give the existing laws an appearance of antiquity. The book was probably composed in the neighborhood of Rheims or of Tours; and the forgery was not detected for several centuries.⁴²

About 825 appeared the *Heliand*, a life of Christ in alliterated verse, the first complete work in Old High German. Shortly afterwards the Benedictine, Otfrid of Fulda, oldest known writer of German, composed a rhymed harmony of the Gospels.

3. OPPOSITION

Heresies: Iconoclasm. The movement against images broke out again when the military uprising which followed the defeat of Michael I by the Bulgars set Leo, an Armenian (813-820), on the throne of Constantinople. Leo destroyed the picture of Christ which Irene had restored to its place over the palace door; he had the patriarch Nicephorus deposed by a synod of servile bishops; he tortured, banished or killed many bishops, priests, monks and lay persons; and in 815 he assembled a synod which repudiated the decrees of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787. Leo's successor, Michael II (820-829), an ardent Iconoclast, wrote to the Western Emperor, Louis the Pious, and asked him to send back to Constantinople for punishment the image-worshippers who had taken refuge in the Frankish dominions. The persecution continued for more than twenty years. All images were removed from churches and public places and the orthodox were imprisoned or exiled or driven into hiding. The deposed patriarch, Nicephorus (d. 828), and Theodore (d. 826), abbot of the Studion Monastery near Constantinople resisted the emperor until death.

Theodora, who became regent at the death of her husband, the Emperor Theophilus, ended the persecution; and in 842, a synod

⁴² The publication of the *Decretals* exercised an unfortunate influence in the field of history; for the forger bracketed genuine papal letters with apocryphal letters, dating them back to the fourth, and in some cases to the first century; and he made no distinction between customs observed by the early Church and those which originated eight centuries later. Modern scholars repudiate the old opinion that the *False Decretals* were forged in order to enhance the claims of the Bishop of Rome.

held at Constantinople reaffirmed the teaching of the Seventh Ecumenical Council. The icons were carried back to the churches in solemn procession on the first Sunday of Lent; and this day (February 19) is still celebrated as the "Feast of Orthodoxy" throughout the Eastern Church.

The Photian Schism: The reign of Michael III (842–867) brought a renewal of strife. As a result of the Iconoclast dispute, ecclesiastical leaders had split into two factions, one of which excluded from office all bishops who had been Iconoclasts; whereas the other—which enjoyed the favor of the regent Bardas—advocated the restoration of repentant prelates to their old positions. On the strength of serious charges against the morals of Bardas, the patriarch Ignatius refused to admit him to Communion. Thereupon Ignatius was deposed, and Photius, a learned layman, was ordained, consecrated, and appointed patriarch in 857.

These events evoked vigorous action on the part of Pope Nicholas I, who in a Roman synod (863) excommunicated Photius and also requested the patriarchs of the East to repudiate him. Thereupon the Emperor Michael convened a synod which pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication on the pope; and Michael went so far as to promise the Western Emperor, Louis II, official recognition of his imperial title if he would execute the sentence against the pope. When Basil the Macedonian came to the throne, he deposed Photius and restored Ignatius; and the Eighth Ecumenical Council (869) endorsed both actions.

Despite the support he had received from the pope, Ignatius helped to win Bulgaria away from the patriarchal jurisdiction of Rome and he was on the point of being excommunicated by John VIII when he died in 877. Photius then became patriarch again, this time with the approval of the Holy See. The subsequent activities of Photius have been the subject of much dispute. This much at least is certain—that he was again deposed in 886 on the charge of treason by the new emperor, Leo VI; and that he died in prison.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Cardinal Hergenröther, who wrote a biography of Photius in 1867 seems to have been the first modern scholar to discover the Patriarch's exceptional ability. Recently

Other Disputes: A controversy concerning the Blessed Sacrament arose when Rabanus Maurus criticized Paschasius Radbertus for not distinguishing between two modes of existence of the Body of Christ—one during His earthly life and the other in the Eucharist. Both men were orthodox in spirit; but they looked at the doctrine from different points of view. Like most ninth-century writers they employed terms that would not be approved today; for at present the Church avoids all phrases which, by placing too great emphasis upon the symbolic element of the Eucharist, may seem to exclude the Real Presence.

Another controversy was caused by Gottschalk who—claiming to have found his theory in the writings of St. Augustine—taught that God predestines some souls to hell previous to any consideration of their deeds. This doctrine, identical with the later teaching of Calvin, was condemned by the Council of Mainz in 848.

A council at Quierzy in 853 published a decree, prepared by Hincmar of Rheims, condemning the theory of Gottschalk; and then the Council of Valence (855) declared the decree was tainted with the erroneous teaching of John Scotus Eriugena. But in 860 the parties represented by the two councils arrived at an understanding.

The Moslems: Baghdad, now the religious capital of all Islam and the home of an enormous population, equaled the western Caliphate of Córdoba in art and science, surpassed it in wealth and commercial activity, and became a fitting background for the stories of the "Arabian Nights."

Under Harun-ar-Rashid the Moslems advanced into Asia Minor and forced a costly treaty upon the Empress Irene. In the

further research has led to a revision of the traditional account current in Western Europe which represents Ignatius as a persecuted saint and Photius as a usurper who interpolated or forged papal letters, assembled a council to repudiate the "Filioque," and having been condemned solemnly by Pope John VIII in St. Peter's, continued in schism until his death. Some Catholic scholars now maintain that Ignatius resigned his see in 858, so that Photius may well have believed himself to be the valid patriarch; that the Council of Constantinople in 869 is only doubtfully ecumenical; that Pope John VIII may later have annulled the *Acts* of this council; that Photius did not reject the authority of the pope; that the story of his remaining in schism until death is pure fiction; and that the interpolations and forgeries in the documents upon which the traditional account is based have effected one of the most successful deceptions in all history. See references in the *Clergy Review*, XV (1938), 377-88.

West, Harun exchanged messages with Charlemagne; and from the Franks the Moslems received concessions at the Mediterranean ports in return for permission to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Later—when the Greeks refused to continue payment of the tribute agreed upon by Irene and wrote an insulting letter to the caliph—the Moslems marched towards Constantinople and compelled the Emperor Nicephorus to accept a humiliating peace. Greeks and Moslems carried on continuous raids in each other's territories with varying degrees of success until 884, when the Greek army was almost annihilated.

Harun's second son, Mamun, promoted the translation of Greek works on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy, and founded a library and a university in Baghdad. He began the policy of inviting young nobles from Turkestan to his court, and before the end of the century they gained control of the caliphate. Thereafter, although the caliphs remained the religious heads of Islam, and Baghdad continued to be the richest and most splendid city of the world, the Turks were the real rulers.

In 846 the Moslems invaded Italy and sacked the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul outside the walls of Rome. They were beaten at Ostia by the fleet of Pope Leo IV; only the friendly Lombards kept them from being driven out of Italy entirely. In 878 they took Syracuse; and in 888 they appeared in the Rhone Valley. In Spain they were forced back by the growing power of the Christians. Meanwhile, Ibrahim, the Moslem governor of Africa, had erected an independent state there; and this secession from the political unity of Islam was soon followed by many others.

The Jews: The ninth century was to some extent a turning point in Jewish history. After a period of toleration in all parts of the world, the Jews were now subjected to almost general persecution. The Council of Lyons protested against the policy of Louis, the son of Charlemagne, who had granted them a charter in 829; the use of garments of Jewish style was forbidden in Italy; and, about the same time, Germany imposed upon them a heavy tax. In the East they suffered both under the Byzantine emperors and under the caliphs of Baghdad.

The Khazars, a tribe dwelling north of the Caucasus, converted to Judaism in the preceding century, spread over a considerable region at this time—north to the Volga and west to the Dnieper; but in the following century they were crushed by the Russians and they disappeared as an independent people. According to some ethnologists, the modern Russian Jews are descendants of the Khazars.

4. MISSIONS

For the most part—except as already recorded in the seventh and eighth centuries—the Slavs had resisted the efforts of Roman, Byzantine, and Frankish missionaries to win them to Christianity.⁴⁴ Now came a systematic attempt to convert them—an attempt in which Sts. Cyril and Methodius gained their title, "Apostles of the Slavs."⁴⁵ Henceforth the history of the Catholic Church is intertwined with that of the Slavs—to the benefit of the East, however, rather than of the West. For an unfavorable decision by Rome with regard to the use of a Slavonic liturgy alienated most of the Slavs from the Latins and threw them into the arms of the Greeks.⁴⁶

The Western Slavs: After Charlemagne's empire had been rounded out by the subjugating and converting of the Saxons, its whole eastern border marched with lands inhabited by Wends, Czechs, Moravians, Slovenes, Croatsians. The Wends near the mouth of the Elbe kept up a stubborn resistance to the Franks; farther south, where the Czechs and Moravians

⁴⁴ The Slavs first came into notice as tribes (originating in the region that stretches northwest from the Dnieper to the Vistula, and speaking at least a dozen different, although related tongues) who settled in various parts of the old Roman Empire. Some of the tribes acquired new names associated with the countries into which they migrated; but their generic name, "Slav," with slight variations, is still applied to the Slavonians along the lower reaches of the Drava and the Sava; to the Slovenes around the sources of those rivers; to the Slovaks between Poland and Hungary. Disregarding ethnological and philological distinctions for the moment, we introduce the different Slavic peoples here in a rough classification based upon their contacts with Christianity: Western (Wends, Czechs, and Moravians); Southern (Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians); Northern (Poles); Eastern (Russians).

⁴⁵ They have been called "the two most famous brothers in the history of Christianity." Mann, *op. cit.*, III, 111.

⁴⁶ Speculative historians have hazarded the opinion that but for the decision of Stephen V (plus the intrigues of Germans and the violence of Magyars), this great branch of the Indo-European family might have adhered to Rome instead of to Constantinople and thereby might have altered the whole future history of Western Christianity.

had been paying tribute, the Moravian duke, Wratislaw, undertook to assert his independence, with the result that he was dethroned by Louis the German in the year 870. Swatopluk, who succeeded him, having been disastrously beaten by the Germans, submitted to their control.



These events help us to understand the political complications which entered into the religious activities of Cyril and Methodius. The two brothers came from Constantinople in response to a request of Wratislaw to the Greek Emperor Michael III for missionaries who spoke the Slavic tongue. Pope Adrian II made them bishops; but Cyril soon died, and when Wratislaw fell from power Methodius was kept in prison as a Slavic propagandist by the archbishop of Salzburg, until Pope John VIII intervened.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Light is thrown on the politico-ecclesiastical situation by the protests which the archbishops of Mainz and Salzburg made against the action of the Holy See in establishing an archbishopric and two bishoprics in Moravia. Moravia lost political independence soon afterwards and returned to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Germany.

During the reign of Swatopluk, Methodius continued his work for a while, with the approval of Pope John VIII; but in 885 Swatopluk took the German agent, Wiching, as his counselor and (in accord with new instructions sent from Rome by Pope Stephen V) forced the Slavic missionaries to suspend their activities. They took refuge in Bulgaria, and one of them, Clement, apparently became the first native Bulgarian bishop. With the aid of the Greeks, the Slavonic liturgy was developed and most of the Slavs accepted the spiritual jurisdiction of Constantinople (hence were involved in its later schism).

Meanwhile, the Czechs of Bohemia had responded to the preaching of the Christian missionaries; and their duke, Borziwoi, baptized by Methodius, coöperated with the saint in spreading the faith throughout his territory.

The Southern Slavs: Carinthia had at least one bishop early in the century; and missionaries from Salzburg and Passau worked along the upper Drave and the lower Danube. About 865 Boris of Bulgaria⁴⁸ brought his subjects into the Church—affiliating with Constantinople. The Serbs (who had lapsed after becoming Christians under Heraclius) re-entered the Church in the reign of the Greek emperor, Basil (867–886).⁴⁹

Scandinavia: Emperor Louis I chose Ansgar as first archbishop of Hamburg (832); and Pope Gregory IV made Ansgar apostolic legate to Swedes, Danes, Slavs, and the rest of the northern peoples. Eric I, ruler of Denmark, favored Ansgar, who before his death in 865, reported great progress. But Eric II was less friendly; and in the latter part of the century the Danish missions declined.

SUMMARY

The function of the new Western Emperor in the ecclesiastical scheme was in part determined by events and in part regulated by agreement. Pope Leo III died two years after Charlemagne; and the next pope, Paschal I, joined Louis, the successor of Charlemagne, in signing the oldest pope-emperor pact of which

⁴⁸ The Bulgars, a Turanian tribe from East Asia, invaded the region now known as Bulgaria about the middle of the seventh century. They were absorbed by the Slavs dwelling there.

⁴⁹ Serbs and Croats are really two divisions of one people, with the distinction accentuated by the fact that the Serbs have accepted Greek religious leadership and the Croats have followed Rome.

we know the details. A few years later Eugene II and Emperor Lothair agreed to leave papal elections to the clergy and laity of Rome. In the latter half of the century Pope Nicholas I denounced the bigamous Lothair II, made the redoubtable Hincmar apologize, condemned the usurping Photius. John VIII encouraged the use of a Slavonic liturgy; but Stephen V, misled by lies, condemned it. Three years before the century's close the dead Formosus was disinterred by his successor, Stephen VI, for a ghastly trial.

Meanwhile much history was in the making. The Treaty of Verdun created a separate France and Germany; the deposition of Charles the Fat dismembered the Carolingian empire; the Slavs crossed the threshold of the Church. But after Methodius had been imprisoned and the Bulgarian Boris had rejected the pope's pleading, most of this newly Christian race turned away from the Germans and Latins to ally themselves with the Greeks. In England Alfred the Great came to the throne.

In the East, Iconoclasm, revived by Emperor Leo V, was repudiated at a later synod of Constantinople. Forty years afterwards the Eighth Ecumenical Council expelled Photius from the patriarchal throne and restored Ignatius; yet the Photius affair remained unsettled for more than one-third of a century, demanding the attention of five councils and of nine popes.

For all its intellectual shortcomings, the ninth century gave us the Fulda writers, including Einhard, the Corbie theologians, Paschasius and Ratramnus, the celebrated John Scotus of Erin, and those bitter foes, Rabanus Maurus and Gottschalk. And for all its spiritual shortcomings, it gave to the Franks Benedict of Aniane, who regulated the Benedictine monasteries; and it gave Ansgar, Cyril, Methodius to the Scandinavians and the Slavs.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

802-62 Ten councils at Aix-la-Chapelle

813 Emperor Leo V revives Iconoclasm

814 Charlemagne d.

816 *Leo III* d.

816-19 Synods at Aix on clerical and monastic discipline

817 The *Paschal-Louis* Pact

c. 821 Einhard's life of Charlemagne

824 *Eugene-Lothair* Constitution

827 St. Ansgar in Denmark

842 Synod of Constantinople restores images

843 Treaty of Verdun

844 Eucharistic Controversy (*Paschasius*, *Ratramnus*, *Radbertus*)

846 Moslem raiders reach Rome

c. 847 John Scotus, head of Palace School

848 False Decretals
Gottschalk on Predestination

850 Burgos, capital of Castile

857 *Photius* displaces *Ignatius*

860-62 Three councils of Aix busy with divorce of King *Lothair*

862 Swedes at Novgorod

863 *Nicholas I* censures *Lothair*
Roman Synod condemns *Photius*
Cyril and *Methodius* in Moravia

864 Boris of Bulgaria baptized

867 *Hincmar* apologizes to *Nicholas I*

869 Eighth Ecumenical Council
(Constantinople IV) restores
Ignatius

871 St. *Methodius* imprisoned by German bishops

871 Accession of Alfred the Great

878 Alfred the Great meets Danes

880 *John VIII* approves Slavonic liturgy

c. 880 Duchy of Kiev

885 *Stephen V* (VI) condemns Slavonic liturgy

887 Deposition of Charles the Fat

897 Trial of *Formosus*

900 *John IX* establishes hierarchies in Moravia

CHAPTER X

(The Nine Hundreds)

The Darkest Age

PREVIEW

THE fact that the tenth century and the first part of the eleventh have been called "The Iron Age" reflects the widespread belief that Europe then almost reverted to barbarism. To be sure, the blackness of the time has been much exaggerated, and scientific history now rejects the lurid myths long favored by Protestant controversialists; yet these years were indeed dark and cruel and their record makes a depressing story.¹

The break-up of the Carolingian empire left Europe without a political center. Some kind of social order and some method of defense against the Moslems and Northmen had to be devised. So Feudalism arose—the more powerful nobles assuming almost royal independence, and lesser persons seeking physical safety and economic security in the relationship of vassal and overlord. As the system developed big landowners came into possession of churches and monasteries, sometimes seizing them out of avarice, sometimes occupying them in response to appeals for protection—a condition that involved much harm to religion. Spiritual

¹ In contrast with the preceding centuries the tenth supplies the historian with few sources, so that long painstaking sifting of material had to be conducted before sound conclusions could be reached. The myths as a rule originated in the pages of writers violently partisan and often not contemporary. Among the non-Catholic writers who first helped to expose many old calumnies discreditable to the Church were C. F. Hock, the German biographer of Pope Sylvester II (1837), and Dean Maitland, whose *Dark Ages* (1844) came like a revelation to Protestant England. Of immense value in the eliminating of false history has been the unique collection of documents known as *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, begun in 1826 by a private society and taken over in 1874 by the Prussian Academy of Sciences. Of great importance too, were the publishing of Migne's *Patrologia*, begun in 1844, the opening of the Vatican archives in 1883, and above all the new general interest in the scientific study of history.

jurisdiction became confused. Discipline grew lax. The higher clergy lived in luxury; the lower had to seek secular employment to keep themselves alive. The sad state of Western Christendom at the end of the century shows how seriously human disloyalty can cripple, even though it cannot destroy, the Church that Christ founded.

The men of that day should not, indeed, be judged by later standards of conduct; yet in all fairness we may say that Europe was then dominated by a spirit opposed to the elementary principles of Christianity. Happily, before the century closed, another spirit was sweeping over vast areas like a cleansing wind; and heroic souls were laboring successfully for the regeneration of the Church. Omens of a brighter age appeared—Stephen, the Apostolic King of Hungary; a zealous pontiff in Peter's Chair; a host of fearless and holy monks trained at Cluny in the science of the saints.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The outstanding political fact in Central Europe at this time was the rise of the feudal nobility out of the ruins of the decaying empire.² This fact acquired great ecclesiastical significance because the Church, not strong enough to stand alone, was equally unable to repel lay encroachments. It happened therefore, that the religious condition of every region varied with the character of the men who obtained political control. We find striking contrasts between one place and another, and, generally speaking, a distressingly low religious level.

² "Disastrous as were most of the effects of that (feudal) system, it at least justified its existence by saving Christendom from the foe without. . . . It was the mailed feudal horseman, and the impregnable walls of the feudal castle, that foiled the attacks of the Dane, the Saracen, and the Hungarian . . . it may be truly said that the rise of the feudal castle was the best remedy that could have been found against the pressing evils that threatened Christendom in the ninth century. . . . The price at which Christendom bought its safety was enormous; nevertheless no price was too high when the future of Europe was at stake. Any ransom was worth paying, if thereby Rome was saved from the Saracen, Mainz from the Magyar, Paris from the heathen of the North." Charles Oman, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 512-514.

In France the faltering Carolingians were for a while supported by the pope; then they gave place to the Capetians. But the limits of the royal power were still circumscribed by the great nobles; counts and dukes settled both civil and ecclesiastical affairs either by agreement or by force.

In England, by contrast, where no noble was mighty enough to challenge the king, the government organized by Alfred carried the country along the road of peace and prosperity. For many years St. Dunstan (d. 988), a pioneer in religious reform, was the real ruler of England.

The German kings, who revived the Roman Empire in 962, asserted their dominion over Italy and exercised a good influence on Church affairs; but they laid a heavy burden upon themselves. Each new candidate for the imperial crown was involved in conflicts with the Roman nobles—conflicts which diverted his attention from affairs in Germany, hindered the creation of a strong central government, and almost wrecked both kingdom and empire.³

Eastern Christendom, although better governed than the West, was in other respects not fortunate. The defensive wars against Slavs and Moslems were successful; but the empire advanced to no higher level. The Eastern Church had already fallen into a stagnant condition which was to last for centuries; and the religious union between Constantinople and Rome was hardly more than nominal. Towards the Latins the Byzantine attitude was one of chronic resentment; and the Greek emperor looked upon Otto the Great as a barbarian usurper.

1. THE EAST

The Empire, Bulgaria, Russia

The Empire: Emperor Leo VI renewed the schism between East and West in 906. The State continued to control Church affairs; and about the middle of the century Romanus II deposed

³ Nevertheless Otto the Great unified the German tribes into a single people, gave them a sense of national life, and made them a powerful political body. See Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 130.

Tryphon, the patriarch of Constantinople, and appointed in his place Theophylactus, a youth of sixteen.⁴

Light is thrown upon the relationship between East and West in the latter half of the century by the negotiations concerning the marriage of the German prince, Otto II, to the Greek princess, Theophano, daughter of Romanus II. The Western Emperor, Otto I, sent Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, to Nicephorus Phocas to arrange the marriage. Liutprand took with him a letter from Pope John XIII—a letter which gave great offense because it was addressed to Nicephorus, “Emperor of the Greeks,” whereas Nicephorus considered himself “Roman Emperor.” He would not answer the pope personally, but had his brother send a rude refusal even to consider the proposed marriage. A few years later, however, the Greek usurper, John Tzimiskes, consented; and Theophano was married to Otto II in 972.

Before the end of Leo's reign in 912 the Arabs made important gains in Sicily and captured Thessalonica. **Constantine VII** (912–959) (Porphyrogenitus),⁵ who allied himself with Pope John X to drive the Saracens out of south Italy, was able to repel the Russian raids in 941; and towards the end of his reign the Arab menace disappeared for a time. **Romanus II** (959–963) regained Crete and other territory in Asia Minor. **Nicephorus Phocas** (963–969) became emperor by marrying Theophano, widow of Romanus II. His antagonism to the monks and his system of high taxation made him unpopular and led to his murder by Theophano and John Tzimiskes. **John Tzimiskes** (969–976) drove back the Arabs in Asia Minor, regained Cyprus, prevented the Emperor Otto I from seizing Byzantine possessions in south Italy, and defeated the Russians in two great battles shortly before his death. **Basil II** (963–1025) ruled alone from 976 to 1025. He forced the Russians to restore Greek territory which they had seized; he put down a revolt of the great landowners; he defeated the Bulgarians decisively (blinding 15,000 Bulgarian prisoners and receiving the name, “Bulgar-killer”); he extended the empire to its greatest area since the time of Justinian I; and he developed Greek commerce all over the civilized world.

⁴ Alberic, Prefect of Rome, forced Pope John to approve this appointment. Alberic wished to ingratiate himself with Romanus II, as he was planning to have his sister married to a member of the Byzantine royal house and to secure the daughter of Romanus as his own wife. Romanus pretended to agree; but the marriages never took place. Byzantine rulers usually objected to such intermarriage between their own families and foreigners.

⁵ This term, “born in the purple,” was used to designate a son born to the reigning sovereign in the porphyry-lined apartment reserved for the use of the empress.

Bulgaria: Symeon (893-927), who had taken the title of Czar in 917, made the Bulgarian Church an autonomous patriarchate in 924. The kingdom declined during the reign of Peter (927-969); the eastern part was annexed by the Byzantine Empire and the western part gradually disintegrated.

Russia: The progress made by Christianity in Russia was due largely to Olga, Rurik's daughter-in-law, who was baptized at Constantinople under the name of Helen in 955. At her baptism she received precious gifts from the Greek emperor, Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus. In answer to her request for Latin missionaries, the Emperor Otto I sent, first Adalag, Bishop of Bremen, and then the monk Adalbert, who was forced by the Russians to return to Germany. Olga is venerated as a saint in the Eastern Church.

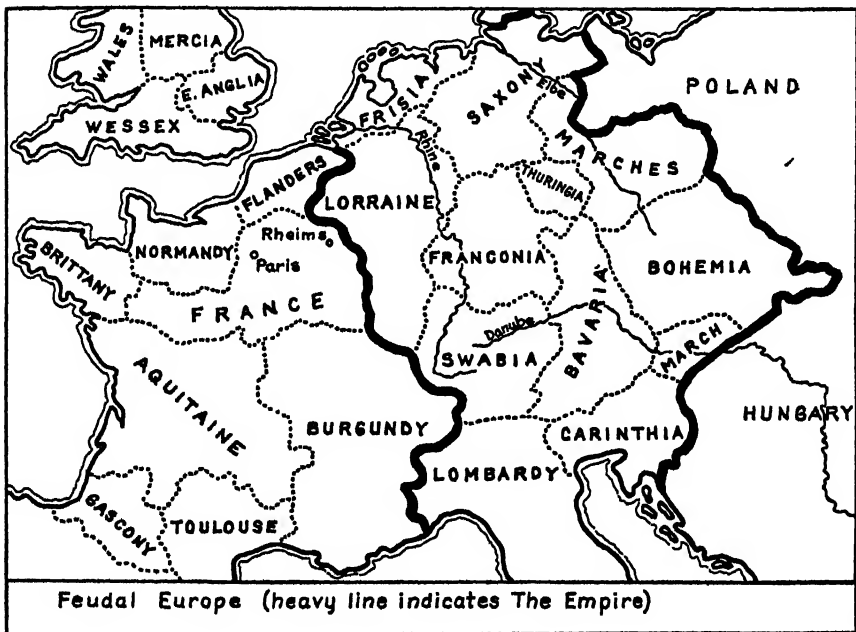
Vladimir (972-1015), grandson of Olga, ruled over a region which stretched to the Gulf of Finland on the north, to the Volga on the east, and to the Carpathians on the west. He seized Bulgaria and threatened Adrianople; but the Emperor John Tzimiskes, and his successor, Basil II, drove him back over the Danube and forced him to surrender eastern Bulgaria, which then became a Byzantine province. Vladimir married Basil's sister in 989, accepted Christianity, and later had all his people baptized by Greek missionaries. He dispatched an embassy to Rome in 991; and in return Pope John XV and Pope Sylvester II sent several legates to Kiev which became an archbishopric, attached to the patriarchate of Constantinople. For two centuries Kiev was ruled by Greek prelates who imbued the Russians with a dislike for the Latin Church. The people received little religious education; and, although nominally Christian, they retained their old pagan beliefs and customs almost unchanged for many years.

2. THE WEST

a. Germany, France, Italy, Spain

Germany: Henry the Fowler began the founding of an empire by uniting his own duchy of Saxony with four others—Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Lotharingia. His son, Otto I (936-973), took

a further step towards unifying Germany by appropriating Franconia for himself and by seizing Suabia for his son Rudolf, Bavaria for his brother Henry, and Lotharingia for his son-in-law. Having created the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," and assumed control of Church affairs, he placed his own candidates on the papal throne. He succeeded in correcting shameful conditions in Rome; but the improvement was only temporary and before long his grandson, Otto III, was called on to restore order again in the capital of Christendom.



Early in the century Conrad, Duke of Franconia (911–918), became king of the Germans. The Church Synod of Hohenaltheim (916) supported him and denounced his enemies, the feudal lords of Suabia and Saxony.

Conrad's successor, Henry the Fowler of Saxony (919–936) spent most of his reign in beating back the Magyars and the Danes, both of whom he routed in 933 and 934. To hold off the Wends of the Elbe region, he established the "Mark of Brandenburg," planting German colonies, building forts and maintaining garrisons there.

Henry's son, Otto I, the Great (936–973), ended the Magyar threat, defeated the Danes and Slavs, and in response to an appeal from Pope John

XII for protection against the Roman factions and against the Lombard king, Berengar, crossed the Alps, made himself master of Italy, and received the imperial crown from John XII, thus reviving the empire of Charlemagne. Thereafter Otto viewed the papacy as a department of the imperial government, nominated popes, summoned them to trial, and, on occasion, deposed them.⁶

On the death of Leo VIII, Otto I, by way of insuring the friendly support of the House of Theophylact, made one of its members pope (John XIII). To strengthen his position further, Otto had his son, the future Otto II, crowned co-emperor in 967 and a few years later (972) married him to Theophano, daughter of the Eastern Emperor Romanus II. Otto I died in 973. "With him died the peace of the world," says his epitaph. The Roman family of Crescentius immediately rose in revolt and gained control of Rome.

Otto II (973-983) regarded Germany and Italy as two provinces of a single empire. He made an unsuccessful attempt to expel the Greeks and the Saracens from southern Italy in 982 and was making ready to attack Venice when he died in the following year.

On the death of Otto II, Henry of Bavaria seized the young king, Otto III, and planned to usurp the throne with the help of Bohemia and Poland; but Saxony and Franconia, aided by the archbishop of Mainz, forced him to restore the boy to his mother, Theophano, who acted as regent until her death in 991. Thereafter Adelaide, widow of Otto I, acted as regent.

In 996 Otto III, bent on checking the highhanded Crescentians, marched to Rome, made his kinsman, Bruno, pope, and received from him (Gregory V) the imperial crown. In 998 he came to Rome a second time and on this occasion beheaded Crescentius who had deposed Gregory and set up another pope. Otto spent the last years of his life in Italy.

France: Charles the Simple (898-929) and his son Louis IV (936-954) were followed by Lothair (954-986); but these Carolingians were only nominal kings. The Capetians had begun the

⁶ "The Holy Roman Empire, taking the name in the sense which it commonly bore in later centuries, as denoting the sovereignty of Germany and Italy vested in a Germanic prince, is the creation of Otto the Great. Substantially, it is true, as well as technically, it was a prolongation of the Empire of Charles." In spite of Otto's wish, the office of king was not merged in that of emperor; for the German barons did not quite fall in with this plan. "What Otto demanded he demanded as emperor, what he received, he received as king; the singular result was that in Germany the imperial office was itself pervaded and transformed by feudal ideas. . . . Thus while Germany was Romanized the Empire was feudalized, and came to be considered not the antagonist but the perfection of an aristocratic system. . . . Nevertheless, even while they seemed to blend, there remained between the genius of imperialism and that of feudalism a deep and lasting hostility." Bryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30 and 195.

building of a more solid dynasty.⁷ First Duke Hugh and then his son, Hugh Capet, dominated France. In the beginning no more than feudal lords, like the dukes of Aquitaine, Toulouse, Burgundy, and Flanders, the Capetians established a capital at Paris, developed a certain degree of national unity, and when the right moment came, seized the throne. It was at the instigation of Hugh Capet (987-996) that the French bishops placed Gerbert in the see of Rheims and kept him there until papal opposition proved too strong.⁸ Another episode which reveals the power of the pope in France was the forced separation of King Robert II from his wife Bertha under threat of papal excommunication.⁹

Meanwhile, the history of Catholic Normandy had begun; for in 911 the powerful Norman leader Rollo received from the king a grant of land in northern France, on which he settled, accepting the Christian faith for himself and his followers.

Italy: Constant feuds and invasions caused general disorder.¹⁰ One invader, Louis III of Provence, was expelled by Berengar of Friuli. But Berengar, crowned emperor in 915, was assassinated in 924; and the title of emperor lapsed until revived by Otto I almost forty years later.

Rome, given over to factions, was for years ruled by the House of Theophylact.¹¹ One notorious member of that House, Marozia, married in succession Alberic, Count of Camerino; Guido, Duke of Tuscany, and Hugo, King of Italy. Her son, Alberic II, drove

⁷ The Carolingians were held on the throne to some extent by the influence of the Holy See; and in answer to an appeal from Louis IV, Pope Stephen VIII (IX) threatened to excommunicate French barons if they rebelled against the king.

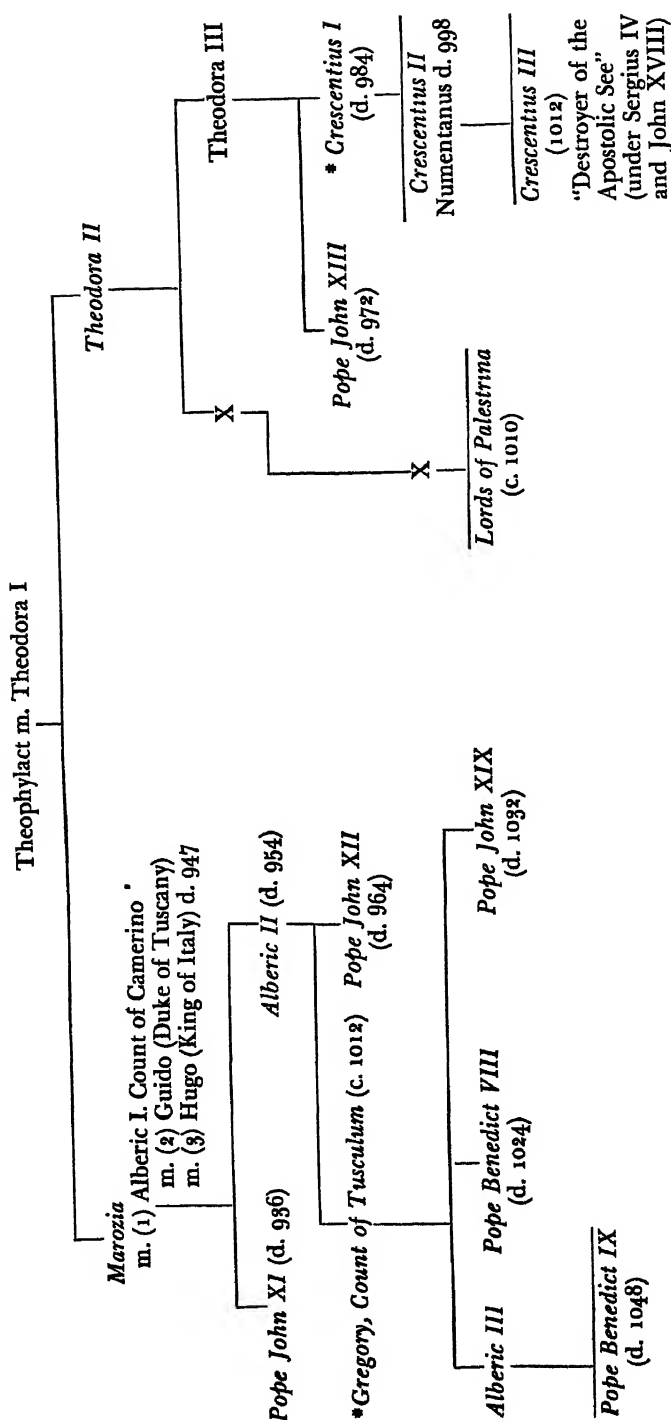
⁸ It was a politico-ecclesiastical quarrel. Hugh Capet, who distrusted Arnulf, Archbishop of Rheims, the illegitimate son of Lothair, placed him on trial before the French bishops; and this assembly, after denying the jurisdiction of the pope in the case, proceeded to depose Arnulf and make Gerbert archbishop. After Hugh Capet's death, Pope Gregory V in 997 restored Arnulf to his position and transferred Gerbert to Ravenna.

⁹ According to canon law, the union between Robert and Bertha was invalid on two counts. First, the couple were second cousins. Secondly, as godfather of Bertha's child by a former husband (for whose death moreover, Robert had been responsible), Robert was ineligible to become her husband. The law which forbade the godparent of a child to marry the child or the child's natural parent has been amended in recent years; and this impediment (spiritual affinity) no longer affects the child's natural parents.

¹⁰ A typical episode of this chaotic period was the attack made by Hungarian raiders on the monastery of Nonantola near Modena, in the year 900, when the monks were killed, the library was burned, and all the country round about was devastated. A few years later Moslems destroyed an Italian monastery at the foot of Mt. Cenis; but the abbot, anticipating the disaster, carried away six thousand books in safety to Turin.

¹¹ See accompanying chart.

THE HOUSE OF THEOPHYLACT



* The connection of Gregory of Tusculum and of Crescentius with Theophylact is not certain. N.B. The chart above—based on a conjectural table constructed by the Rev. Horace K. Mann, *op. cit.*, IV, facing p. 40—shows the Roman nobles who controlled the papacy during most of the late 10th and early 11th centuries.

out his stepfather, King Hugo, and made himself prefect of Rome.

Alberic's son, Octavian, who succeeded his father as prefect, also became pope under the name of John XII. In the closing years of the century another family, the Crescentians, displaced the Theophylacts in the control of Rome and the papacy.

Spain: The period of Mohammedan greatness in the peninsula began under Abd-ar-Rhaman III (912-961), a fighter, a builder, a successful administrator, who adopted a centralizing policy, assumed the title of caliph, and aspired to be the real Emperor of the West, with a capital surpassing Baghdad and a mosque at Córdoba excelling the sanctuaries of Damascus and Cairo.

The tide was turning. Aided by dissensions among the Moslems and by reinforcements from France, Spanish Christians made considerable gains. Towards the end of the century, to be sure, they suffered a disastrous setback when the powerful Mohammed II (El Mansur) almost destroyed the Christian armies; but by the year 1000 the Christian movement was again well under way.¹²

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: By the middle of the century the kingdom of England was firmly established—the effect of the unification begun by Alfred and continued by Edward and Athelstan. The country was closely connected with the Holy See; and Athelstan, in donating lands to the abbey of Malmesbury, based his claim to the lands in question, on the approval of the English nobility and of Pope John X.¹³

Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, stood high in favor with several kings; but Edwig, who came to the throne in 955, resenting Dunstan's censure of

¹² Later writers have extolled beyond reason the achievements of the Moslems in Spain; "many British workers in this field have gone seriously astray. . . . The result has been that the ordinary educated Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic still reads Spanish history with all the prejudice of his ancestors," Charles Petrie, in Introduction to *The History of Spain*, by Louis Bertrand, p. XII. Bertrand writes, "It is important not to let ourselves be carried away by the hyperbolic admiration, the preconceptions and the prejudices of those who exalt Arab-Spanish culture to an exaggerated extent only in order to degrade Catholic Spain, and, in general, medieval Christian culture in proportion. . . . If there was an Arab-Spanish civilization, it is especially to the Spaniards—Christians, Jews, and renegades—that this civilization was due." *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII.

¹³ See Mann, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 183.

his evil life, confiscated the abbot's possessions and drove him into exile. Recalled by King Edgar,¹⁴ Dunstan exerted a good influence in public affairs for some years; but the antireligious faction, urged on by Alfrida who wished the crown for her son Ethelred, killed King Edward the Martyr in 979, and from this time on misfortunes multiplied. The kingdom was split by the separation of Mercia and Northumbria from Wessex; Ethelred fled to Normandy; Dunstan died; the Danes returned.

Ireland: During most of the century the Danes, in control of the seacoast, held the native population at their mercy; and when the Danish king of Dublin, baptized at Northumberland in 943, placed his domains under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, a blow was struck at the primacy of Armagh. The Danes were responsible also for changing the name of the island from "Eriu" to "Ire"-land; henceforth the inhabitants were called "Irish"; and the names "Scotia" and "Scots" were transferred to the Gaels across the Irish Sea. Of the Irish scholars who took refuge abroad in these years, some were teachers of St. Dunstan at Glastonbury, one was abbot of Canterbury.

Scotland: King Constantine II, after successful wars against the Northmen, retired in 943 to spend his last years in the monastery of St. Andrews. Towards the end of the century Danish raiders cut off Iona from communication with Scotland and thus made it dependent on Ireland. On Christmas Eve in 986 they swooped down on Iona, plundered the monastery, and murdered the abbot and most of the monks.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Twenty-five popes occupied the Chair of Peter during these calamitous years. The freedom of election lost in the preceding

¹⁴ King Edgar (958-974) granted large parcels of land to Glastonbury Abbey and requested Pope John XIII to confirm the grants. About this same time Pope John wrote a letter to one of the English lords, Aelric, admonishing him against violating the rights of Glastonbury. Another pope, John XV, prevented war by persuading Ethelred the Unready and Richard of Normandy to sign a treaty at Rouen in 991—the oldest treaty between an English king and a foreign power. In the same pope's pontificate two archbishops of Canterbury went to Rome to receive the pallium.

century had not been regained; until 962 almost every candidate was chosen by a Roman faction. After that date they were usually selected by the German emperor; and among the imperial nominees were the first German pope, Gregory V, and the first French pope, Sylvester II. Typical of the time were the politically active John X and John XII, the former a man of questionable morality, the latter openly scandalous. Typical too, were Benedict V and John XVI, elected in defiance of the emperor's wishes, only to be seized and imprisoned. Our limited knowledge concerning the papacy at this time is indicated by the debates still being carried on over the moral defects of Sergius III, John X, and John XII, and the validity of Leo VIII's election.¹⁵

Benedict IV (900-903) crowned the Emperor Louis III and recognized the acts of Pope Formosus as valid.

Leo V (903), who reigned less than two months, was deposed and imprisoned by a cardinal priest named Christopher, who succeeded him.

Christopher (903-904), usually regarded as an antipope, was thrown into prison before long by the Romans, who in his place put Sergius, a member of the anti-Formosus party.

Sergius III (904-911) is frequently represented as an ambitious and cruel man, the lover of Marozia and the father of the future Pope John XI. These accusations were accepted as true in the sixteenth century by the historian, Cardinal Baronius; but in the light of later discoveries, other scholars have rejected them.¹⁶ Nicholas, Patriarch of Constantinople, a contemporary of Sergius, ranked him as a saint.

Anastasius III (911-913) tried to effect the ecclesiastical reorganization of Germany.

Lando (913-914) reigned six months and left the reputation of being a worthy man.

John X (914-928) is pictured as a cleric raised to the see of Ravenna and later to the papacy by the influence of the infamous Theodora whose lover he was; but the accuracy of this portrait, drawn by the untrustworthy Liutprand, is seriously questioned. Whatever John's spiritual qualities may have been, he possessed courage and statesmanship. He

¹⁵ The uncertainty is due to lack of trustworthy contemporary evidence. Except for two or three popes, the *Liber Pontificalis* contains little more than a list of names and dates in this century. The other chief sources are partisan pamphlets by Auxilius and Vulgarius, and chronicles written by the notorious, untruthful, and anti-Roman Liutprand, by the ill-informed Benedict of Soracte, by the careful Regino, by the unsatisfactory yet helpful Ratherius, and by Frodoard, painstaking and exact, but not comprehensive.

¹⁶ E.g., Muratori.

took the field in person to drive the Saracens out of northern Italy; he negotiated peace between the Bulgarians and the Eastern Empire; he encouraged the reform of monasteries.

Of particular interest was the papal embassy sent to Dalmatia in 924 to instruct the archbishop of Salona (Spalato) so that the customs of the Roman Church would be followed, and—in accord with the decision of Stephen V—the Slavonic language would be excluded from the liturgy. In 917 John X, like Gregory IV and Nicholas I, gave Hamburg-Bremen jurisdiction over the bishops of Scandinavia and the north. John's legates who visited Franks, Germans, Slavs, Bulgarians, and Greeks linked the whole Christian body in a practical unity.

In the end John made the political blunder of recognizing the claim of Hugo of Provence to be king of Italy. Thereupon Hugo's rivals (the House of Theophylact) threw Pope John into prison—where he died—and killed John's brother, the Prefect of Rome. The Theophylacts then proceeded to take control of Rome; and for years they appointed every pope.

Leo VI (928), a Roman, settled some questions presented to his predecessor concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Dalmatia.

Stephen VII (VIII) (928-931) issued certain privileges for monasteries in France and Italy.

John XI (931-936) was the son of that Marozia the Theophylact, who in 932 took Hugo of Provence for her third husband and planned, with Hugo as king and her son John as pope, to rule all Italy. Her other son, Alberic, however, roused the Romans, drove his stepfather, Hugo, from Rome, and put his mother and the pope in prison. Under the title of "Senator, Patrician, and Prince of all the Romans," Alberic then ruled the city for more than twenty years; and the women of his family took the title of "Senatrix." Before his death he exacted an oath from the Roman nobles that they would elect his son, Octavian,¹⁷ to the papacy.

Leo VII (936-939), probably a Benedictine monk, was made pope by Alberic. Leo appointed Frederick, Archbishop of Mainz, his vicar in Germany to promote reform, forbidding him to baptize Jews by force, but sanctioning their expulsion from cities when they refused to become Christians. He gave many privileges to monasteries established by the monks of Cluny.

Stephen VIII (IX) (939-942) supported the Carolingian dynasty by threatening to excommunicate the nobles disloyal to King Louis IV. His pontificate was controlled by Alberic.

Marinus II (942-946)—also called Martin III—was made pope by Alberic who dominated him. The pope tried to effect a reformation in Rome by his own activities, and elsewhere by his legates; and thus he

¹⁷ The future John XII.

aided the improvement which, through the influence of Cluny, was already under way.

Agapetus II (946-955), a saintly pope during a shameful period, tried to reform morals and to aid in the evangelization of the north.

John XII (955-964), at the age of eighteen, became both civil and ecclesiastical ruler of Rome.¹⁸ He proved to be the most unworthy man who ever occupied the papal throne, with the possible exception of Benedict IX. Meeting with opposition in Rome, John called Otto I to Rome and crowned him Roman Emperor in the year 962. John and the Roman nobility promised allegiance to Otto; and the emperor, in a document still extant, renewed the donation of territory made by Pepin.¹⁹ As soon as Otto had departed from Rome, however, John entered into a conspiracy against him; and, when Otto returned, he fled to Tivoli.

The emperor summoned John to trial before a synod on charges of sacrilege, simony, perjury, murder, and incest. John threatened to excommunicate all members of the synod if they should elect another pope; but they nevertheless deposed him and elected as his successor Otto's secretary, a Roman layman who was ordained deacon and priest and consecrated pope with the title of Leo VIII. After Otto's departure John reentered Rome, severely punished the emperor's supporters, and convoked a synod in St. Peter's which repealed the decrees of the synod that had elected Leo, and excommunicated Leo with all his electors. Shortly afterwards John died and the Romans elected a cardinal deacon, Benedict V.

Leo VIII (963-965) received all the sacred orders, including episcopal consecration, without observing the intervals of time required by canon law; and some regard him as an antipope, whereas others believe he became a true pope in 964 by consent of the newly elected Pope Benedict. Most of the documents attributed to Leo, giving the emperor the right to nominate bishops and popes, are forged letters, composed during the later quarrels over investiture.

Benedict V (964) was elected by the Romans. Otto returned, degraded Benedict, and—possibly with the consent of Benedict—restored Leo. Having decreed that thereafter the Roman people should have no voice in papal elections, Otto carried Benedict off to Germany and placed him as a prisoner for the rest of his life in the hands of Adalgard, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Until death, Benedict was still recognized as pope by some of the German clergy.

John XIII (965-972). When Leo died the Romans wished to have

¹⁸ John was Alberic's son, Octavian. He was not the first pope to take a new name. This had been done in the sixth century when Mercurius, a priest, changed his name to John II on his election to the papacy. Of later popes only two retained their baptismal names, Adrian VI (d. 1523) and Marcellus II (d. 1555).

¹⁹ The emperor introduced into this document certain concessions to himself which limited the pope's jurisdiction—in the spirit of the agreement of 824.

Benedict sent back from Germany; but Otto refused and chose John, the grandson of Theophylact, to be pope. John, being Otto's candidate, was not acceptable to the Roman nobles, who put him in prison. Otto restored him in 966, executing some of his enemies and banishing others. In 967 John crowned Otto II joint emperor with his father; and in 972 he blessed the marriage of Otto II and the Byzantine princess, Theophano.

Benedict VI (973-974), who succeeded John XIII, delayed his consecration until he received the ratification of the emperor. After a few months he was imprisoned and strangled by a group of the Roman nobility under the leadership of Crescentius. The deacon, Boniface, set himself up as antipope but, finding himself in danger, fled to Constantinople—only to return nine years later and again occupy the papal throne.

Benedict VII (974-983) was elected by the Roman clergy and people; and he called on Otto II for help against the antipope Boniface VII. Benedict was active in suppressing simony and in promoting reform.

John XIV (983-984) became pope by consent of Otto II; but Crescentius, with the antipope Boniface VII, who had returned from Constantinople, imprisoned John in the Castle of Sant' Angelo where he died in a few months.

Boniface VII (984-985) succeeded John XIV on the papal throne—whether legitimately or not remains a matter of controversy. Of his pontificate very little is known. He was killed in 985 and his body was dragged through the streets of Rome.²⁰

John XV (XVI)²¹ (985-996), son of a priest named Leo, was elected in 985. His pontificate was dominated by the Crescentians. He acted as a mediator between Ethelred of England and Richard of Normandy in 991. When Hugh Capet deposed Arnulf from the see of Rheims and appointed Gerbert, John sent a legate, abbot Leo, to France and threatened Gerbert with excommunication. In 993 John presided at the first solemn canonization by a pope—that of St. Ulrich of Augsburg.

Gregory V (996-999), the first German pope, was placed on the papal throne by his relative, Otto III. Thereupon Crescentius, who had dominated the city for twenty years, set up an antipope, John XVI (John Philagathus), a Calabrian Greek, who had been bishop of Piacenza. But Otto III returned to Italy and hanged Crescentius. The antipope was captured by a Roman mob; his nose, ears, and tongue were cut off; his eyes were put out; and he was publicly degraded before Otto and Greg-

²⁰ "Speaking generally, while most moderns class him as an antipope most of the ancients seem to have recognized him as a true pope." Mann, *op. cit.*, IV, 339.

²¹ A confusion of dates caused some historians to list an imaginary successor of Boniface VII as "John XV." This involved disorder in the numbering of the popes named John, until the enthronement of John XXII in 1316.

ory. He was then taken to Germany and shut up in a prison where he lived for fifteen years.

John XVI (XVII) (997-998)—antipope.

Sylvester II (999-1003), whose name was Gerbert, the first French pope and the greatest scholar of his day, while a tutor in the Cathedral school of Rheims, had been chosen to replace Arnulf as archbishop of that city; but the Synod of Mouson, presided over by a papal legate, suspended Gerbert and declared his appointment to be invalid. Gerbert then became tutor of the young Emperor Otto III. Through the imperial favor he was appointed archbishop of Ravenna in 998; and he was elected pope in the following year. Deeply devoted to learning, Gerbert placed posterity in his debt by his encouragement of schools and scholars. He took vigorous measures against the evils of simony and concubinage; and he reorganized the Church in several countries. His plans to coöperate with Otto III in a general reform were destroyed by the emperor's untimely death. Thereafter, Sylvester possessed little power; he himself died within a few years.²²

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: Most of the documents of this period bear upon disciplinary or political affairs rather than upon doctrine.²³

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
		<i>Agapetus II</i> (946-955)
948	Council of Ingelheim	On the disputed see of Rheims.
		<i>John XV</i> (985-996)
991	Council of Rheims	On the disputed see of Rheims.
993	Council of Rome	On the canonization of Ulrich.

Councils: Many of the tenth-century councils were but episodes in the almost incessant politico-religious contests; and they were often controlled by kings or nobles or bishops antagonistic

²² On account of his extraordinary learning Gerbert was, by popular imagination, transformed into a magician, and he became the central figure of many curious tales, the origin of which have been traced by Döllinger in his *Papstfabeln*. Much of the Protestant prejudice against Sylvester was removed by his non-Catholic biographer, C. F. Hock, in 1837; and since that date new material has been discovered which raises the modern estimate of Sylvester still higher. See Allen, "Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II," in *English Hist. Rev.* (1892), 625-68; and *Dublin Rev.*, VI (1839). The document which records Otto's gift of five Italian counties to the pope, is regarded as spurious by some scholars and as authentic by others. See Mann, *op. cit.*, V, 70.

²³ Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, lists only one tenth-century document, the decree of canonization of St. Ulrich.

to the pope.²⁴ The see of Rheims—important because close to the boundary between France and Germany—gave rise to many quarrels. One such dispute was occasioned by the Count of Vermandois who had his son Hugh consecrated archbishop of Rheims at the age of five. Hugh's claim to the see was endorsed by a council held at Soissons in 941 and then nullified by a council held at Ingelheim in 948. Councils which met at Mouson and at Rheims in the closing years of the century attempted to settle the conflicting claims of Arnulf and Gerbert. Particular interest attaches to the Roman synods of 963 and 964, one of which decreed the deposition of Pope John XII, whereas the other decreed his restoration.

Organization: Church affairs were affected to such an extent by feudalism that we must note certain features of that system. Its essential element was the organization of the land-owning aristocracy in a sort of hierarchy, with each lesser lord related to an overlord to whom he gave and from whom he received assistance. On a lower level than the aristocracy was the great mass of people roughly divided into a small proportion of men-at-arms and a large proportion of producers—farmers, craftsmen, servants, and the like. Dukes, counts, knights, and freemen fought the battles; serfs and villeins tilled the soil in exchange for maintenance and protection. Between peasant and lord an almost impassable gulf intervened; even if a serf acquired wealth and power, he remained a man of his class. Between the higher and the lower clergy there existed the same distinction; and as a rule the higher Church posts were distributed among the noble families.

From a religious point of view, one of the most important features of the feudal system was the lord's right of appointment to ecclesiastical offices, which made bishops, abbots, and parish priests subject to almost unlimited lay control. Among the resulting evils were these: (1) Offices involving grave spiritual responsibilities were bestowed upon the over-

²⁴ A typical council was the synod of Altheim in 916 which attempted to promote national and religious unity by supporting Conrad of Franconia in his struggle with Charles of Lorraine. Another was the national council which met at Salona in 926 to claim for that see primacy in Dalmatia and Croatia, thereby moving Pope John X to intervene and attempt to make peace between Croats and Bulgarians.

lord's kinsmen or favorites, often without regard to the candidate's religious qualifications and sometimes in return for financial payment. (2) Minor offices were commonly given to ignorant untrained persons, wholly unfit to minister to the spiritual wants of the people. (3) Ambitious men chose the clerical vocation as a quick approach to wealth and power; and, once in office, they sold the benefices under their control in order to reimburse themselves for the money they had paid for their own appointment. Prelates of this type claimed the right to marry as a matter of course; they often oppressed the poor; as vassals of their overlords, they rode into battle at the head of their men-at-arms; sometimes they even employed spiritual weapons in behalf of the cause for which they were fighting.

The feudal right of appointment to ecclesiastical benefices gave rise to the custom of "lay investiture"—that is to say, the overlord would give the prelate a ring and crozier as a sign that he had acquired the right to hold office and collect revenue. Lay investiture finally came to be recognized as the root cause of the undesirable conditions described above; and it became a symbol of the evil things attacked by the champions of reform. For the most part these champions came from the monastic establishments which provided an opportunity of intellectual and religious development for the more spiritually minded clerics of the day.²⁵

An institution which throws light on existing conditions was the "Peace of God," a device of the Church to lessen violence by anathematizing all persons who attacked non-combatants or invaded sanctuaries. It laid severe penalties on those who plundered clerics, merchants, peasants, women, or children; and it was enforced by associations organized for this purpose.²⁶

Marriage: In the East the imperial ruling that permanent insanity of husband or wife provided valid grounds for divorce and remarriage was regarded as a nullification of any canonical law to the contrary.

In the West disregard of Church discipline was common; and divorce was as prevalent among the laity as concubinage and simony were among the clergy. Even writers who in theory sup-

²⁵ Protests against the widespread abuses were never lacking; but no great progress was made until the Abbey of Cluny inaugurated a movement which produced able leaders ready to fight valiantly in behalf of spiritual ideals.

²⁶ Another evidence of the upward trend at this time was the legislation which secured more humane treatment for the serfs. Reviving the ancient Roman law, the Church forbade the transporting of serfs into foreign lands. Moreover, slaves frequently received their freedom from masters stirred to this generous deed by motives of Christian charity.

ported the general principle of indissolubility admitted certain exceptions; in practice they seem to have often tolerated divorce.

Worship: By the tenth century, except in Milan and in the scattered churches of Spain, the Roman rite had supplanted the others throughout most of the West.

Art: In the East Byzantine art opened a new Golden Age;²⁷ and in the West Theophano, wife of Otto II, encouraged the activity of emigrant Greek artists. In Rome itself, culture was at a low ebb; but in Lombardy and beyond the Alps, Romanesque churches were rising. Germany made ivory carving an important feature of religious art. The Arab control of Egypt made the importing of parchment so difficult that many classical manuscripts were used as palimpsests and thus destroyed.

Communities: A movement of worldwide importance began with the founding of Cluny (near Macon) by William, Duke of Aquitaine, in the year 910. He wisely provided that the abbey should be completely immune from lay interference; and the monks of Cluny inaugurated a new form of Benedictine life, with a highly centralized government. In 931 Pope John XI approved their right to elect their own abbot; and they were able to retain this privilege, partly no doubt, because the abbey lay in a neutral zone. Under St. Odo, who became abbot in 927, Cluny entered vigorously into the struggle for general Church reform. Commissioned by Pope John XI to rehabilitate the monasteries of Gaul and Italy, Odo carried out this work by combining a number of abbeys in the same jurisdiction and by admitting monks from other abbeys into Cluny, which thus developed into the head of a widespread and powerful organization. Many of its abbots were distinguished men, even saints; several of its monks became popes;²⁸ within fifty years of its founding Cluny had put its stamp on the life of Europe. It remained a vital force in the religious history of the next three centuries.

In Upper and Lower Lorraine about the same time, two other

²⁷ The first Golden Age occurred in the sixth century under Justinian. In the eighth and ninth centuries, as already noted, the Iconoclasts discouraged art. After the revival Byzantine art flourished until the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.

²⁸ Urban II, Paschal II, and Urban V came from Cluny, and Gregory VII had benefited by its influence at his Benedictine monastery in Rome.

revivals took place at Gorze near Metz, and at Brogne in Namur—both based like that of Cluny on the earlier work of Benedict of Aniane. Fleury on the Loire, inspired by Cluny, in turn communicated its spirit to England where Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the aid of King Edgar and of two bishops, Ethelwold of Winchester and Oswald of Worcester, initiated a monastic revival. In a meeting at Winchester (c. 970) the English bishops and abbots formulated a code based upon that of Benedict of Aniane; and from three centers, Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Westbury, foundations grew and spread until monasticism became "the paramount influence in the cultural and spiritual life of the nation."²⁹

Saints: The comparative rarity of recognized holiness in the tenth century is explained partly by the moral conditions of the time and partly by the Church's tendency to be more conservative in the naming of saints. None of the twenty-five popes who reigned in this century was canonized.³⁰

St. Dunstan (c. 909–988), learned, holy, fearless, gifted with creative ability, and also an able statesman, is credited not only with having introduced and organized the new monastic life of England, but also with having exercised a dominant influence for good in political life during a long period of years. Persecuted at times and in some quarters belittled after death, he was one of the greatest saints in Anglo-Saxon history. Appointed abbot of Glastonbury (c. 943), he refused a bishopric on more than one occasion, but eventually became bishop of Winchester in 957, and archbishop of Canterbury in 960; and he passed the rest of his life in laboring for the spiritual and temporal welfare of all the people, lay, clerical, and religious, extending also encouragement and protection to foreign scholars who came to England.³¹

²⁹ Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, p. 690.

³⁰ In fact, after St. Nicholas I, who died in 867, no other pope was canonized for two hundred years; and only five popes have been canonized from the time of St. Nicholas up to the present day—Leo IX (d. 1054), Gregory VII (d. 1085), Gregory X (d. 1276), Celestine V (d. 1294), Pius V (d. 1572). In other instances the cause of canonization has been introduced; and seven popes have been beatified. As is well known, interest in the promotion of a cause easily lags, except in the case of a religious—a partial reason why so small a proportion of canonized saints exist outside the membership of religious communities.

³¹ "Few great Englishmen have been more harshly treated at the hands of later generations than Dunstan; it is only within recent years that he has been hailed, perhaps without due discrimination, as a great statesman and one of the first welders of national unity, and his recognition as a saint and as a spiritual leader of his countrymen has been still more tardy." (Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 36.) The same author refers to "the fantastic

St. Odo of Canterbury (d. 959), Bishop of Ramsbury, became a Benedictine monk and later, by favor of King Edmund, was made archbishop of Canterbury. He supported the reform inaugurated by St. Dunstan; he crowned three kings of England, Edred, Edwig, and Edgar; and he forced Edwig to dissolve an incestuous union.

St. Ulrich (890–973), kinsman of the emperor, was born in Augsburg, trained in the Benedictine abbey of St. Gall. As bishop of Augsburg, he devoted himself to the moral improvement of the clergy and the enforcement of Church discipline. He enabled the citizens of Augsburg to resist the invading Magyars until the Emperor Otto arrived and completely routed the invaders at the battle of Lechfeld in 955. Twenty years after his death he was named a saint by Pope John XV—the first instance of solemn canonization. The letter opposing celibacy attributed to St. Ulrich has been proved a forgery.

St. Adalbert of Magdeburg (d. 981), apostle of the Slavs, a German monk, was sent by the Emperor Otto to convert the Russians in 961 at the request of Olga. As first bishop of Magdeburg, which soon ranked with Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, Adalbert carried on mission work in the northern regions until his death.

St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague (d. 997), a disciple of Adalbert of Magdeburg, resigned his see but returned to it and preached the faith in the north, converting many Poles and baptizing Duke Geza—father of Stephen of Hungary. He was martyred by the pagans of Prussia whom he was attempting to convert.

St. Abbo, or **Abbon** (945–1004), abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Fleury, a man conspicuous for learning as well as for holiness, was in high favor with Pope Gregory V. He taught philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy; and he directed the Benedictine monastery school of Ramsey, England.

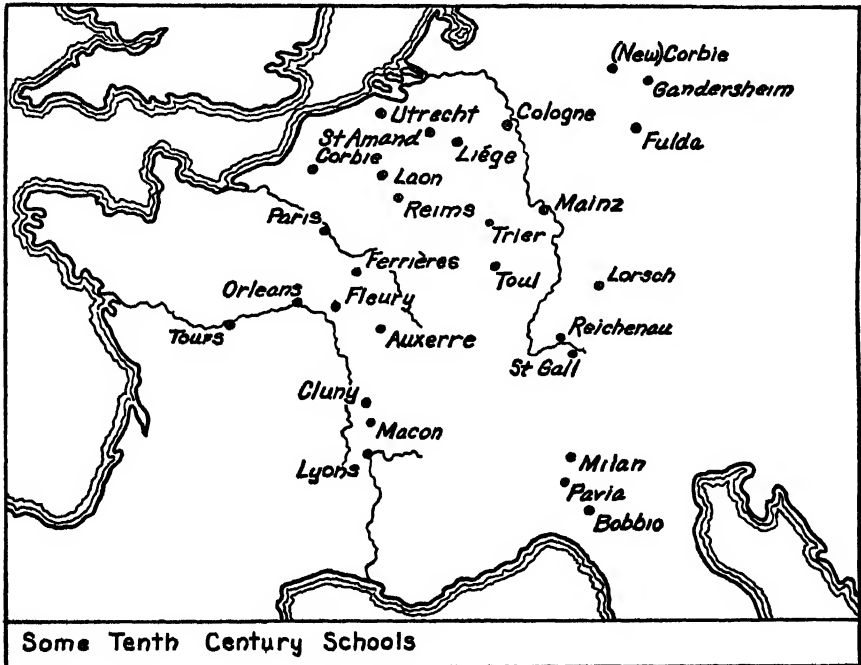
St. Olga (d. 969), a Scandinavian by birth and wife of Igor, Grand Duke of Kiev, became a Christian after his death. She brought in missionaries and laid the foundation for the conversion of Russia later accomplished by her grandson, St. Vladimir.

St. Stephen (d. 1038), baptized in 985, ascended the throne of Hungary twelve years later. He dedicated the country to our Blessed Lady, organized the hierarchy, and with the help of his wife, Gisela, sister of Emperor Henry II, labored so successfully for the conversion of his subjects that he received the title "Apostolic King."

Education: The Normans raiding France, the Hungarians swarming over Saxony, Bavaria and Lombardy, the Moslems

pronouncements of Milman" and to the uncomplimentary comments on Dunstan made by T. Hodgkin and by J. Armitage Robinson.

penetrating Italy, almost destroyed the schools. Writers were comparatively few; literary production fell off in quality; and these years have been described as intellectually sterile. Modern scholars, however, rate the tenth century more highly than some earlier historians did; we know now that amid all the confusion and bloodshed much work was carried on quietly within the cloisters by the scholars who found shelter there. Copyists transcribed precious manuscripts. Teachers trained the writers who later showed their mettle during the Investiture quarrel and the Berengarian controversy.



The Cluniac reform which uplifted morals also promoted education; and, although the intellectual level of the people was not perceptibly raised, schools became more active east and west of the Rhine, in Northern and Southern Germany, in Italy.³² Rheims was especially noted for its fine collection of classical and patristic works.

³² For example at Rheims, Auxerre, Fleury, Cluny, St. Amand (near Tournai), Liège, Utrecht, Cologne, Trier, Toul, Corbie, Gandersheim, St. Gall.

In England the traditions established by Alfred were cherished by King Edgar, St. Dunstan and St. Ethelwold of Winchester, the author of an Anglo-Saxon translation of the Benedictine Rule.

Writers: Below are named some of the tenth-century writers to whom the modern world is indebted. The first three possess a special interest because of their activity during the transition period between the Carolingian revival and the tenth-century decline. In the latter half of the century the outstanding figure was the wise and well trained Gerbert, of whom any school or any generation might be proud.

Remy, or Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), who studied under Heiric, was himself a teacher of Odo, future abbot of Cluny. Remy's scriptural, theological, and philosophical treatises won for him a prominent place in the history of medieval philology. **Hucbald**, or Ubalduis of St. Amand (840–c. 930), associated with Remy in reorganizing the schools of Rheims, and distinguished for his poetry, ranks as a pioneer in the field of polyphonic music. He invented a primitive musical staff to indicate the pitch of each syllable of the text—a valuable step forward. **Notker Labeo** (or Teutonicus) of St. Gall (c. 950–1022)—a man of wide learning and one of the best stylists in early German literature—translated Aristotle, Virgil, Terence, and Boethius into German, adding material from the scientific, historical, and philosophical writings of his own day.

Several monastic writers did valuable historical work: **Regino** (d. 915), Benedictine abbot of Prüm, after having been driven away from his monastery, aided the bishop of Trier to carry out a clerical reform, and wrote a valuable *Chronicle of Christian History* down to the year 906. **St. Odo**, second abbot of Cluny (c. 878–942), was the author of a *Biography of St. Gerald of Aurillac*, several books of essays, and a number of sermons and poems. **Benedict of Soracte** in 968 composed a chronicle (described as the work of a careless, ignorant monk, “making the worst use of the best sources”) ³³ which contains much precious information. **Witikind** (d. 1004), of Corvey (New Corbie), chief Saxon monastery, began a *History of Germany* from pagan times to his own day, devoting particular attention to Henry I and Otto I—one of our best source books. **Heriger** (c. 925–1007), abbot of Lobbes in Belgium—a diligent student of patristic and classical authors, with a better sense of historical criticism than was common at the time—wrote a history of the bishops of Liège down to the year 667 (later continued by Anselm of Liège to the year 1048).

Three celebrated bishops of northern Italy published denunciations of

³³ According to Pertz, first editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. See Mann, *op. cit.*, IV, 45.

contemporary evils which throw much light upon religious and moral conditions. One of them, **Bishop Atto of Vercelli** (924-961), Chancellor of the French king (and according to Bellarmine worthy of being classed among the Fathers of the Church), repeatedly censured the prevailing laxity. **Rathier** (887-974), member of a noble family of Liège and a Benedictine monk (made bishop of Verona in 931 by his cousin, King Hugh of Provence), was a man of extraordinary talent; and he wrote vigorous protests against current abuses. **Liutprand**³⁴ (922-972), a Lombard who went to Rome in the retinue of Otto the Great, was appointed bishop of Cremona by the emperor. He wrote *Antapodosis*, a gossipy history of Italy during the first half of the tenth century; a *Chronicle of the Reign of Otto*, filled with attacks upon Otto's enemies; and an *Account of the Embassy to Constantinople*.

Flodoard, or **Frodoard** (894-966), canon and archivist of the Cathedral of Rheims, wrote a versified narrative of the popes (more legendary than historical), and also a valuable history of the Church of Rheims based upon local records and the writings of Hincmar. He is the author too, of painstaking and exact *Annals* for the period 919-966.

Auxilius and **Vulgarius** were Italian pamphleteers who published remarkable booklets in defense of Pope Formosus in the first quarter of the century.

The nun, **Hroswitha of Gandersheim** (c. 935-1002)—a disciple of the most learned woman of the day, abbess Gerberg, a niece of Otto I—is looked upon as the first German poetess. She wrote two biblical poems and two epic poems—one recording the achievements of Otto I, and the other telling the story of the foundation of Gandersheim—and also six legends drawn from Latin sources. In her dramatic writing she copied the style of Terence, in order, as she explains, to portray the victories of purity in the same way that the classical poet had described the triumph of vice. Her works were edited at Berlin in 1902.³⁵

Gerbert (940-1003), a Benedictine monk (later Pope Sylvester II) was educated at Barcelona, Córdoba, and Seville, where he learned much from Moslem scholars. A storm-center of politico-ecclesiastical quarrels, he was also leader of a scientific revival, mastering and improving the geometry of Boethius. He sent to the Bishop of Utrecht "the earliest mathematical paper of the middle ages," and took rank as the greatest European mathematician of his century. Gerbert wrote several works,

³⁴ The much discussed Liutprand has been sometimes rated too low, and sometimes too high. His obvious partisanship suggests to the reader the need of constant caution. Mann says his pages can hardly be considered historical, and then endorses the criticism that he was a shameful flatterer and an unscrupulous tamperer with the truth. *Ibid.*, IV, 224, 289.

³⁵ Her non-dramatic works (Latin text, English translation and commentary) were published as a dissertation at the Graduate School of St. Louis University by Sister Gonsalva Wiegand, O.S.F., in 1936.

dogmatical, philosophical, and mathematical, and more than two hundred letters which possess high historical value.

3. OPPOSITION

Partly because of disturbed conditions and partly because of the low intellectual level of the times, the tenth century witnessed few theological disputes.

Heresies: A dispute arose over the failure of the Eastern Church to teach the procession of the Holy Ghost from both the Father and the Son. A council at Trosié, near Soissons, in the year 909 proclaimed "that the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father and the Son," and classified the denial of this doctrine as a blasphemous error of the Greeks. Some ninety years later, by way of retaliation, the patriarch of Constantinople struck the name of Pope Sergius from the Diptychs.

Other Disputes: Sergius III, after his election in 904, "invalidated" all the holy orders conferred by Pope Formosus in the previous century. As the doctrine of the Church on the conditions of validity had not yet been precisely formulated—and, indeed, was not defined until three centuries later—it was quite possible for Sergius to entertain an incorrect theory as to the transmission of orders; but of course he made no attempt to impose his theory upon the Church as an article of faith. The pope's opponents insisted that an ordination performed by a bishop lacking jurisdiction is just as valid as a baptism conferred by a heretic. How the controversy was settled we do not know, for the records of the time are imperfect.

Still another dispute concerned the fourth marriage of the Eastern Emperor Leo. The patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated the priest who had officiated at the marriage, and placed the emperor under an interdict. Appeal was taken to Rome and Pope Sergius affirmed the validity of the marriage.

The Moslems: The Moslem empire had begun to disintegrate—a process which helped the Byzantines to regain much of their former territory. By the middle of the century the old Eastern caliphate was restricted to the province of Baghdad. A little later

the Seljuks from Turkestan acquired a footing in Baghdad; and soon they were in control of the whole Eastern caliphate.

The Fatimites—who claim descent from Fatima, daughter of Mohammed—founded a capital in Tunis about the year 900, and soon occupied Cyrene, Libya, and Sicily. Before the end of the century they established the caliphate of Egypt and extended their sway over Morocco to the west and Tripoli to the east. Cairo, founded at this time, became one of the greatest of Mohammedan cities and a center of Arabic culture. A large number of Coptic Christians, including bishops, embraced Islam; and the Coptic revolts against Mohammedan domination ceased. In 975 the Egyptian caliph married a Christian; but the few Moslems who became Christian suffered persecution, and one died a martyr. Ultimately the Copts dwindled to less than 10 per cent of the population; Coptic vanished from use as a living tongue; and Arabic became the language of all the people in Egypt and of nearly all in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

Islam's flourishing period in Spain ended about the year 960.

The Jews: During the reform undertaken in Germany by order of Leo VII (d. 939), the archbishop of Mainz made the Jews choose between baptism and exile from the cities.

In the Christian part of Spain, the Jews were persecuted; but in Moorish Spain they were tolerated, with the result that they made notable progress in wealth and learning. Before long the Talmudic schools of Córdoba and Granada surpassed the older schools of Persia in fame.

In North Africa, Egypt, and Syria the Jews suffered persecution at the hands of the Moslems; and when the Jewish Khazars were driven from the neighborhood of the Volga, many of them took refuge in Kiev and established a Jewish quarter there.

4. MISSIONS

The Baltic Region: Along the shores of the Baltic lay Slavic tribes—also Pomeranians and Old Prussians—not yet under German control at the beginning of the century; and St. Ansgar's successors carried on mission work here as well as among the

Danes and the Swedes. But the intrusion of German colonists and missionaries was resented by the natives, especially in the region between the Oder and the Elbe. Outbreaks of violence were frequent; and Bremen was destroyed in 918. So Henry I built a fortress at Meissen in 928, as Charlemagne had done at Magdeburg more than a century earlier. By the year 967 Magdeburg was a metropolitan see ³⁶ under St. Adalbert; Oldenburg became a bishopric; new sees were erected in the region of Schleswig. Still unconverted pagans were numerous, and in 982 they burned Hamburg and swept over a wide area, destroying every trace of Christianity. Skara, Sweden's oldest see, was founded in 990.

Bohemia: The history of Bohemia at this time is largely a story of conflict between pro-German Christians and nationalist pagans; and the saintly Wenceslaus I (grandson of the Duke Borzivoi, baptized by Methodius) was murdered by his pagan brother in 935. Nevertheless the Christianization of the country went forward; and in 973 a bishopric was founded at Prague, suffragan to the archbishopric of Mainz. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, who carried on mission work among the Prussians, became so discouraged at the prevalence of polygamy and clerical marriage that he resigned his see and entered a monastery in Rome. Persuaded by Pope Gregory V to return to the mission field, he succeeded in making a number of converts in Prussia before his martyrdom in 997. The Polish king, Boleslaus, secured his body and carried it to Gnesen.

Poland: Mieszko, founder of the Piast dynasty, was converted to Christianity in 966 by his wife, a Bohemian princess. Attacked by German neighbors, he paid tribute to Emperor Otto I, made his duchy a papal fief, had a see established at Posen (Poznan). His son, Boleslaus (992-1025), befriended St. Bruno, disciple of St. Adalbert and Second Apostle of Prussia. Through missionaries and colonists from Germany, Bohemia and elsewhere, Poland began to form close religious and cultural ties with western Europe.

Hungary: These years brought also the conversion of a non-Slavic race, the Finnish Magyars, who had settled in the old Roman province of Pannonia about the year 900, and, from this

³⁶ With several suffragan sees including Meissen, Brandenburg, and Havelberg.

center, carried out raids on Germany and Italy. Two of their chiefs were baptized in mid-century during a visit to Constantinople; and a monk, Hierotheus, became the first Hungarian bishop. Missionaries sent by Adalbert of Prague and by the bishop of Passau were reinforced by the influence of Emperor Otto III; and, towards the end of the century, Stephen, son of Duke Geza and husband of the German princess, Gisela, devoted himself with great zeal to the spread of the faith. The conversion of the Magyars acquired particular importance because their position made them a barrier between the southern Slavs who were Greek Christians, and the northern Slavs (Poles and Bohemians) who became Roman Christians.

Scandinavia: The faith was introduced into Norway by Vikings—baptized during visits to England and to Normandy—who brought missionaries home with them; and one of these missionaries, the Anglo-Saxon bishop, Sigurd, gained the title "Apostle of Norway." Haakon, who had been educated in England at the court of Athelstan, seized the throne in 935, displacing his brother Eric.³⁷ He tried to complete the conversion of his people and was slain during a pagan outbreak in 961. Paganism then dominated the country until the accession of King Olaf Tryggvason in 995; and even Olaf's attempt to establish Christianity was only partly successful.

In Denmark the pagan King Gorm persecuted the Church until his defeat by Henry I of Germany in 934. Under Gorm's son Harold, who tolerated Christianity, there were three Danish bishops—dependent upon the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Then, in the closing years of the century, a pagan reaction took place under Sweyn (Svend).

The success eventually attained by the missionaries in Scandinavia was due largely to the austere lives of the monks, their fervent faith, and the prestige of Christian culture among the comparatively rough northern peoples; but another contributing cause was royal favor. We may say that the Scandinavians came to Christianity along the road marked out for them by their kings

³⁷ Eric then settled in Northumberland, agreeing to defend the country against Norse and Danish raiders.

—as, at a later date, they followed their kings out of Catholicism into Protestantism.

SUMMARY

Many sovereigns upheld the faith in these chaotic days. Henry the Fowler and Otto I, who together spanned more than fifty years, defeated the Magyars repeatedly and bequeathed an imperial crown to the kings of Germany; Duke Rollo early in the century created Normandy; Edgar, following St. Dunstan's counsel, ruled England well; Hugh Capet founded a long-lived dynasty and his son, Robert II, set the capital at Paris; Haakon of Norway fought paganism until he died; Mieszko made Poland officially Christian; Stephen of Hungary was saint and apostle; Olaf Tryggvason tried to force Norsemen to be Christians.

In unhappy Rome, Marozia, infamous wife of Hugh of Provence, saw her husband driven away by her son Alberic II; saw her other son, the inglorious John XI, mount the papal throne; saw Alberic's son, the wicked John XII, crowded out (against the law) by Leo VIII, secretary of Otto III—the same Otto who later selected the first German pope, Gregory V, and hanged the obstreperous patrician, Crescentius. Men's hopes revived when Gerbert was elected Pope Sylvester II at the close of the century.

In the East, Theophano, widow of Romanus II, became wife of Nicephorus, and soon afterwards had him murdered. Her daughter Theophano married Otto II. Emperor Basil II, so cruel to the Bulgarians, began Byzantium's long and splendid era. Olga and Vladimir entered the Christian fold to be followed by millions of Russians; but all of them, like Boris of Bulgaria in the preceding century, gave their ecclesiastical allegiance to the friendly patriarch of Constantinople, leader of the East, and not to the pope, patriarch of the West, friend of the Germans, unwilling to let the Slavs use their own language in the liturgy.

Notker Labeo (one of the five celebrated Notkers of St. Gall) remains an outstanding figure in early German literature; Hros-

witha was the first woman dramatist of Germany. Adalbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, was apostle of the Slavs; his namesake, the martyred archbishop of Gnesen, was apostle of the Prussians; pioneer in one of the most successful of all reforms was Odo, abbot of Cluny.



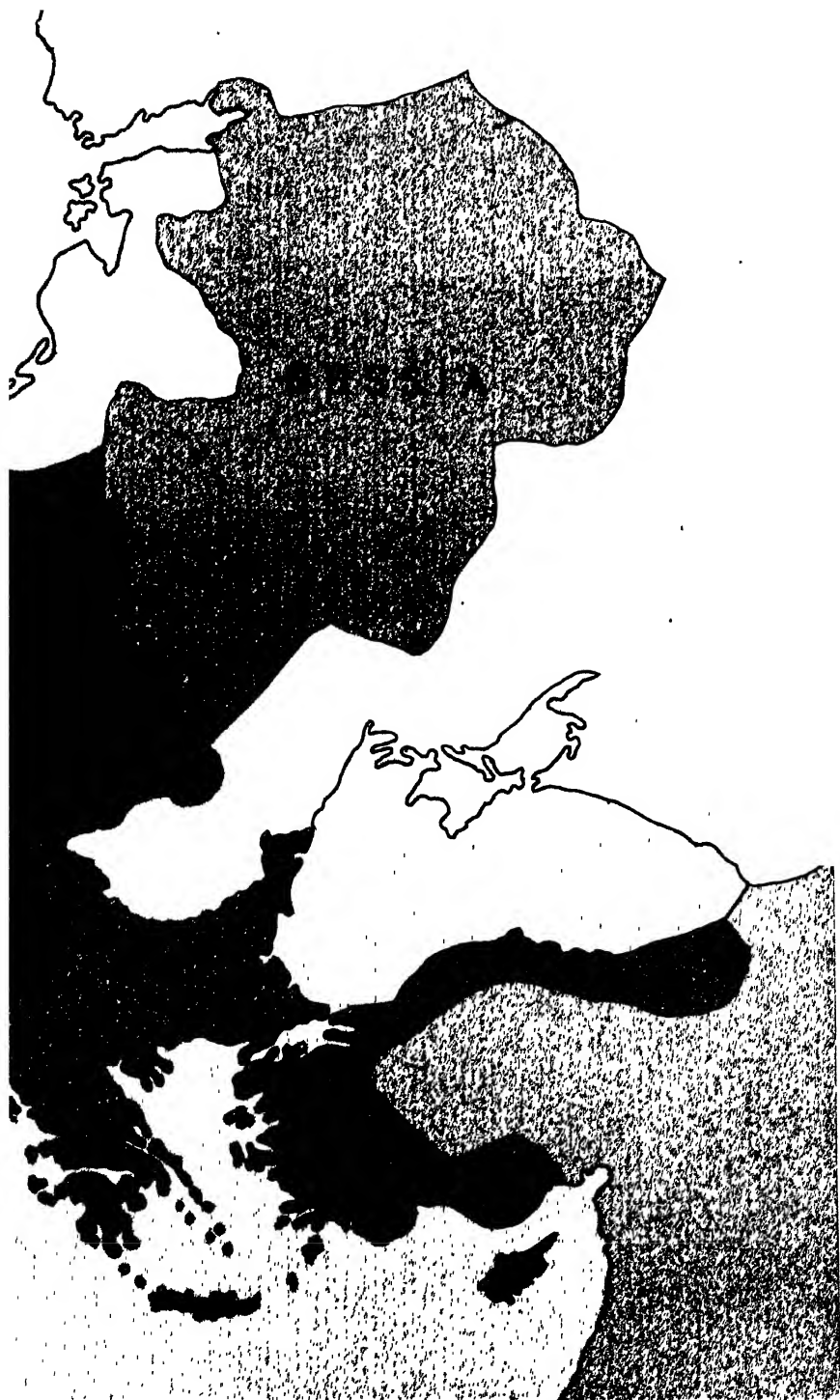
AACHEN CATHEDRAL

Built by Charlemagne; pillaged by the Normans; rebuilt by Otto III

TIME CHART

ECCELESIASTICAL	MISCELLANEOUS
904 <i>Sergius III</i>	c. 904 Theophylacts begin to dominate Rome
910 Foundation of Cluny	911 Rollo of Normandy
915 <i>John X</i> defeats Moslems	
924 Bulgaria a patriarchate	
928 <i>John X</i> dies in prison	
931 <i>John XI</i> , son of Marozia	
Odo of Cluny reforms France and Italy	
c. 935-1002 Hroswitha	932 Hugh of Provence driven from Rome
	936 Henry the Fowler's son Otto I, Emperor
	Magyars raid Italy
	944 Bavarians defeat Magyars
c. 950-1022 Labeo Notker of St. Gall	951 Moslem decline
955 Baptism of Olga	958 Edgar, King of England
960 St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury	960 Rise of Hugh Capet
962 <i>John XII</i> crowns Otto I Emperor	961 King Haakon of Norway d.
966 Mieszko of Poland baptized	962 Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation
973 Prague a bishopric	972 Otto II marries Theophano
981 St. Adalbert of Magdeburg d.	976 Basil II, sole emperor
989 Baptism of Vladimir	982 Otto II defeated by Moslems
990 Skara, first see in Sweden	988 Danes invade England
996 <i>Gregory V</i> , first German pope	995 St. Olaf, King of Norway
997 St. Adalbert of Prague martyred	996 Robert II, King of France, and Otto III, Emperor
	998 Crescentius beheaded





THIRD PERIOD

(A.D. 1000 to 1500)

Ascent and Descent

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF PERIOD III

IN THE EAST

1. The break with Rome in 1054.
2. The Crusades. (1095-1291)
3. The fall of Constantinople in 1453.
4. The Orthodox Church under Moscow.

IN THE WEST

1. The war of Pope and Emperor.
2. Victory of the papacy.
3. Climax of Christian history.
4. Political and religious instability.

GENERAL VIEW

(A. D. 1000 to 1500)

SOON after the year 1000 the Church revived and the High Middle Ages began; midway of the Period the great thirteenth century dawned in the splendor of Innocent III's pontificate and set in the gloom of Boniface VIII's tragic ending; towards the year 1500 appeared that herald of revolt, Martin Luther.

The first three of these centuries have been called the most Christian part of our history.¹ After Pope Gregory extended the reform begun at Cluny, the papacy acquired a position of superiority which involved the doom of its imperial challengers, the Hohenstaufens. Step by step Western Christendom mounted to the apex of medieval civilization, developing a philosophy, an architecture, an art of its own, and even establishing a Latin kingdom in the heart of Islam. Europe saw the founding of great universities, the building of matchless Gothic cathedrals, the introduction of parliamentary government, the recovery of Spain from the Moors, the creative spirituality of St. Dominic and St. Francis, the flowering of Catholic scholarship in St. Thomas Aquinas and his contemporaries.

But the victory of the Gregorian reform program, which sounded the keynote of papal policy for subsequent generations, also set the stage for a fateful struggle between papacy and empire, disastrous to both. The overlapping jurisdiction of civil and ecclesiastical powers called for the exercise of scrupulous justice and patient charity on both sides; unfortunately, those virtues were lacking. Misunderstanding, jealousy, dynastic ambition destroyed the delicate balance which alone could hold political and religious rights in equilibrium. Popes and em-

¹ The East, however, during all these five hundred years experienced almost uninterrupted calamity. The Seljuk Turks seized province after province; hostility between Greeks and Latins developed into permanent schism; and, despite temporary assistance given by the Crusaders, the Eastern Empire finally fell in 1453.

perors, kings and bishops, lords and abbots alike failed in loyalty to the ideal of a truly Christian commonwealth; and the struggle in which popes excommunicated monarchs, and monarchs set up antipopes, brought about the ruin of the system which both were pledged to support.

Before the end of the Period a growing number of critics began to look about for a new and better method of ruling Christendom. The Conciliar Movement sought to govern the Church by a sort of "parliament" superior to the pope; another plan advocated the total separation of religious and secular life; and still another plan—which was to ripen in the sixteenth century—proposed to substitute national for Catholic religion and to give each country a Church of its own choosing in place of the "unworkable" ideal of a united Christendom.

True, the Great Schism that began in 1378 ended with the election of the able Martin V early in the fifteenth century; but neither zeal, nor scholarship, nor diplomacy, could restore the old control. Princes and prelates were in a position to defy authority and go unpunished. Unhappily too, Church officials in strenuous but misdirected efforts to prevent lapses from the faith abused their power cruelly, stirring up undying hatred and general fear.

The beginnings of a new political and social order were already visible in 1492, the year that Alexander VI ascended the papal throne and Columbus discovered America. The expansion of empire in the West and the exploration of the East excited men's minds and unsettled old habits of thought. Although the Turks had seized Constantinople and were menacing the life of Europe, Christian rulers ignored the urgent pleadings of the popes to embark upon another crusade. Monarchs no longer regarded the pope as father and leader, but rather as a petty king, whose resources might profitably be exploited either by diplomacy or by force. To be sure, cultural processes went on; painting and sculpture developed to their splendid climax; the invention of printing diffused useful knowledge. But the dream of independence was fascinating men to whom the Christian tradition of uniform creed and universal discipline had grown

distasteful; and, by an increasing multitude, old moral and religious values were doubted or denied. The epoch which had moved forward so confidently to its day of triumph drifted to an inglorious end.

CHRISTIAN ART

During this period Catholic Europe gradually developed an architectural style—contemptuously named “Gothic” in later times by men who undertook to discredit it. It could better be described as “Franco-Norman,” because of the race from which it originated, or better still, as “Catholic,” since it was permeated by and expressed the spirit of the whole Christian world. An impulse and tendency rather than a definite system, it had sprung from Greek, Roman, and Asiatic roots, and it developed in the triumphant Europe of Benedict, Gregory the Great, Hildebrand, and Bernard.²

Adaptations of primitive Gothic were most pronounced in France and England; Italy added new and beautiful characteristics; concurrently with the exile at Avignon and other disastrous events of the fourteenth century, appeared the Flamboyant style, an omen of decadence. The medieval inspiration languished; architecture grew measurably more secular; within a few generations Gothic was outmoded; and the Renaissance dominated Europe.

About the time that building of cathedrals was slackening and Gothic architecture was beginning to decline, the more individual art of painting entered upon a glorious era that recalled the age of Pericles. The thirteenth century foreshadowed approaching splendor. After Giotto, “founder of the art of painting in Italy,” came the incomparable Angelico. Although more natural and realistic than their predecessors, the new artists, still medieval and profoundly religious, did not depart from the spirit of the Gothic style; and they were the recognized interpreters of Christian truth.³

² The views presented above have been elaborated by Ralph Adams Cram who writes: “Gothic architecture and Gothic art are the aesthetic expression of that epoch of European history when paganism had been extinguished, the traditions of classical civilization destroyed, the hordes of barbarian invaders beaten back, or Christianized and assimilated; and when the Catholic Church had established itself not only as the sole spiritual power, supreme and almost unquestioned in authority, but also as the arbiter of the destinies of sovereigns and of peoples.” “Gothic Architecture,” *Cath. Encyc.*, VI, 666.

³ “St. Francis has been called the father of Italian art, and the saying is true, if taken with a certain elasticity of meaning. Both he and St. Dominic rejuvenated and reanimated the Church. The history of religious art down to the Reformation and the Council of Trent could only be accurately written in the light of this great historic fact.” Louis Gillet, “Painting,” *Cath. Encyc.*, XI, 398.

CHAPTER XI

(The Ten Hundreds)

The Unifying of Christendom

PREVIEW

THE Church paid for her share of political control by a surrender of independence; and during the first part of the new century abuses seemed hardly less prevalent than before. The law forbidding ordination to the son of a priest (born after his father's ordination) had become a dead letter; bishops were feudal princes; in some places the episcopacy was an hereditary caste. Meanwhile the preaching of sermons was largely discontinued; sacraments were neglected; and the faith of the people was being corrupted by superstition. The problem of reform grew acute.

Then came Hildebrand. Bold popes carried through a program of drastic purification. The reform outlined at Cluny more than one hundred years earlier was extended into country after country by vigorous papal legates who enforced the canon law despite the stubborn opposition of vested interests, lay and clerical. Ascetic prelates, fervent preachers, brilliant philosophers worked shoulder to shoulder. Splendid results were visible in the better lives of priests and people, in the more efficient administration of parishes and dioceses, in higher intellectual life. Religious zeal gave birth to new orders—Camaldolese, Carthusians, Cistercians. Missionaries carried the Gospel into the pagan settlements of the north. The century ended with the forces of evil, not indeed wholly conquered, but impotent to dictate the policy of the Roman see; and, to some extent at least, this improvement was reflected throughout all Europe.

The East meanwhile had fallen upon evil days. The Greek Church separated from Rome in 1054; and the Turkish menace to Christendom finally grew so serious that Europe embarked upon the Crusades.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Europe, with all its limitations and defects, was now at last the home of a definitely Christian civilization. Evidence of this could be found in the fact that royal crowns were worn by seven saints: Olaf of Norway, Edward the Confessor, Emperor Henry II, Stephen and Ladislaus of Hungary, Canute IV of Denmark, Margaret of Scotland.

However, there were also other facts to be noted: disloyalty to Christian principles in high places was still blocking the progress of religious reform; Emperor Henry IV found German bishops ready to support him in his defiance of Popes Nicholas II and Gregory VII; the French king, Philip I, attempted bigamy; and Anselm of Canterbury twice had to appeal for papal protection against royal tyranny in England.

In the East the ancient glory of the empire vanished; the Byzantines lost their remaining Italian possessions to the Normans; Constantinople itself was menaced by the Seljuk Turks who overran Armenia, crushed a Greek army, and caused the emperor, in desperation, to call on the West for help. Moved by sympathy, religious zeal, and enlightened self-interest, and aroused by the pope, the West responded. The Knights of the First Crusade marched into Syria, occupied Antioch and Jerusalem, and gave Islam a check that postponed for centuries the Mohammedan conquest of Eastern Christendom.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Hungary, Poland

The Empire: Soon after the year 1000 came a series of politico-religious disputes. Zealous reformer, Emperor St. Henry II

(1002-1024),¹ in his campaign to depose unworthy prelates and to improve monastic discipline, met with the opposition of many powerful persons including Adalbert, the archbishop of Mainz. Conrad II (1024-1039)² restored Pope Benedict IX after his first expulsion in 1037; some years later when Benedict had resigned in favor of Gregory VI, Emperor Henry III (1039-1056) at the Synod of Sutri, persuaded the latter to resign, and then nominated a series of four German popes (Clement, Damasus, Leo, and Victor), assuming his imperial right to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs and implying that, for the time being at least, German pontiffs rather than Italians would be more trustworthy instruments of reform.

Henry IV (1056-1105) inherited a difficult situation. Already the wide divergence of interests between papacy and empire was unmistakable; and now the emperor had to deal with the sagacious Hildebrand who directed the policies of the Holy See during several pontificates. Stirring events followed quickly. Divided into rival political parties, and resenting both the reforming policy of Hildebrand and the alliance of the Holy See with the Normans, the German bishops in the year 1060 conspired with some of the imperial officials, assembled a council, and declared that all the decrees of Pope Nicholas II were null and void. A little later, at the Synod of Basle, the German bishops voted the deposition of Pope Alexander II, and this time they elected an antipope, Honorius II. At the Council of Augsburg however, in 1062, the German bishops were persuaded to repudiate the antipope and to recognize Alexander.

Peace was again interrupted in 1076 when, at the bidding of Henry, a council of German bishops at Worms pronounced the deposition of Gregory VII. However, the lay nobles—natural enemies both of bishops and of emperors—came to the support

¹ The German king did not assume the imperial title until actually crowned at Rome by the pope. "Hence the numbers attached to the names of the Emperors are often different in German and Italian writers, the latter reckoning neither Henry the Fowler nor Conrad I. So Henry III (of Germany) calls himself 'Imperator Henricus Secundus'; and all distinguish the years of their *regnum* from those of their *imperium*. Cardinal Baronius insists on calling Henry V Henry III, not recognizing Henry IV's coronation, because it was performed by an antipope." Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 195, n.

² Conrad the Franconian was the first to reduce feudal customs to written laws.

of the pope; and in 1077 Henry, at that time suffering reverses in his war with the Saxons, "went to Canossa" and made his submission to Gregory. Later, resuming his hostility, he induced the German bishops at Mainz in 1084 again to vote the deposition of Gregory and to elect an antipope, Clement III. When at length Henry IV abdicated in 1105, the imperial electors, still unfriendly to Rome, excluded his eldest son, Conrad, who had taken the side of the pope, and the crown was bestowed on a younger son, Henry V.

Hungary: Missionaries from Germany, France, and Italy completed the conversion of Hungary under St. Stephen, duke in 997 and king in 1001; and the country was placed under the protection of the Holy See. Although the Church suffered several setbacks from pagan uprisings in the latter part of the century, Hungary supported the reform, enforced clerical celibacy, and enacted laws favorable to religion.

The Church was organized into ten dioceses under the archbishopric of Gran. **King Stephen** founded five Benedictine monasteries and many other religious houses, including a convent for Greek nuns. He ordered a church to be built in each tenth township and suitable income to be provided for parish priests. He himself equipped the churches with the necessary liturgical fittings. The laws of Hungary prescribed attendance at Mass and observance of the canon law.

The country, however, was but partly converted, and the people were restless. Pagan insurrections took place during the reign of **Stephen**, of **Peter**, and of **Bela**; and under **Solomon** abuses spread and Church discipline deteriorated. Things changed for the better when **Geza I** strengthened the political independence of Hungary by siding with Pope Gregory VII and making the kingdom a fief of the Holy See.

St. Ladislaus (1077-1095) enforced law and order sternly, united the Magyars and Croats, and bestowed civil and religious liberty on Jews and Moslems. In 1092 the Synod of Szabolcs insisted on the observance of the precepts of the Church and legislated in favor of celibacy. Priests already married were permitted to remain in office; but new marriages were strictly forbidden under pain of invalidity. Ladislaus founded churches and monasteries, restricted the still prevalent pagan customs, and also attempted to convert the Moslem inhabitants.

Kolman, who interfered in Church affairs and subjected the bishops to military service, eventually relinquished his claim to the right of investiture.

Poland: Boleslaus Chrobry (d. 1025) developed the kingdom until it extended from the Baltic to the Carpathians and from the River Oder to the trans-Vistula region.

Boleslaus won imperial recognition of Poland's independence and also secured ecclesiastical independence from Germany by setting up a metropolitan see at Gnesen (Gniezno), with suffragan sees at Cracow, Breslau, Kolberg. The rash attack of Mieszko II (1025-1034) on Emperor Conrad II led to temporary chaos; but Casimir I (1034-1058), recognizing the emperor as suzerain, got help against the Czechs, won back Silesia, and crushed an uprising in Masovia—provoked partly by the cruel discipline of German missionaries.³ Boleslaus II (1058-1081), who restored Polish independence, sided with Gregory VII against Emperor Henry IV—although some of the clergy resisted the law of celibacy. His reign ended in disaster, however. When excommunicated by St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, for his unjust and immoral conduct, Boleslaus had the bishop slain as a traitor; a popular revolt forced him to flee into Hungary; and his successor abandoned the royal title.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Italy

France: The association between Church and State in France remained intimate as before; and the French kings were crowned by the archbishop of Rheims. Nevertheless, frequent disputes took place, sometimes over property rights, sometimes over moral issues.

Henry I (1031-1060), in sore need of money while battling against his own nobles, carrying on war with the empire, and intervening in Spain to help the Christians against the Moors, did not hesitate to appropriate the goods of the Church. His more unscrupulous successor, Philip I (1060-1108), oppressed the poor, sold Church benefices, resisted the Gregorian reform, and contracted an adulterous union with Bertrada, Countess of Anjou—an offense for which he was excommunicated by the pope.

The Normans, who played an important part in the history

³ According to Edmund Kołodziejczyk, persons who violated the precept of fasting were sometimes punished by having their teeth knocked out. See "Poland," *Cath. Encyc.*, XII, 182.

of this period, raided their neighbors in France, invaded England, entered into the service of the pope in Italy.

Spain: At the beginning of the century the Caliphate of Córdoba included the greater part of the Spanish peninsula; and the Christians were still confined to Leon, Navarre, Aragon, Castile, and Barcelona (Catalonia). When Leon and Castile united for a time under one crown, they gained ground at the expense of the Moors; and appeals broadcast throughout Christendom by the Holy See brought thousands of recruits from other countries. At Barbastro in 1065 the Christians inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the Moslems and in 1085 Toledo was retaken. Had it not been for their own domestic feuds, the Christians might have swept the Moors from the peninsula at this time.⁴ Even as it was, they were able to drive them into the south. A new era began in 1078 when a national council held at Burgos abandoned the old Gothic, or Mozarabic, rite in favor of the Roman liturgy.

Sancho III of Navarre, who conquered Castile, at his death in 1035 divided his possessions among his children; and his son Ferdinand, in turn, having formed the three provinces of Huesca, Teruel, and Saragossa into the kingdom of Aragon, gave this kingdom to his son Alfonso, meanwhile leaving to his other son, Sancho, the kingdom of Castile. Helped by the Cid,⁵ young Sancho seized Aragon from his brother and attacked the Moors with all the forces at his command. Sancho's brother, who succeeded him as Alfonso VI, pressed the Moors still further back, taking Toledo in 1085 and Tarragona in 1089. Made desperate by a series of defeats, the Moors summoned to their aid the Almoravides of Africa; and this Berber tribe crossed into Spain in 1085, defeated the Christians at Zalacca, took

⁴ The shrine of St. James of Compostela which attracted many pilgrims also played an important part in the Reconquest. One of the recruits from France, the Duke of Burgundy, having secured possession of considerable territory on the western coast, founded the future monarchy of Portugal.

⁵ This half legendary warrior—called "Cid" by the Moors and "Campeador" by the Christians—who became a national hero in later times, has been represented by some as a free lance mercenary, by others as a knight errant defending the poor and the oppressed, and by still others as a fabulous personage who never existed. Historical data however are not undiscoverable. "Apart from the annals of Arab origin and Latin chronicles close enough in time to the facts, we also possess authentic documents bearing the Cid's signature, which in the first place assure us of his existence, and in the next place give us information as substantial as it is suggestive about his life, and even about his character. The traces which he has left behind him are numerous enough to enable us to reconstruct from them a type of medieval man magnificent in his originality." Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

possession of the Moslem states, one by one, and followed so intolerant a policy that the Moorish culture almost disappeared.



Italy in the Late Eleventh Century

Italy: Constant warfare spread ruin and misery everywhere. After the death of Otto III in 1002, John Crescentius, whose father had been hanged by Otto, was elected "Patrician" of Rome; he ruled for ten years. Robert Guiscard (1015-1085) and his brothers, in alliance with the Lombards, took Bari and drove the Greeks out of southern Italy; in 1059 Nicholas II made him duke of Apulia and Calabria and lord of Sicily. Having invaded papal territory, Robert was excommunicated by Gregory VII; but in 1083 he rescued the pope from Henry IV who was besieging Castle Sant' Angelo. Another ally of Gregory

VII was Matilda, Countess of Tuscany (1046–1114),⁶ who had been exiled by Henry IV because of a family feud. It was at Matilda's castle at Canossa that Henry implored the pope's forgiveness in 1077.

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: Canute—savage and tyrannical at first, but an upholder of law and order after his coronation in 1017—ended the general confusion that prevailed during the civil wars and the Danish invasion. St. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066), founder of Westminster Abbey, was summoned from exile in Normandy to rule England; but he remained too Norman in his sympathies to make headway against Earl Godwin. The earl's son Harold and other native nobles forced Archbishop Robert of Canterbury out of his see and set the notoriously unworthy Stigand in his place. Simony, clerical marriage, lay interference—the common evils of the age—were rife. St. Edward before his death had a vision, or dream, in which two monks appeared and said, "The corruption and wickedness of the English nation has provoked the just anger of God."

When William the Conqueror invaded England in 1066, he came with the pope's blessing and for the avowed purpose of establishing a religious reform. After his coronation by the papal legates, a council held at Winchester degraded Stigand who had already been excommunicated by several popes. In coöperation with Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, William reorganized affairs of the Church, placing many of his own countrymen in ecclesiastical office, and as a rule choosing good men. He interfered in Church matters more than was legitimate, for example, in the deposition of some of the Anglo-Saxon bishops; he refused to recognize the feudal suzerainty of Gregory VII; and he introduced the beginning of that legislation which (enacted from time to time during the next three hundred years)

⁶ After the death of her first husband she married Guelph of Bavaria in 1089, but separated from him in 1096; he then abandoned the papal cause and joined the imperial forces, and Matilda bequeathed her estates to the Church—a legacy that entailed trouble for many popes.

lessened the papal power in England more and more completely until, even with regard to spiritual affairs, the Holy See was rendered legally helpless.⁷ On the other hand, William introduced the separation of civil and ecclesiastical courts, thus harmonizing English usage with the general discipline of Christendom; he supported the papal program of reform; he made no difficulty about the payment of Peter's Pence to the Holy See; and on the whole, the Norman regime seemed to fit into the general rehabilitation undertaken by Pope Gregory VII. In any event, the pope, hard pressed by Emperor Henry IV and in no position to withstand pressure from William the Conqueror or from Lanfranc (both of whom hinted at the possibility of going over to the side of the antipope Clement), prudently avoided a crisis.⁸

William Rufus (1087-1100), especially after the death of Lanfranc in 1089, followed a masterful policy, allowing bishoprics and abbeys to remain vacant (so that he could collect the revenues) and in some cases selling benefices outright; and he even forbade the bishops to communicate with the Holy See without his express permission. He came into conflict with Lanfranc's successor, St. Anselm,⁹ over many issues: Anselm's refusal to allow the alienation of Church lands; his offering of a money gift which the king regarded as insufficient; his declaration in favor of Pope Urban against the antipope, Clement, without

⁷ "He made it understood that he would not allow any pope to be recognized in England without his consent; no papal bulls or letters were to enter the country without the royal permission; no council was to enact a canon or forbid anything, or no bishop or ecclesiastic was to excommunicate any of his barons without having first ascertained the Conqueror's pleasure in the matter." John Tracy Ellis, *Anti-Papal Legislation in Medieval England* (1066-1377), p. 9.

Edward the Confessor had promulgated as the common law of the kingdom a digest of three legal systems, the ancient British, the West Saxon, and the Danish; and this common law held its own to a considerable extent, even after the coming of the Normans who brought with them clerics trained in the Roman tradition. The Norman legal system included ecclesiastical courts presided over by the hierarchy, allowed the canonical claim of clerics to immunity from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, and recognized the right of appeal to the Holy See.

⁸ "It is not without interest to speculate what would have happened if St. Gregory VII had challenged the Conqueror on the point of investitures. He did not do so. He even made a special temporary exception, giving privilege to the Conqueror to appoint the higher clergy. He let the thing bide its time. But his successor pressed it upon the Conqueror's son." Hilaire Belloc, *A History of England*, II, 89. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1927.

⁹ Anselm was born in Burgundy, of a Lombard father and a Burgundian mother.

waiting for the royal leave; his unwillingness to accept the pallium from the king's hand. Finding himself unsupported by the bishops at Rockingham (1094), Anselm carried a protest in person to the pope, who sent William a letter of remonstrance, and, but for the pleading of Anselm, would have excommunicated him. On the death of William, Anselm returned to England in 1100; then, when the new king, Henry I, asserted a claim to the right of investiture, Anselm again went to Rome to lay the case before the pope.

Ireland: After the Danish power was broken by Brian Boru at the Battle of Clontarf (1014), comparative peace prevailed; and, although Danish Dublin remained independent for more than a century longer, the Irish were absorbing the invaders, intermarrying with them, and learning their improved methods in ship building, trade, urban organization—holding fast meanwhile to their own religious traditions and “not giving way an inch to the strangers.” Soon Ireland entered upon a national revival. Poets sang of ancient heroes; annalists composed chronicles; numerous churches were built; the schools regained prestige. The primates of Armagh undertook to reorganize the Church by making visitations of the whole country; but the badly needed reform was retarded by the power of the comparatively independent Columban monasteries, by the close relationship between Dublin and England, by the claim of the archbishops of Canterbury to primacy over all Ireland.

Scotland: Scotland, which lacked a hierarchy of its own at this time, suffered from the prevalent custom of clerical marriage and from lay control of abbeys and monasteries. It suffered too from the Scottish-English feud. In 1040 King Duncan, son of the lay abbot of Dunkeld, was killed by Macbeth, leader of the Gaelic nationalists; and Macbeth remained in control until slain by Malcolm III in 1057. This event brought back English influence, for Malcolm III (1057–1093) married Margaret, the sister of Edgar, Saxon claimant to the throne of England, who had taken refuge in Scotland after the Battle of Hastings. Queen Margaret rebuilt the monastery of Iona, established churches in many parts of the kingdom, imported priests, and promoted re-

form; and at her death in 1093 the Church was in a flourishing condition.¹⁰

c. Scandinavia

Christianity made considerable headway in the northern countries.

Denmark: Canute IV (d. 1086), a son of Sweyn and grand-nephew of Canute of England, was a vigorous champion of the Church. His introduction of bishops who had been consecrated in Canterbury offended the archbishop of Hamburg; but this difficulty was soon smoothed out. Lund (near Copenhagen) became a see in 1048 and quickly developed into the ecclesiastical metropolis of Scandinavia. Canute was murdered in 1086 by a party of rebels; and later one of his successors, Eric III, obtained from the Holy See the canonization of Canute—an event solemnly celebrated by the bishops of Denmark in the year 1100.

Norway: Olaf Tryggvason tried to convert all the Norwegians; but his death in the year 1000 was followed by many defections. St. Olaf Haraldsson (1015–1030), in an effort to suppress paganism, brought in priests and bishops from England, and had a see established at Nidaros (Trondheim). Driven out of his kingdom by the Danes and slain in battle, he became a national hero. A few years later Norway officially professed Christianity; yet the ecclesiastical organization remained defective until the parochial system was introduced and the hierarchy properly organized in the latter part of the century.

Sweden: Near the Baltic pagans and far from Christian centers, Sweden was slow to accept the faith. Finally King Olaf was baptized in 1008; and the country was evangelized by English missionaries, some of whom entered via Norway. Paganism then took refuge in the inaccessible mountain districts, where a number of Christian missionaries suffered martyrdom. The archbishop of Hamburg consecrated several bishops for Sweden about the middle of the century.

¹⁰ Queen Margaret was canonized in 1250. The Bodleian Library preserves her bejeweled Gospel book. The strongly English policy of Margaret and the claim of the English archbishop of York to jurisdiction over the Scottish Church stirred up Scottish pride of race and occasioned later disturbances.

3. THE EAST

The Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Russia

The Byzantine Empire: Under Basil II (963–1025) the Eastern Empire flourished, growing larger than it had been at any time since the reign of Justinian I. The Greek armies were victorious over Moslems, Bulgarians, and Slavs. Then Michael IV (1034–1041) allowed the great land-owners to regain control; disaster followed disaster; the imperial power declined.

On the death of Michael IV, Zoë raised her nephew, Michael V, to the throne; later she deposed and blinded him, and invited Constantine IX to become emperor. During Constantine's unfortunate reign took place the religious break between Eastern and Western Christendom (1054), when the Greek Church proclaimed itself independent of the pope.

In 1071 the Turkish victory at Manzikert forecast the approaching destruction of the Byzantine Empire—a calamity postponed by the intervention of the Latin crusaders.

Bulgaria: Bulgaria lost its independence to Basil II, "the Bulgar-killer," in 1018. The patriarch of the Bulgarian Church was reduced to the rank of archbishop; and after the year 1025 the office was held by Greeks. In 1054, Leo, head of the Bulgarian Church, associated himself with Michael Caerularius in the rupture of communion with Rome.

Russia: Vladimir's death in 1015 was followed by civil war. Yaroslav, one of his sons, obtained control of all Russia and made his capital, Kiev, the intellectual and religious center of the country. Here were located the first Christian bishop, the first Christian church, the first Christian school, the first library; and in 1051 Kiev became a metropolitan see with seven suffragan bishops.

Yaroslav defeated the Lithuanians and the Finns, and effected alliances with Poland, Hungary, Norway, and France; but in the latter part of the century political disunion and civil wars broke Russia up into numerous weak principalities.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

The two popes who followed Sylvester II were selected by the Crescentian family. Then, after a short interval, the House of Tusculum took control and chose as popes Count Alberic's two brothers and his son—Benedict VIII, John XIX, and Benedict IX—all of whom were laymen at the time of their election. This subjection of the papacy to the dominant Roman factions involved numerous grave scandals and occasioned an appeal to the emperor for intervention.¹¹

Untroubled by his lack of canonical authority, Henry III came over the Alps to depose undesirable pontiffs and nominate worthy men. The reform thus begun was extended to all Western Christendom during the pontificates of the able Leo IX, Nicholas II, and Alexander II, the even more uncompromising Gregory VII, and the originator of the First Crusade, Urban II. Papal legates covered Europe convoking councils, deposing clerical sinners, enforcing the canon law—despite the opposition of Roman factions, German bishops, and headstrong emperors who set up antipopes one after another. Fortunately the cause of reform was aided by the military strength of the Normans; and the policy of Gregory VII triumphed. Never again would secular princes exercise unchallenged control over the papacy.

Sylvester II (999–1003)—See Chapter X.

John XVII (XVIII) (1003), made pope by the Crescentians, had been married before being ordained; and three of his sons became ecclesiastics.

John XVIII (XIX) (1003–1009), also a "Crescentian," remains almost unknown, except for a few details of his administration.

Sergius IV (1009–1012), a Roman by birth, son of a shoemaker, and bishop of Albano, was supported by the Tusculan faction which opposed the Crescentians. Little is known of his pontificate except that he exempted a number of monasteries from the jurisdiction of the bishops and also befriended the poor.

Benedict VIII (1012–1024)—also a Tusculan—kept on good terms with

¹¹ The sources leave us uncertain on many points of papal history about this time.

Henry II whom he crowned emperor in 1014; and from Henry he received confirmation of the Donation made by Charlemagne and Otto.¹² A friend of St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny, he proved to be a powerful champion of reform; and the synod which he held at Pavia in 1022 took steps to suppress simony and clerical marriage. Benedict also exerted his influence in behalf of the Truce of God. By forming an alliance with the Normans in southern Italy he was able to defeat the Saracens.

John XIX (XX) (1024-1032), brother of his predecessor and a prudent ruler, crowned the first Franconian, Conrad II. To please the emperor he placed the patriarchate of Grado under the German patriarch of Aquileia¹³ and he conceded the title of "Apostle" to St. Martial at the request of a French abbot.¹⁴ The emperor, Basil II, and the patriarch of Constantinople asked John to approve the claim of Constantinople to be "universal" in the East as Rome was in the whole world; and a Greek embassy, sent to Rome to press the matter, distributed rich gifts as bribes; but the bishops and the abbots of France protested vigorously and the request was refused. John was probably the first pope to attach an indulgence to the giving of alms.

Benedict IX (1032-1045 and 1047-1048)—also a choice of the Tusculans and probably the youngest pope ever elected¹⁵—after having been driven out of Rome because of his wicked life was restored by Emperor Conrad II. A rival faction, possibly the Crescentians, then set up an antipope, Sylvester III; but Benedict expelled him, and later, for a large sum of money, resigned the papacy to the archpriest, John Gratian, who became Gregory VI in 1045. Benedict regretted his abdication and tried to depose Gregory; and when Gregory's successor, Clement II, died, Benedict seized Rome again but was again driven out. Benedict's end is uncertain; possibly he died penitent at the abbey of Grottaferrata.

Sylvester III (1045)—antipope.

Gregory VI (1045-1046), a man of good repute, is said to have bought the papacy from Benedict IX in the hope of ridding Rome of that wicked pontiff. He was a friend of St Peter Damian and he chose as his secretary the monk, Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII, thus giving promise of a vigorous reform. Unable to overcome the antipope, Sylvester, and the ex-pope, Benedict, he sought the aid of Henry III who came to Italy and summoned a council at Sutri (1046). Benedict had already resigned, Syl-

¹² A candidate of the Crescentians named Gregory was set up as antipope; but he met with small encouragement from the emperor to whom he appealed and he soon disappeared from view.

¹³ Grado later regained its old position.

¹⁴ According to a French tradition, St. Martial was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord—a belief that lacks historical basis.

¹⁵ There is much uncertainty with regard to Benedict's history. Was he 12 years of age or between 20 and 30 when elected? Did he plan to abdicate and marry his cousin? Did he repent before death?

vester was deposed, Gregory decreed his own deposition; and the emperor selected Sudiger, Bishop of Bamberg, to be pope.¹⁶

Clement II (1046-1047) accepted the papacy reluctantly; and his efforts to enforce reform were soon interrupted by death. He was buried at Bamberg—the only pope whose remains lie in Germany.

Damasus II (1048). After Clement's death Benedict IX again claimed the papacy; but Henry III appointed Bishop Poppo of Brixen. He took the name of Damasus and died after twenty-three days.

St. Leo IX (1049-1054), who had been Bishop Bruno of Toul, was of mixed Alsacian and Burgundian blood, a relative of the emperor, an ex-soldier, a scholar, and a saint. He put into operation a policy of reform which ultimately revolutionized the Christian world.¹⁷ During a visitation of Italy, Germany, and France he personally presided over local councils at Rheims, Mainz, and elsewhere, investigating, deposing, legislating, punishing—paying particular attention to the obligation of celibacy and to the crime of simony. As he found the papal treasury almost empty (a result of confiscations by kings and nobles), he imposed new taxes in order to carry on the work of reform and to restore the dilapidated city of Rome. The money thus obtained was on the whole well spent; but the process of collecting it aroused considerable opposition.

As the Normans had been cruelly abusing the people of Apulia, Leo in 1053 gave battle to them at Civitella, with the curious result that the Normans, after defeating and capturing the pope, professed themselves his subjects and allies, thus beginning a relationship which vitally affected the history of the Church during later pontificates.

Victor II (1055-1057), fourth of the German popes, was the last pope selected by an emperor. He accepted the papacy under protest, and only on condition that Henry III should return to the Holy See its lawful possessions. In his fight against clerical marriage and simony he was aided effectively by the forceful Hildebrand.

Stephen IX (X) (1057-1058), son of the duke of Lotharingia, was elected by the Roman clergy. He had served as chancellor under Leo IX and had visited Constantinople in 1054 during the futile negotiations which ended in the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. Like his predecessor, he continued the work of ecclesiastical reform.

Benedict X (1058-1059), an antipope elected by the Tusculan faction on the death of Stephen, was expelled by the friends of Hildebrand.

Nicholas II (1059-1061), an Italian by birth, followed the reforming policy of Leo IX and bestowed important offices on Hildebrand, Peter

¹⁶ There is uncertainty about Gregory VI also. Was he canonically elected? Did he abdicate willingly?

¹⁷ His choice of Hildebrand as one of his assistants began the official career which led to Hildebrand's election to the papacy in 1073.

Damian and Bishop Anselm of Lucca. A short time after his enthronement he convoked the Lateran Council which laid down a new procedure for papal elections. In the same year he took the momentous step of recognizing the Norman leader, Robert Guiscard, as duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.¹⁸ In return, Guiscard took an oath of fealty to the Holy See; and with Norman help the pope was able to rout the turbulent nobles who so long held sway in Rome and its neighborhood. Reversing a previous decision of St. Leo IX, Nicholas legalized the marriage of William the Conqueror and Matilda of Flanders.¹⁹ The prestige of the papacy was growing; within a few years Alexander II would bestow England on William the Conqueror and Gregory VII would overcome the Emperor Henry IV.

Honorius II (1061-1064)—antipope.

Alexander II (1061-1073), Bishop of Lucca, zealous reformer, was elected through the influence of Hildebrand at a moment critical for the papacy and, indeed, for Christendom. The anti-reform party was supported by Roman nobles anxious to regain control of papal elections; by powerful personages in Germany, including the imperial chancellor, Guibert (Wibert)²⁰ and the Empress Agnes, regent for her son, the boy king, Henry IV; by bishops and priests in Lombardy and other countries, impatient of canon law and Church discipline.²¹ Within a month of the election of Alexander the opposition set up an antipope, Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, who took the name of Honorius II. Armed clashes occurred; and Alexander, although defended by Hildebrand and Peter Damian, would have been in a desperate situation but for the support of the Normans and of Duke Godfrey of Tuscany. Then in 1062 Archbishop Anno of Cologne, having replaced Agnes as regent, threw his influence on the side of Alexander; and the schism was definitely settled at the Council of Mantua in 1064. Alexander promptly dispatched legates to Italy, Germany, France, and Spain to investigate conditions and to enforce the canon law.²²

During most of his reign Alexander was on friendly terms with the Normans; and before his death he saw them drive the last Greek forces from southern Italy and expel the Saracens from Sicily, thus bringing this region again under the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. It is of interest to note

¹⁸ This setting aside of the older German claims provoked considerable resentment on the other side of the Alps. In behalf of Nicholas it is to be said that the Normans were already in possession and the pope's recognition of their title brought peace to a great part of Italy.

¹⁹ Leo's disapproval was partly because of their relationship and partly because he feared a Flemish-Norman alliance.

²⁰ Later an antipope.

²¹ The literary champion of the opposition was Benzo, the simoniacal bishop of Alba Pompeia, in northern Italy, who attacked the reformers viciously.

²² One of them, Peter Damian, who went to Germany to pass upon the request of the young king Henry IV (aged 19) for a divorce from his wife Bertha, decided in favor of Bertha.

that Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, an opponent of Alexander II, was the prelate who crowned King Harold of England, and that William of Normandy obtained Alexander's blessing before his invasion of England in 1066.

St. Gregory VII (1073-1085), as a Benedictine monk in a subsidiary monastery of Cluny (St. Mary's on the Aventine) and well matured by his experience as the adviser of five popes, undertook to consolidate the gains already made. The Lenten Synod of 1074—first of a series which possessed unusual importance—renewed old legislation against simony and incontinence; and legates sent abroad to see that the decrees were enforced provoked outbursts from married clergy in Germany, France and elsewhere. The second Lenten Synod of 1075 took tentative measures against the custom of lay investiture—with the result that at Worms in 1076 the Emperor Henry IV forced the bishops to repudiate the authority of the pope. Gregory forthwith excommunicated two German archbishops and the emperor, and then absolved Henry's subjects from their allegiance—the first actual papal deposition of a monarch. Henry made his submission and was absolved in 1077; but as soon as he had regained power he renewed the contest and again incurred excommunication. He then marched into Italy with an army, seized Rome, and set up an antipope, Clement III. Gregory, under the protection of the Normans, retired to Salerno, where he died.

Clement III (1084-1100)—antipope.

Victor III (1087), elected despite his protests, excommunicated the antipope Clement, and followed the policy of Gregory. He is a *beatus*.

Urban II (1088-1099), formerly prior Odo of Cluny, vigorously pressed the work of reform. During his pontificate the Council of Melfi (1089) decreed banishment as a punishment for married clerics. At first Urban owed his safety to the protection of the Normans; but by 1095 he was master of the situation, and at Clermont, in France, he presided over a great council. There, strict decrees of reform were published; the bishop of Cambrai, who had received his office from the emperor, was deposed; King Philip of France, the bigamist, was excommunicated; the Truce of God was made a universal law of Christendom; and a summons was issued for the First Crusade. Urban died less than a month after the crusaders had taken Jerusalem.

Paschal II (1099-1118), despite his own protest, was chosen unanimously by the papal electors.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The chief pronouncements deal with the crime of simony, the Berengarian heresy, the doctrine of papal supremacy.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>St. Leo IX</i> (1049-1054)		
1053	Letter to the bp. of Antioch	On the articles of the Creed.
1053	Letter to Michael Caerularius	On the Roman primacy.
<i>Nicholas II</i> (1059-1061)		
1059 (or 1061)	Council of Rome	On the procedure in papal elections and on simoniacal ordinations.
<i>St. Gregory VII</i> (1073-1085)		
1079	Council of Rome	On the profession of faith concerning the Holy Eucharist imposed on Berengarius.
<i>Urban II</i> (1088-1099)		
1091	Council of Benevento	On holy orders.

Councils: The holding of councils was one of the principal means employed by the popes for the reformation of the Church; and the list of important assemblies convoked in Italy, Germany, and France during the eleventh century is long. A synod of exceptional importance was the Lateran Council of 1059 (or 1061) in which 113 bishops, after publishing decrees against simony and incontinence, laid down the procedure to be followed in future papal elections. The new decree—applying to the Roman See the rules at that time observed in other episcopal elections—placed the voting power mainly in the hands of the Roman cardinals (especially the cardinal bishops), limiting the emperor to some vague right of interference.²⁸

In addition to councils already named, mention should be made of Arras (1025), Charroux (1028), and Rheims (1049), which condemned the Neo-Manichaeans; Sutri (1046), which deposed the antipope Sylvester and accepted the resignation of Benedict IX and Gregory VI; Rome (1049) and Tours (1060), which excommunicated persons attempting bigamy; Quedlinburg (Saxony) in 1085, which first published the formula that

²⁸ This decree, which exists in more than one version, has been the subject of endless disputes. "The result of the controversy on the subject would seem to be that no text which has reached us is altogether free from the hand of the forger." (Mann, *op. cit.*, VI, 236, n. 1.) Presumably the text was altered by partisans of the different interests. Not until the twentieth century, in the pontificate of Pius X, was the intervention of secular powers definitely prohibited.

papal decisions are "irreformable"; Soissons (1092), which forced Roscelin to recant; Clermont (1095), which launched the First Crusade; and Bari (1098), which received St. Anselm's appeal from the tyranny of William Rufus and also heard him brilliantly refute the Greek objections to the doctrine of the "Filioque."

Organization: The momentous event of the century was the religious reform.²⁴ Valuable aid to its progress came from fearless, far-sighted bishops in several different regions, who, realizing that the welfare of the Church depended upon freedom from lay control, boldly declared that in ecclesiastical affairs they would recognize no superior but the pope.²⁵ The movement was promoted by Otto the Great and some of his successors who undertook to improve the quality of bishops and of popes—partly in order to strengthen the foundations of the empire. On the other hand, reform was delayed by the opposition of resourceful antagonists, lay and ecclesiastical; and only in the latter half of the eleventh century, when it came under the leadership of an extraordinary series of pontiffs, was its success assured.

As ideals gradually coalesced into a definite program, it became clear that the three essential objectives of the movement were freedom of papal elections, observance of clerical celibacy, and control of ecclesiastical office. Step by step the reform advanced. Freedom of elections was substantially secured in 1059, when Nicholas II decreed that the cardinal bishops should take charge of the election of popes. Twenty years later Gregory VII made the law of celibacy effective by decreeing the suspension from clerical office of anyone who might violate this obligation.²⁶

²⁴ Some writers have exaggerated the contribution which Cluny made to this movement; but the initial inspiration unquestionably came from the lives and teaching of monks attached to that abbey and to its daughter monasteries.

²⁵ Typical of this group were Rathier of Liège and Atto of Vercelli, who repeatedly denounced violations of clerical discipline and lay interference with ecclesiastical authority, and the scholarly Wazo of Liège, "most independent bishop of the empire."

²⁶ Some local councils had authorized married clerics to retain their wives. The legislation against married priests included the ruling that their offspring were to be classed as serfs, forbidden to take holy orders, and made ineligible to succeed to their fathers' benefices. This was in accord with the Roman law governing the children of a "concubine." Gregory also adopted the drastic policy of suspending bishops who disregarded his decrees and he threatened King Philip of France with excommunication "for brigandage and simony."

The remaining evil was political control of ecclesiastical appointments; and therefore lay investiture became the chief issue in the conflict between pope and emperor. The opposition, which included powerful prelates and their noble or royal allies, fought hard; but they were defeated. And although Gregory did not live to see the scattering of his enemies, his policies determined the discipline of the Church during subsequent centuries.²⁷

The Holy See also undertook to correct certain abuses arising from the fact that patriarchs, and in some places bishops, were accustomed within their own jurisdiction to authorize the veneration of martyrs and confessors. In view of the fact that popular enthusiasm and official carelessness sometimes caused public religious honor to be paid to individuals notoriously unworthy, Rome finally decreed that every "canonization" should be preceded by a methodical investigation of the candidate's life.

As already noted in the tenth century, the Church had established the "Peace of God" as a device for the preservation of public peace and the limiting of violence during the constant feuds and private wars. Gradually, protection was extended to the poor, to pilgrims, to crusaders, to travelers, and to all non-combatants; and many nobles took an oath to enforce these regulations.

Early in the eleventh century the "Peace of God" developed into the "Truce of God." The Council of Elne (1027) prohibited armed hostilities from Saturday night to Monday morning. Towards the middle of the century the Truce was lengthened to last from Wednesday night to Monday morning. The Synod of Clermont decreed that the Truce should be observed from Advent to the octave of the Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the octave of Pentecost—a rule which soon became general throughout Christendom under penalty of excommunication.

Marriage: In the East Emperor Nicephorus III endorsed the

²⁷ The increasing influence of monasticism in the government of the Church is indicated by the number of monks who became popes and bishops. "For fifty consecutive years, save for a brief interval, the papal throne had been occupied by monks (1073-87; 1088-1119), of whom Urban II had been prior of Cluny, and an increasing number of Cluniacs had been drafted into important posts as cardinals, legates and bishops. In the first half of the twelfth century the practice became still more common." David Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

lax legislation of Emperor Leo IV; and Patriarch Alexius (who has the doubtful honor of being the first bishop to sanction divorce in a synodical decree), ruled that "If women, divorced from husbands whose conduct gave cause for divorce, desire to form new marriages, no blame attaches either to them or to the officiating priest; and similarly as regards men."

Worship: About the year 1014 the Nicene Creed, already incorporated in the Mass in Spain, Gaul, and Germany, was, at the urging of Emperor Henry II, officially added to the Roman rite by Pope Benedict VIII. Another liturgical usage adopted by Rome about this time was the Gallican custom of swinging incense before persons and images.

The commemoration of the dead on All Souls Day, established at Cluny and in its dependent monasteries by St. Odilo about the year 1030, soon became general throughout the whole Church. In 1078 Spain gave up the Mozarabic for the Roman rite.

Art: New life stirred in the field of religious art; and here indirectly Cluny exercised wide influence. Ecclesiastical architecture reached a high level in Italy, Spain, Germany, Burgundy, Normandy, England; bell towers and cloisters multiplied; Venice began the period of the great mosaics; bronze work and enamel work developed in Germany—notably at Hildesheim and Cologne. Stained glass of this period exists at Augsburg, Hildesheim, and Tegernsee. Workmen from Normandy built strikingly beautiful churches in England, exemplified by Durham Cathedral and (with modifications) by Winchester, Hereford, Ely, Gloucester. In the East Byzantine art continued its luxuriant growth.

Communities: Many monks became priests in order to serve districts neglected by the local clergy. When their exceptional zeal provoked resentment and opposition from worldly prelates, the monks sometimes appealed to the Holy See for immunity from episcopal jurisdiction.

The congregation of Cluny had grown so rapidly that, by the middle of the century, the abbot had jurisdiction over more than ten thousand monks, distributed through some three hundred houses in various countries. Next to Rome, Cluny was regarded

as the ecclesiastical capital of Europe; and the head of the congregation ranked as a sovereign, with complete control of an immense domain and with the right to mint money and to make war.

The monasteries in Normandy drew their inspiration from Cluny; but they were, by contrast, more feudal in organization and more closely identified with the new intellectual movement. This was especially true of **Bec** founded in 1034, which under Lanfranc became "the most famous school in Christendom."

In England William the Conqueror reorganized the Church on the Norman model and replaced English bishops and abbots with Normans; three abbots of Bec (**Lanfranc**, **Anselm**, and **Theobald**) were archbishops of Canterbury. English monasticism expanded rapidly, acquiring numerous Norman recruits and taking on Norman characteristics; and the Cluniac foundations in England became comparatively independent of the mother abbey.²⁸

At Molesme in Burgundy—which had accepted the Cluniac reform—the Abbot **Robert** found that many monks were unwilling to observe the discipline imposed by the rule. He therefore, in 1098, established a new monastery of strict observance near Dijon (at a place called Cîteaux, from the rushes, or "cistels," which grew there). Recalled to Molesme in 1099 by order of Pope Urban II, Robert was succeeded by Alberic under whom Cîteaux developed into a monastery celebrated for its austerity. The **Cistercians** were distinguished from all other Benedictine monks both by the new color of the habit (white with a black scapular) and by the admission of lay brothers.

Among the orders modifying the Benedictine Rule were the **Camaldolese Hermits** of Tuscany established in 1012 by **St. Romuald**, and the **Congregation of Vallombrosa** founded by **St. John Gualbert** in 1038—the earliest community to admit lay brothers who did the heavier work, leaving the choir religious more free for their liturgical duties.

Still more distinct from the Benedictines were the **Carthusians**, founded by **St. Bruno**, head of the cathedral school of Rheims for nearly twenty years, who withdrew to the solitary valley of La Chartreuse near Grenoble in 1084 and gathered around him a number of hermits, the nucleus of the future community. Living under a severe rule which prescribed total abstinence from meat, perpetual silence, and other mortifications, they devoted themselves to study and to the cultivation of the soil; and they played an important part in the spiritual revival of the day.

²⁸ Close study of the situation "leads to a very considerable modification of the general statements still frequently made or repeated as to the supreme and plenary jurisdiction exercised over all dependencies by the abbot of Cluny." Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Under the name "Canons Regular of St. Augustine," a number of religious clerics organized a community with a rule based on the instructions given by St. Augustine to the clerics of his household. Other societies in Italy and elsewhere later adopted the Augustinian Rule.

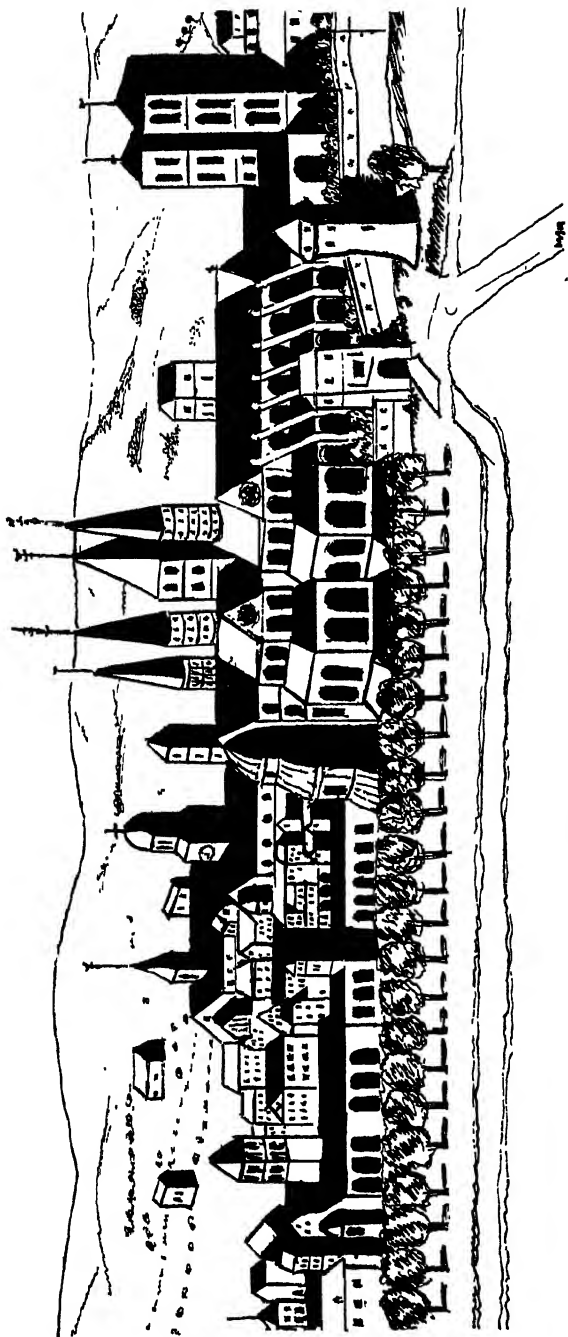
Saints: As already stated, seven saints occupied royal thrones during this century; and two saints were popes. Another saint who deserves mention is Bernward (d. 1022), a Saxon noble, tutor of Otto III, who became bishop of Hildesheim in 992 and took part in the political and artistic life of the period.²⁹ Two others were Poppo (d. 1048), a Belgian monk, vigorous promoter of reform, influential with two emperors (Henry II and Conrad III); and Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, killed by King Boleslaus II in 1079 for having denounced that monarch's immoral life.

Two saints closely identified with the Gregorian reform were Peter Damian and Hugh the Great. St. Peter Damian (1007-1072), prior of the hermitage of Fonte-Avellana from 1043 until his death, favored austerity in himself and others; and in 1051 he dedicated to the pope a noted book (*Liber Gomorrhianus*) on the vices of monks and clerics. Pope Stephen IX (X) in 1057 forced Damian to become a cardinal under threat of excommunication; Nicholas II sent him to Milan to suppress the prevalent simony and misconduct; Alexander II and Gregory VII felt it necessary to rebuke him for having appealed to the civil power to put down clerical disorder.³⁰

St. Hugh the Great (1024-1109) of noble Burgundian family, a novice at Cluny at the age of fourteen, a priest at twenty, and abbot of the monastery at twenty-five, for more than half a century coöperated wholeheartedly with the reforming popes. His wide influence in the numerous monasteries affiliated with Cluny made him for years the papacy's most efficient ally in western Europe.

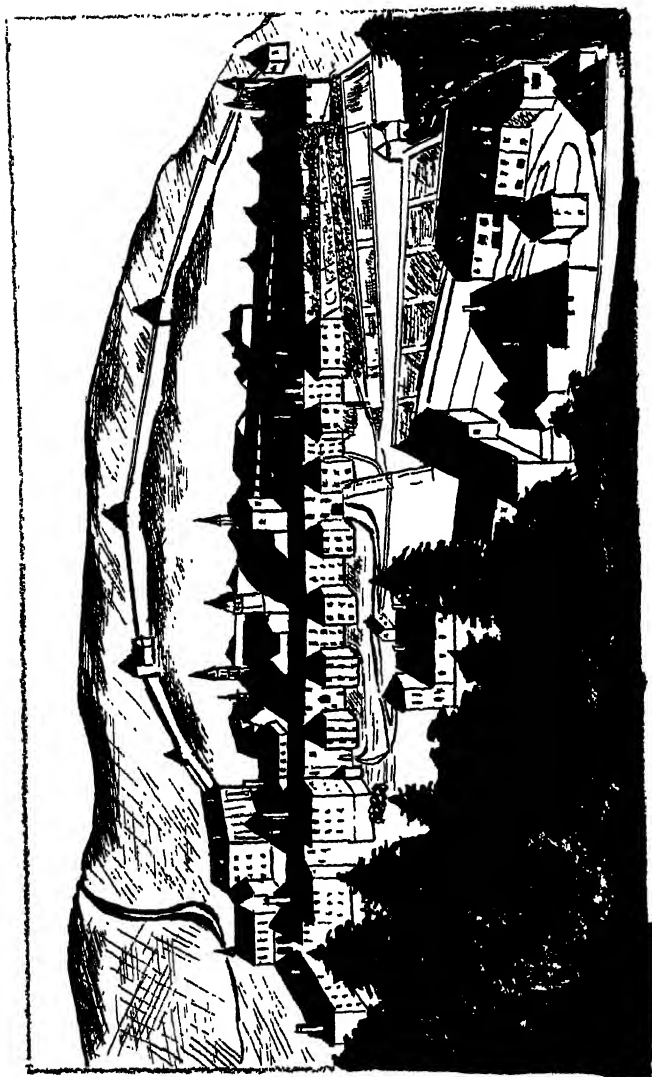
²⁹ The Bernward Cross, still preserved in Hildesheim, is attributed to him; and he promoted the building of numerous churches, including the great basilica of St. Michael's Abbey, now a Protestant church.

³⁰ Peter Damian introduced the regular use of the discipline (a small whip of cords for self-inflicted mortification) in his own community, and persuaded the abbot of Monte Cassino to adopt the same usage; nevertheless, he restrained his hermits from excessive austerity. Venerated as a saint from the time of his death, he was named Doctor of the Church in 1823. In art, he is represented as a cardinal holding a discipline; or as a pilgrim carrying a papal bull, symbol of the embassies on which he was sent.



ABBEY OF CLUNY (10th century)

Center of the great reform; head of some 300 monasteries in the 12th century and of some 800 in the 15th



"LA GRANDE CHARTREUSE" (11th to 17th century)

Founded by St. Bruno at Chartreuse, near Grenoble

Education: With the increase of population, towns multiplied, commerce prospered, and numerous schools sprang up in France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and England. Chartres, under Fulbert (d. 1029), a pupil of Gerbert, and Notre Dame of Paris, under Anselm of Laon and others, attracted scholars from all over northern Europe. Other institutions at Paris were the School of St. Victor and the School of St. Genevieve. Italy had Bologna, a celebrated school of law, and Salerno, the chief European home of medical science.⁸¹ By the year 1100, largely because of help given by the popes, Europe was witnessing the first phase of an intellectual renaissance which would reach its full development more than a hundred years later.

One outstanding achievement of the eleventh-century schools was the devising of a new philosophical approach to the Christian mysteries. The Fathers, especially St. Augustine, had laid emphasis on faith rather than reason and had rated spiritual intuition above formal logic. Now, however, the philosophers of the schools developed a system of "Christian Rationalism"; and Aristotle began to displace Plato as "the master of those who know." Before long the new enthusiasm for dialectics led to certain excesses; and these provoked a reaction in favor of mysticism. Logicians having gone too far in one direction, some devout persons went too far in the other; St. Peter Damian even condemned the application of logic to religious questions.

Writers: The attempt to provide a rational explanation of the foundations of faith brought a number of teachers into prominence. Conspicuous among the sound authors were two archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm. Among those classified as reckless or heterodox, Berengarius and Roscelin were notable.

Lanfranc (c. 1005-1089), born at Pavia and distinguished as a teacher in Normandy, successfully defended the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist against Berengarius in 1055. He is credited with having helped William the Conqueror to secure papal approval for the invasion of England; and in 1070 the Conqueror nominated him to the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc

⁸¹ Much of the medical science of the day was a Greek inheritance transmitted through the Moslems to medieval Europe.

asserted the rights of the Church against the encroachments of the king, and he was able to check at least in some measure the despotic William Rufus. While archbishop, he continued to write; and many of his treatises are still preserved.

St. Anselm (1033-1109), a native of Lombardy, who studied under Lanfranc at the abbey of Bec, succeeded his master in the office of prior in 1063 and followed him in the see of Canterbury thirty years later. He was one of the Fathers of Scholastic Theology and the chief opponent of Nominalism. His writings, which have been translated into several languages, are highly regarded in the field of speculative philosophy even today.³²

Among historical writers, this century witnessed attempts to weave the data provided by local annals into a synthetic or universal chronicle—a type of work which grew increasingly popular. The earliest of the extant medieval chronicles was written by **Hermann**,³³ the crippled monk of Reichenau, who carried his narrative down to 1054, the date of his death. But the real father of the new movement was **Marianus Scotus**³⁴ (1028-1082), a monk of Ireland who entered the Irish monastery of St. Martin at Cologne. He collected and intelligently arranged an enormous amount of material in a universal chronicle from the creation down to the year 1082. This *Chronicon* was drawn upon freely by later writers both on the Continent and in the British Isles.

Among numerous other historical writers were **Lambert of Hersfeld**, author of a chronicle to the year 1077, whose fine style covered many errors and perhaps some willful misstatements; **Anselm of Liège** (d. c. 1056) (continuator of Heriger), who ranked high both for literary merit and for accuracy; the abbot **Bartholomew** (d. 1065), probable author of the life of St. Nilus, which possesses particular importance for the information it gives about southern Italy; **Dithmar** (d. 1018) (Thietmar), Bishop of Merseberg, whose *Chronicon* is the principal source book for Saxon history during the reign of Emperor Henry II; **Burchard of Worms** (d. 1025), whose

³² His name is associated with the "Ontological Argument" for the existence of God which has caused so much discussion. From the premise that God is "that than which nothing greater can be conceived," he argued that God must really exist because real existence is greater than existence in the world of thought. This argument, rejected as invalid by St. Thomas and also by Kant, has on the other hand been defended by Descartes and Hegel.

³³ Hermann, who had mastered the current learning of his day, theological and scientific, ranked as one of the most distinguished teachers of his time; and he holds an honorable place in the history of mathematical science.

³⁴ He is not to be confused with another Marianus Scotus—also a native of Ireland, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter's at Ratisbon—who was noted for his excellence in calligraphy, devoted himself to copying and glossing the text of Scripture, died in 1088 and is honored as a saint. St. Peter's became the mother house of numerous foundations in Germany and Austria, to which, by agreement, novices were sent from monastic centers in Ireland.

collection of canons was kept in use for nearly a century; **Berthold of Reichenau** (d. c. 1088), who revised and continued the *Chronicle* of his master and friend, Hermann of Reichenau; **Bruno**, a cleric of Magdeburg, who wrote a history of the Saxon War from 1073 to 1081; and **Adam of Bremen** (d. c. 1076), almost the earliest of north Germany's medieval historians, whose *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* covers the period 788-1072, and is our best source for those years.

The literature connected with the pontificate of Gregory VII is abundant. **Cardinal Humbert**—the prelate who took part in the excommunication of Michael Caerularius in 1054—wrote a book against simony in 1057 which has been called the opening gun of the Gregorian campaign; Gregory himself wrote many admirable letters; and the controversial works of the two opposing sides during the investiture quarrel are too numerous to be even named. Needless to say, these partisan writings have to be read with much caution. Conspicuous on the pope's side was **Bishop Bonizo** of Sutri who suffered considerably for his advocacy of reform, in 1090. **Sigebert**, head of the Benedictine abbey school of Gembloux (sometimes ranked as the best chronicler of the whole Middle Ages, despite serious limitations), wrote in behalf of the emperor against Gregory VII and against Paschal II.

A canonist of importance was the Benedictine cardinal, **Deusdedit** (d. c. 1100)—friend and supporter of Gregory VII—whose collection of canons was based on the earlier work of Burchard. He published also a booklet in defense of the Gregorian program; and some scholars now regard it as practically certain that Deusdedit was the real author of the *Dictatus Papae* generally attributed to Gregory VII.

Ivo, Bishop of Chartres (c. 1040-1116)—who studied first at Paris and then under Lanfranc at Bec—published a collection of canons including the *Decretum* and the *Panormia*, which established him as the leading canonist of his day and exerted considerable influence in the following centuries. In his Preface he gives rules for solving the problems presented by variations in the authorities cited, which resemble the later teachings of Abelard and Gratian. He is regarded as one of the earliest writers to establish a distinction between what is obligatory and what is optional in the teaching of the Fathers and the Doctors of the Church. A moderate during the investiture controversy, Ivo is credited with having contributed to the arrangement finally adopted at Worms in 1122.

Irnerius (c. 1060-1130), about the year 1084 with the encouragement of Matilda of Tuscany, developed at Bologna a school of law which became the center of juristic study for all Europe. Basing his work on the Justinian Code he established the custom of commenting by means of marginal glosses. He wrote a number of works, most of which are not extant. The publishing of a critical edition of his *Summa Codicis* (Berlin, 1894) made

the modern world for the first time aware of his importance in the development of Roman law.

In the East, during this period two writers deserve mention: **Leo the Deacon**, whose incomplete history of the empire is our one contemporary source for part of the tenth century; and **Michael Psellus**, distinguished as philosopher and mathematician, who continued the work of Leo the Deacon from 976 to 1077.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: No quarrel of the time was more momentous than the dispute between papalists and imperialists over the pope's claim of a right to depose monarchs and to release subjects from their civil allegiance. To appreciate the motives behind this claim one must remember that the reform movement, although primarily moral and ecclesiastical, necessarily involved political elements and that, in the existing circumstances, the Church could not well hope to remain free in the spiritual order without a certain degree of civil control.

Extreme positions on opposite sides were taken by Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV. The *Dictatus Papae* of 1075 demanded for the pope a type of supremacy never claimed by Gregory's predecessors, including the right to use imperial insignia, to depose emperors, and to release subjects from their oath of allegiance to unjust rulers.³⁵ On the other hand, the imperialists asserted the right of the emperor to intervene in purely ecclesiastical matters.³⁶ Neither of these extreme views—papal or imperialist—was representative of the common opinion of the time; the average practice conformed more closely to the compromise later formulated in the Concordat of Worms (1122).

Heresies: *The Catharists.* Neo-Manichaean revolutionaries, later called Albigenses, who had entered Europe by way of Bulgaria, became numerous in Languedoc, Provence, and northern Italy. Borrowing from both paganism and Christianity, and manifesting some tendencies similar to the Puritans and the Com-

³⁵ Gregory's share in the composition of the *Dictatus Papae* is an unsettled historical problem; but this series of twenty-seven propositions seems at least to represent his views.

³⁶ "... not merely in the appointment of bishops, but even in the affairs of the papacy, so that the emperor was the ultimate arbiter in the government of the Church, and had the right to control the election of the pope and to depose him if he was unworthy." Christopher Dawson, in *Church and State*, p. 63.

munists of later ages, they propagated their theories by means of wandering craftsmen; and, aided by the lack of learning among the clergy, they succeeded in permeating many of the guilds. They repudiated the sacraments, the use of meat, and marriage; apparently they condoned theft, sexual immorality, and suicide;³⁷ and they came into conflict with the civil authorities over the lawfulness of taxation and other matters. The Catharists were condemned in the eleventh century by at least three French councils (Arras 1025, Charroux 1028, Rheims 1049).

It was in part because of the rapid growth of the Catharists that the suppression of heresy assumed an increasingly savage character at this time. Regarded as a threat to the common good, these heretics were subjected to cruel forms of punishment, sometimes by the civil authorities and sometimes by mobs.³⁸ That the influence of the Church was exercised on the side of justice and mercy may be seen in the laws enacted at the Synod of Rheims under Leo IX in 1049.

Other Disputes: *Nominalism*. A long-drawn-out discussion on the nature of universal ideas developed from the old problem raised by Porphyry eight centuries earlier: Do genera and species exist in nature, or are they mere products of the intellect? To the question, "Are universals things?" some teachers replied in the affirmative and were called Realists; others replied in the negative and were called anti-Realists or Nominalists.³⁹

³⁷ One might lawfully commit suicide by taking poison or by the "endura" (starvation).

³⁸ The Emperor Henry III had several heretics hanged to prevent further spread of their "leprosy." About the year 1076 the magistrates of Milan burned a number of Catharists, despite the protest of the archbishop.

³⁹ Roscelin of Compiègne has often been classed as a Nominalist, but as no text of his on the subject remains, his precise teaching is not known. Some of the so-called anti-Realists of the period actually taught an imperfect form of Moderate Realism.

Paraphrasing a summary made by M. De Wulf (*History of Medieval Philosophy*), we may describe the chief theories with regard to universals as follows:

Exaggerated Realism holds that there are universal concepts in the mind and universal things in nature, with a strict parallelism between the two. It thus invents an external world of universals corresponding to the world of thought.

Nominalism affirms that general ideas are only names serving as labels for groups of things. Nominalism consequently denies the existence of abstract and universal concepts.

Conceptualism admits the existence in the mind of universal concepts, but denies that we know of any foundation for them outside the mind. In other words we are not sure that the concepts have any real value.

Moderate Realism holds that the mind contains universal concepts which are abstract representations of particular objects. The applicability of the abstract type to individuals is its universality.

Eucharistic Controversy: Berengarius of Tours (999-1088)—a pupil of the distinguished Fulbert of Chartres and later director of the school of St. Martin of Tours—supported the thesis that the Eucharist is only a figure and a memorial of the Body of Christ, by an appeal to the authority of John Scotus Eriugena. He was condemned at the Council of Tours in 1055, over which Hildebrand presided as legate. Berengarius retracted and reaffirmed his opinion several times; and finally, in 1080, he signed a profession of faith, and died in union with the Church. It is not perfectly clear whether he really meant to deny the Real Presence or only the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but the best theologians of the day unanimously denounced his teaching.

Schism of 1054: This was the tragic outcome of numerous and ancient differences between the Greek Church and the Holy See. Michael Caerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, without raising any strictly theological issue, built up a quarrel with the pope out of protests against the eating of things strangled, the custom of fasting on Saturdays, the omission of the Alleluia during Lent, the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist, and other Latin practices—in all, thirty-three distinct objections. On the strength of these, he decreed the closing of the Latin churches in Constantinople. Pope Leo IX sent Cardinal Frederick (the future Stephen IX [X]) and Cardinal Humbert to negotiate with Caerularius. Their efforts were ineffective; and, on July 16, 1054, they entered the Church of Santa Sophia, as service was about to begin, and laid upon the altar a papal bull excommunicating Caerularius and two Eastern bishops. Michael, in turn, excommunicated the pope.⁴⁰

Thereafter the Church of Constantinople with the other

⁴⁰ Doubt has been raised as to the validity of the excommunication pronounced in July 1054, as Leo had died in the preceding April. The excommunication was never ratified by the Holy See at any later date; and, at the time, the separation between East and West was regarded as just another of the temporary schisms which so frequently occurred. However, this division proved to be permanent, although it did not become official until 1472, the year in which Constantinople formally repudiated the union negotiated at the Council of Florence. The rupture attributed to Cerularius was only the completion of a work that really dated back as far as the fourth century. Duchesne has calculated that during the five centuries following the accession of Constantine "the Greek Church passed nearly half of her time out of communion with Rome and in schism." *The Churches Separated from Rome*, p. 110.

Oriental Churches formed a group known as the "Orthodox Eastern Church," in which the patriarchate of Constantinople possessed a certain precedence.⁴¹ The only Orientals retaining communion with Rome were the Byzantine Greeks in Italy and the Maronites in Syria. As a result of the Greco-Latin break, the East was cut off from the guidance and protection of the papacy and from the developing Christianity of the West; and Latin Christianity was deprived of all those rich contributions which might have come from the Orientals and the Russians.

The Moslems: Towards the close of the century the Seljuks, a Tatar tribe from Turkestan that had embraced Islam, grew into the most powerful element of the Moslem world. After their capture of Antioch in 1085, their cruel treatment of pilgrims to the Holy Land helped to stir up Christian Europe.

In Egypt—where Christians suffered persecution in the earlier part of the century—the Seljuk Turks attempted to displace the Fatimid caliphs; later both parties united forces against the Christian crusaders.

In Spain—where the Omayyad dynasty came to an end in 1031—the Moslems suffered defeats during the rest of the century.

The Jews: Violent anti-Semitic outbreaks occurred in many countries. Emperor Henry II (1002–1024) ordered all the Jews of Mainz to choose between baptism and banishment. About the middle of the century (1066), they were expelled from the Mohammedan kingdom of Granada; although in the rest of Mohammedan Spain and in the Christian parts they enjoyed peace. Their worst sufferings began with the preaching of the First Crusade in 1096, when the crusaders massacred Jews in towns along the line of march, ignoring the protests of local bishops and princes.

⁴¹ The word "Orthodox" originally had been used to distinguish those churches which accepted the Council of Chalcedon from the Nestorian and Monophysite heretics who rejected it. After the break of 1054 it was used to distinguish those same churches (in the East) from Rome. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 diminished the authority of the patriarch; and the Orthodox Eastern Church broke up eventually into the autonomous national churches of Cyprus, Georgia, Sinai, Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania. To these should be added the old patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

4. MISSIONS

Although not a notable missionary period, this century provided many fine examples of apostolic zeal.

Scandinavia: Despite the prevalence of intemperance, polygamy, child murder, and general social disorder, English, German, and Swedish missionaries won over many of the people. Missions were founded; dioceses were established; Christian holydays replaced the old pagan festivals. Lack of schools made adequate instruction difficult, however, and for a long time a large proportion of those who were nominally Christian remained in practice still pagan.

Iceland: Missionaries had previously visited the northern islands; but to King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway goes the credit of establishing Christianity on a solid basis there. In the year 1000 the pagan temples of Iceland were destroyed and baptism was imposed by law; about the middle of the century two bishoprics were erected.

Greenland: Leif Ericsson (son of Eric the Red, Norse colonizer of Greenland), who became a Christian while in Norway, was commissioned by King Olaf Tryggvason to take back missionaries to Greenland; and before long all the Norse colonists were converted. In its best days Greenland possessed some fifteen churches, several monasteries, and ten thousand Christian people.

Vinland: Either by accident or by design,⁴² Leif Ericsson landed on the North American coast and set up a Christian colony at a place called "Vinland" which has been tentatively identified with various points between Newfoundland and Virginia—most frequently with Nova Scotia, Maine, or Massachusetts. Possibly the Scandinavian colonists of Vinland fused with the neighboring tribes through intermarriage; for the Christian mission disappeared from history.

The Crusades: After the rise of the Seljuks, Christian pilgrim-

⁴² There are two versions of this story, one in the Saga of Eric the Red and the other in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason.

ages to Palestine became increasingly dangerous;⁴³ the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, sent to Rome for help; and his appeal provided the final motive for concerted action against the Turk. Armed intervention was the one practical way to recover possession of the holy places, to protect pilgrims on their journeys, and to defend the eastern frontier of Christian Europe. At the Council of Clermont (1095), Pope Urban II announced the First Crusade, promising spiritual privileges and the remission of ecclesiastical penalties to anyone who should "take the Cross" and enlist for war against the Moslems.⁴⁴ The appeal to free the Holy Land met with hearty response from every European nation. Almost immediately a sort of advance guard, undisciplined and poorly armed, moved eastward along the Danube, plundering the country as they went and murdering the Jews. Some of its members under Peter the Hermit, reached Constantinople and were ferried across the Bosphorus in 1096 by order of the emperor. Peter went back to Constantinople to obtain reinforcements, and during his absence almost all his "crusaders" were killed by the Turks. The following year Peter, with a small band, attached himself to Godfrey de Bouillon. Later he returned to France and founded the monastery of Neufmoutier.

The first real army of crusaders was composed of four units. The vanguard, under Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, reached Constantinople in 1096. The other three units (one under Count Raymond of Toulouse and Bishop Adhemar, papal legate; a second under Hugh, brother of King Philip of France; a third under the Norman, Bohemond, and his nephew, Tancred) reached Constantinople in 1097.⁴⁵ Bohemond took Antioch by storm in

⁴³ Jerusalem, taken from the Christians early in the seventh century, had passed into the hands of the Caliph Omar in 637; and except for a brief interval of less than ninety years—the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem—the city remained a Turkish possession until its occupation by General Allenby in 1918.

⁴⁴ Thus began the series of military expeditions which the popes continued to promote and finance for nearly two hundred years (1096–1291). Earlier sporadic campaigns against the Turks had been carried on by the Greeks, the Spanish, the Italians, and the Normans; but this was the first organized international movement. A *Chronicle of the First Crusade* by Fulcher of Chartres has recently (1941) been published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in its series of "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History."

⁴⁵ Alexius exacted from the leaders a promise that the lands they should conquer would be restored to the empire; and each of them except Raymond of Toulouse gave the required promise.

1098; Raymond seized Tripoli; and in 1099 the Christian army entered Jerusalem where they massacred the inhabitants without regard to age or sex.

SUMMARY

Two appointees of the Roman nobles, Popes Benedict VIII and John XIX, ruled well; but Benedict IX gave so much scandal that Gregory VI bought him out of office—only to encounter an antipope, Sylvester III. Then Henry III intervened and the Synod of Sutri disposed of all three rivals, thus paving the way for Clement II. The reform begun by Clement gathered momentum in the pontificates of the vigorous Leo IX and the skillful organizer, Nicholas II, who regulated papal elections; and it went forward swiftly under Alexander II (elected despite German opposition) and his successor Gregory VII. The popes also took steps to defend Christendom against Islam, for although the Moslems of the west had been driven back in Spain, the Moslems of the east were menacing Constantinople; and Urban II announced the First Crusade.

Henry III and William the Conqueror, highhanded indeed, yet sympathetic with the papacy, were succeeded by sons—Henry IV and William Rufus—who trespassed upon ecclesiastical rights; Boleslaus II of Poland murdered Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow; Philip I of France fell under the papal ban for moral reasons. Rulers more acceptable to the Holy See were Olaf of Sweden and Olaf of Norway, Stephen and Ladislaus of Hungary, Edward the Confessor, Margaret of Scotland.

Lanfranc and Anselm stood out as churchmen, Ivo of Chartres and Fulbert as teachers, Berengarius and Roscelin as men of questionable orthodoxy. Salerno trained physicians; Bologna formed Roman jurists. Carthusians and Cistercians enriched the Church's spiritual life; missionaries extended her jurisdiction in Scandinavia; new Russian sees were established. But these gains were outweighed by the tragic schism of 1054.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

c. 1000 Missions in Greenland

1012-1024 *Benedict VIII*

1012 St. Romuald founds Camaldolese

c. 1019 Nidaros (Trondheim), first Norwegian see

1025 Neo-Manichaeans condemned at Arras

1027 Truce of God

1038 St. John Gualbert founds order of Vallombrosa

1046 *Clement II* replaces three "popes"

1048 Lund, first Danish see

1049 *Leo IX* at Rheims

1050 St. Edward, Confessor, begins new Westminster Abbey

c. 1051 St. Peter Damian's *Liber Gomorrhianus*

1051 Kiev an archbishopric

1054 Greek Schism

1055 Berengarius condemned

1059 *Nicholas II* regulates papal elections1061-1073 *Alexander II*

1070 Stigand replaced by Lanfranc

1073-1085 *Gregory VII*

1079 Boleslaus II kills St. Stanislaus

1084 Bruno founds Carthusians

1086 St. Canute IV of Denmark martyred

1089 Council of Melfi banishes married clerics

1095 *Urban II* announces First Crusade

1098 St. Robert founds Cistercians

1099 Crusaders take Jerusalem

1001 St. Stephen crowned king

1002-1024 Henry II

1014 Danish defeat at Clontarf

1018 Basil conquers Bulgaria

1024-1039 Conrad II

1028 St. Olaf of Norway deposed

1039-1056 Henry III

1046 Henry III at Synod of Sutri

c. 1050 Reconquest of Spain proceeds

1055 Seljuk Turks in Baghdad

1056-1106 Henry IV

1059 Norman kingdom of Sicily

1066 Norman conquest of England

1071 Manzikert, Turkish victory
Normans take Bari1077 *Gregory VII* and Henry IV at Canossa1083 Robert Guiscard rescues *Gregory VII*

1084 School of law at Bologna

1085 Christians retake Toledo
Turks take Antioch

1092 Roscelin recants at Soissons

1095 Philip I excommunicated
St. Anselm vs. William Rufus
St. Anselm supports *Urban II*

CHAPTER XII

(The Eleven Hundreds)

The Medieval Renaissance

PREVIEW

AFTER Paschal II's withdrawal of the plan to surrender feudal revenues in exchange for freedom, his successor, Callistus II, established the papal power more solidly than ever. Hitherto the unifying center of Europe had been the emperor; now it was to be the pope. Radical changes affecting the whole social structure of Europe tended to favor this transfer of supremacy from the civil to the ecclesiastical order; and the young free cities of northern Italy counted heavily on the side of the papacy. Yet it was hardly to be expected that the minor role assigned to the emperor would be quietly accepted by Frederick Barbarossa, the man who, in John of Salisbury's phrase, "wished to reduce the whole world beneath his power"; and his quarrel with Adrian IV began a new chapter in the struggle between popes and emperors—a sort of "Hundred Years' War" fraught with tragic results for both.

Although many abuses had been eliminated by the Gregorian reform,¹ the record of the three ecumenical councils of the Lateran shows what watchfulness was still needed to control the ancient evils of simony, clerical marriage, and lay interference. Fortunately popes and prelates kept up the fight. The spiritual and intellectual revival, already visible in the preceding century, became more vigorous and more definite, winning an honorable place alongside those other movements which from time to time have lifted European culture from a lower to a higher level—

¹ Gregory VII was not the first pope who claimed the right to exact obedience from kings under pain of deposition; but his success so impressed the contemporary world that later centuries looked back to him as the author of the new program.

the Carolingian renaissance, the Ottonian renaissance, the Italian renaissance. Not merely a time of rebirth, this was also a creative era. Its notable contributions to art, literature, philosophy, politics, law, education, are recalled by the mere mention of late Romanesque and early Gothic styles, of medieval poems and chronicles and mystical writings, of universities, of translations from the Greek, of free cities and parliamentary forms, of crusades that brought men from every nation marching in tens of thousands.

Nevertheless, in this heyday of religion, the attempt to reform worldly clerics gave indirect encouragement to antisocial fanatics who repudiated the priesthood, the sacraments, and the whole Christian plan of life. Against these fanatics civil rulers and churchmen decreed cruel repressive measures; and the populace at times loosed outbreaks of savagery.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

In political history particular importance attaches to this century. Frederick Barbarossa encountered insuperable obstacles when he undertook to restore the old greatness of the empire; yet his achievements were such as to secure him a place among Germany's heroes. Meanwhile France consolidated its power and extended its domain; a mighty kingdom was built up in England by the union of Anglo-Saxon and Norman; northern Spain and Portugal became Christian countries again.

The papacy, now well entrenched, frequently threatened with excommunication, or actually excommunicated, obstreperous kings. The struggle between Emperor Henry V and the two popes, Paschal II and Callistus II, ended in a papal victory. In a later quarrel between Frederick I and the English Pope Adrian IV—each of them claiming supremacy in Christendom—Frederick succeeded in winning the German bishops over to his side; yet the pope, aided by the Italian cities, ultimately defeated him. In England two politico-religious conflicts (Henry I against

Anselm, and Henry II against Thomas Becket) also ended in favor of the Church.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland

The Empire: Henry V forced the abdication of his father in 1105 and was crowned emperor at Mainz. Renewing the dispute over the right of investiture, he entered Rome with an army, kept Pope Paschal a prisoner for two months, and finally had himself crowned in St. Peter's. Henry appointed an antipope in 1118 and was excommunicated; but, after the agreement reached with Callistus II in the Concordat of Worms, the emperor was received back into the Church.

The long feud of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines began in 1125 with the contest for the imperial crown between Lothair of Saxony and his Suabian rival, Conrad Hohenstaufen, nephew of Henry V.² During the dispute Lothair, in return for conceding wide papal control of temporal affairs, received assurance of papal support, whereas his rival, Conrad, was excommunicated with all his followers, among whom was the archbishop of Milan. At Lothair's death in 1137, Conrad (1138-1152) became the first Hohenstaufen emperor; and the Hohenstaufens were consistent opponents both of papal authority and of Italian independence.

Conrad's successor, Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), was successful in reorganizing the imperial finances and in controlling the German princes. He made grants to the rising towns of southern and western Germany, thus attaching them to the throne; and having set his heart upon the revival of the empire, he made strenuous efforts to win mastery of Italy.³ These plans brought him into conflict, first with Adrian IV and then with Alexander III. Opposed by the Lombard League, by Venice, Sicily, and

² Guelphs (Welfs) of Saxony and Bavaria headed the anti-imperialists in Italy; Ghibellines (named from Waiblingen, a castle of the Hohenstaufens) supported the emperor. The two factions clashed in Florence early in the thirteenth century.

³ The addition of the adjective "Holy" to the title "Roman Empire" appeared for the first time during the reign of Frederick I. It was used occasionally by his successors for the next century and a half; and it became customary about the time of Charles IV (1347-1378). See Bryce, *op. cit.*, 202-03.

Constantinople, by Henry the Lion, head of the Guelphs, by the powerful archbishop of Cologne, and excommunicated by Alexander III, Frederick suffered a disastrous defeat at Legnano (1176); and only the aid of German bishops saved him from ruin. He then abandoned his effort to dominate the Church, became reconciled with the pope, and in 1189 set out on the Third Crusade—only to be drowned in Cilicia.

Frederick's son, Henry VI (1190–1197), who married Constance, Norman princess of Sicily, clashed with Celestine III for having imprisoned a crusader returning from Palestine, Richard the Lion-hearted of England; but Henry promoted the Crusades and he was at peace with the pope when he died in 1197. Henry's son, Frederick II, then a child, was placed by his mother under the guardianship of Innocent III; and meanwhile the crown was contested by two claimants, Philip the Suabian and Otto the Saxon.

Bohemia: Here an hereditary kingdom under the Premysl dynasty was established about the middle of the century. Thereafter the bishops of Prague and Olmütz received their investiture from the king instead of from the emperor; and they in turn had the right to crown each new king.⁴ King Ladislaus and the bishop of Prague supported the Emperor Frederick in his contest with Pope Alexander III; and they were excommunicated. Other ecclesiastical quarrels occurred during the latter part of the century, notably when the papal legate insisted that candidates for the priesthood should accept the obligation of celibacy.

Hungary: State and Church were disturbed by the rivalries of various claimants to the crown, some of whom received aid and comfort from the Eastern emperor. A goodly number of the Hungarian clergy, including an archbishop and four bishops, went over to the Orthodox Church which permitted clerical marriage. Bela III (1173–1196), having gained the Hungarian throne by agreeing to surrender Dalmatia to the Greeks, ac-

⁴ The see of Prague (established in 973) possessed jurisdiction over Moravia which had lost its independent political existence during the Hungarian invasions of the tenth century. In 1063, however, Olmütz (in Moravia) became a bishopric, suffragan to Mainz. A quarrel between the bishop of Olmütz and the bishop of Prague, brother of the reigning Bohemian duke, caused both bishops to be summoned to Rome by Gregory VII in 1074.

quired control of Serbia and the Balkans, made Hungary a great state. Premonstratensians and Cistercians preached the faith.

Poland: Boleslaus III (1102-1138), aided St. Otto of Bamberg to convert Pomerania, and received that region as a fief from Lothair II. At his death, one of his sons received Masovia, another Silesia, a third most of Great Poland, a fourth Sandomierz, east of Cracow. Sees and monasteries functioned as the chief sources of Polish unity.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

France: The French kings pursued a centralizing policy both in political and in ecclesiastical affairs. From 1060 to 1137, Philip I and his son, Louis VI, strengthened the monarchy at the expense of the feudal nobility.⁵ Louis VII (1137-1180), who encountered constant opposition from the feudal barons, went to the Holy Land on the Second Crusade, accompanied by his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁶

Philip II (1180-1223), bent on recovering the ground lost during his father's reign, was constantly at war with the French nobles; he banished the Jews; he fought England, but marched on the Third Crusade with Richard I. Having repudiated his wife, the Danish princess, Ingeburg, Philip married Agnes of Meran, sister of St. Hedwig, Duchess of Silesia. Celestine III annulled the (invalid) divorce granted by the French bishops, and after France had been laid under interdict ⁷ by Innocent III, Philip took back his lawful wife.

Spain: The Moslem power waned after the Christians took Saragossa in 1118. Towards the middle of the century a new fanatical sect, the Almohades, crossed over from Morocco, gained

⁵ France protested to Callistus II because the French sees of Rouen, Tours, and Sens were under the jurisdiction of Lyons, the chief city of Burgundy, at that time a province of the German Empire—a difficulty which disappeared later when Burgundy became part of France.

⁶ Their marriage was declared null in 1152 on the ground of consanguinity; and Louis then married Constance, daughter of the king of Castile. Eleanor married Henry II of England in 1154.

⁷ An "interdict" is an exclusion from participation in one or more religious activities, e.g. liturgical worship, the sacraments, ecclesiastical funeral services. It may be directed towards places or persons or both. Interdicts were employed as early as the ninth century; the name was made official by Innocent III.

complete control of Moslem Spain, and broke the great caliphate of Córdoba into a number of emirates. At first intolerant, the Almohades later grew more liberal; and they contributed to a revival of Moorish learning. Owing to the domestic conflicts of the Mohammedans, the Christian forces gained ground both in Aragon and in Portugal; but quarrels between Castile and Aragon slowed up the Reconquest.

Leon and Castile: Alfonso VII^{*} (1126–1157) assumed the title of emperor and his efforts to reunite the country met with considerable success. His raids into Mohammedan Spain liberated many Christians there. Alfonso VIII was less fortunate. Attacked not only by the Moslems but also by his neighbor, the king of Aragon, he suffered a disastrous defeat in 1195.

Aragon: Alfonso the Fighter (1104–1134), king of Aragon and Navarre, captured Saragossa in 1118. He willed his estates to the military Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem in the hope that they would drive the Moors from Spain. His subjects, however, rejected this arrangement; and the Holy See dispensed Alfonso's brother, Ramiro—then a monk in a French monastery—from his religious vows in order that he might accept the Spanish crown and carry on the dynasty. Ramiro married Agnes of Poitiers; and their daughter married Ramon, Count of Barcelona. The son of this latter marriage, Alfonso II, ruling over the two countries of Aragon and Barcelona (Catalonia) under the title of "King of Aragon," made the dual kingdom one of the leading Mediterranean powers, and expelled the Mohammedans from his domains before the end of the century. Pedro II, the Catholic (1197–1213), converted Aragon into a papal fief.

Portugal: In the region around Oporto, Count Henry of Burgundy established the beginnings of an independent state in the first part of the twelfth century. His son, Alfonso Henriques (Alfonso I), having defeated the king of Castile, founded the Kingdom of Portugal in 1143 and secured papal recognition of it before his death in 1185.

Alfonso was successful in driving out the Moors. To secure the support of the pope, he offered his kingdom as a papal fief in 1142, promising the payment of an annual tribute. In 1147, with the aid of a crusading fleet from northern Europe bound for Palestine, he captured Lisbon and made

^{*} Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile had a daughter, Urraca, who married Alfonso I of Aragon, and her son, Alfonso VII, ruled over Leon, Castile, and Galicia. Meanwhile Urraca's husband retained Aragon and Navarre.

it his capital. Although often guilty of moral misconduct, he showed special favor to the monks; and he bestowed upon them an immense area—including thirteen towns—which became the home of numerous religious foundations.

Sancho I (1185–1211) paid tribute to the Holy Sec, endowed bishoprics and abbeys, and favored the military orders, particularly the Knights Hospitallers, who helped him greatly in his wars against the Moslems. He had numerous quarrels with the clergy, notably with the bishops of Coimbra and Oporto. He ignored the interdict laid on him by Pope Innocent III, initiating a conflict between Church and State which lasted for nearly a century.

Italy: The country was overrun by armies during practically all the century. Countess Matilda had taken an oath of vassalage to Henry V, and at her death in 1115 he claimed her estates, although she had willed them to the Church. Conrad III, the first Hohenstaufen emperor, made a determined effort to secure these properties; and the resulting dispute between popes and emperors lasted until the claim was renounced by Rudolf I late in the thirteenth century.

In southern Italy, Roger the Norman, having taken Pope Innocent II prisoner, forced him to recognize the Norman kingdom of Sicily and Naples. Later Emperor Henry VI, by his marriage to the Norman heiress, Constance, united this kingdom of the Two Sicilies with the empire. The pope aided the Sicilians when they attempted to secure independence in 1197; but the emperor suppressed the revolt with great cruelty.

In the north, Frederick I, determined foe of Italian independence, allied himself with a group of Italian cities against Milan, and in 1162 destroyed that city, despite the support given it by Pope Alexander. But the Lombard League, having built Alessandria as a base, defeated the imperial armies at the battle of Legnano (1176); thereafter the Italian cities were virtually independent.

A few years later, Venice, under the leadership of the Doge Dolando, made war on the Eastern emperor, secured important commercial privileges, and laid the foundation of Venetian dominance in the East (1192).

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: More than once the newly created Norman monarchy came into conflict with the Church. When Henry I (1100–1135) insisted upon the royal right of investiture, Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury appealed to Rome; and after a long struggle the king consented to a compromise which, however, still left the door open to future misunderstanding.⁹ Callistus II forced Henry, under penalty of excommunication, to acknowledge Thurstan as archbishop of York and to recognize York as independent of Canterbury.

Stephen (1135–1154), grandson of William the Conqueror, set aside Henry's daughter, Matilda, won recognition from Pope Innocent II, and was able to obtain a favorable decision from the Lateran Council of 1139 when Matilda appealed to that body. Although his Charter of Liberties promised respect for ecclesiastical rights and privileges, Stephen alienated the clergy by general incompetence, by imprisoning several bishops whom he suspected of treason and by expelling Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the side of Matilda. He lost, at least temporarily, the support of his brother Henry, the powerful bishop of Winchester, who had helped him to the throne and who became papal legate in 1142. The Holy See refused to recognize the claim of Stephen's son to succeed him; and Matilda's son, Henry Plantagenet, came to the throne.

Henry II (1154–1189), one of the ablest monarchs of his day, enlarged English possessions on the Continent by his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, former wife of Louis VII, and also reorganized the financial system and the legal procedure of England. Henry clashed with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, over the issue of clerical immunities.¹⁰ The archbishop

⁹ It was agreed that in the investiture of prelates the insignia of spiritual authority would be given by a representative of the Church, whereas the temporal power and its insignia would be conferred by the king.

¹⁰ The quarrel began with the archbishop's refusal to pay a certain tax into the royal exchequer—alluded to by Bishop Stubbs in his *Constitutional History*, I, 523, as "the first case of any opposition to the king's will in the matter of taxation which is recorded in our national history." The quarrel was renewed when the king, at the Council of

was fined, exiled, and, after his return to England, murdered in his cathedral of Canterbury by several knights in obedience to what they understood to be the royal wish (1170). Within two years Thomas was canonized as a martyr; and the king did public penance. The tomb of the martyr became a pilgrims' shrine; his name was identified with resistance to royal oppression; and, for the time being, the independence of the Church from state control was assured.¹¹ Henry II enacted the first medieval civil law for the suppression of heresy, the statute which, under penalty of destruction of their dwellings, prohibited all English subjects from sheltering heretics.

Richard I (1189-1199), in his zeal to overcome Saladin on the Third Crusade, weakened his kingdom both by unscrupulous methods of raising money and by taking many of England's best men to the Holy Land. He permitted the bishop of Bath and Wells to annex the Abbey of Glastonbury, but submitted to the pope's decision that the abbey should regain its independence.

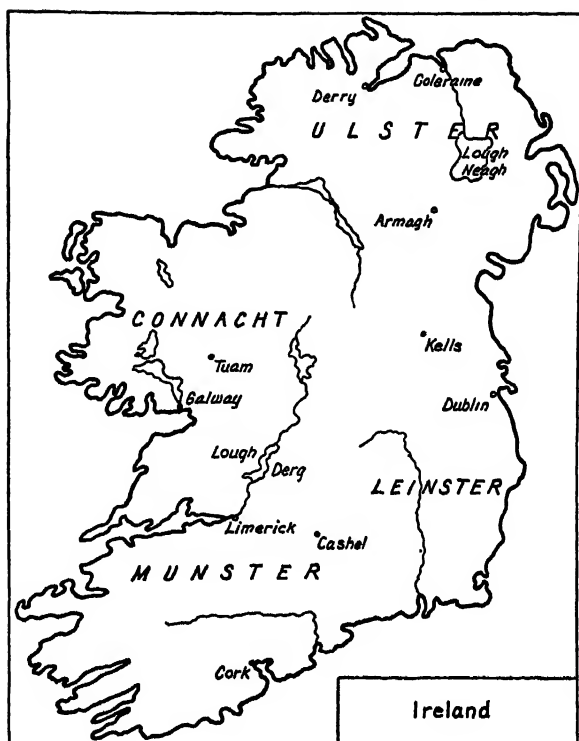
Ireland: The century opened auspiciously with the promise of approaching fusion into complete national and ecclesiastical unity.¹² Before long, however, the revival of ancient glories was checked by tribal jealousies which ultimately opened the country to invasion.

In the interests of ecclesiastical reform, the Synod of Rathbreasail (1110) tentatively divided Ireland into two archbishoprics, Armagh and Cashel, each with twelve suffragan sees—a

Clarendon in 1164, announced that clerics convicted of crime would be handed over for punishment to the king's court; certain royal officials would be exempt from liability to excommunication; and the king would enjoy new privileges with regard to royal revenues from benefices. The spirit of several of the clauses of the Constitutions of Clarendon "is surely in direct opposition to the sworn words of Henry I and King Stephen, and of Henry II himself, as contained in their Charters confirmed at the opening of their reigns." John Tracy Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 34.

¹¹ In 1172 the king cleared himself by oath of any intent to murder the archbishop and swore in future to respect the rights of the Church in England, to permit appeals to Rome, to restore confiscated property, to recognize Alexander III as lawful pope, and to take the Cross for three years. In 1174 the king went barefoot to the martyr's shrine; and there seems to be no doubt that his sorrow was sincere.

¹² "On all sides, therefore, we see the growth of a people compacted of Irish and Danes, bound together under the old Irish law and social order, with Dublin as a centre of the united races, Armagh a national university, a single and independent church under an Irish primate of Armagh and an Irish archbishop of Dublin, a high-king calling the people together in a succession of national assemblies for the common good of the country." Alice Stopford Green, *Irish Nationality*, p. 94.



plan not endorsed by Pope Innocent II, probably because of political disturbances. The unsettled state of the country is sufficiently indicated by the fact that laymen usurped the see of Armagh, appropriating its revenue for themselves and appointing ecclesiastics to carry on the religious activities—so that St. Malachy, zealous champion of discipline, when named archbishop (1132) was kept from taking possession of his see for two years by a “lay-primate’s” demand of tribute.¹³ Later, Pope Eugene III sent John Paparo as legate to Ireland; and, although he was kept out for a year by the English king, Stephen, eventually at the Synod of Kells (1152), he reorganized the Irish church, erecting two new archbishoprics, Dublin and Tuam, and setting up dioceses on a plan substantially the same as that which exists today.¹⁴

¹³ St. Bernard of Clairvaux denounced this situation in his *Life of St. Malachy*.

¹⁴ The head of the powerful group of Columban monasteries was placed on equal footing with the other bishops in 1158.

Malcolm IV (1153-1165) was at odds with his Celtic subjects about the claim of York to exercise jurisdiction over the Scottish Church. The question was submitted to a council at Northampton in 1176, in the presence of a papal legate and of the kings and bishops of England and Scotland; but the issue remained undecided until, at the request of the next Scottish king, William the Lion, in 1188, Clement III placed the nine Scottish sees under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome. At the same time the king of England renounced his claim to be feudal lord of Scotland. In 1200 a tenth Scottish diocese, Argyle, was erected; and about the same time Benedictine monks replaced the moribund Culdees in Iona.

c. Scandinavia

Denmark: In the year 1100 King Eric obtained from Pope Paschal II the decree of canonization which made Canute IV a recognized saint. A little later Lund, near Copenhagen, which had been erected into a see in the previous century, was raised to archiepiscopal rank; and the Scandinavian Church thus became independent of Hamburg-Bremen.

Norway: King Sigurd (d. 1130) made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land early in the century. In the year 1152 Nicholas Breakspear, the future Adrian IV, visited Norway as papal legate, and settled a civil war between competitors for the crown; and he also installed the first archbishop of Trondheim (Nidaros) whose province included Iceland, Finland and the Orkneys. As the century closed, King Sverre (1177-1202) was fighting with both the barons and the powerful prelates.

Sweden: A see was established at Upsala and a cathedral was erected about the year 1100. St. Henry, Bishop of Upsala, who accompanied St. Eric on a crusade to spread the faith in Finland, died a martyr there in 1157. In 1164 the pope made Upsala a separate ecclesiastical province with four suffragan bishops; and the first archbishop was Stephen, a Cistercian monk. By the end of the twelfth century Christianity had been established even in the remoter districts.

Greenland: On account of the difficulty of maintaining communication with the Continent, the inhabitants of Greenland asked to have a bishop of their own; and the see of Gardar was erected in 1125, suffragan first to Hamburg-Bremen, later to Lund, and then to Trondheim. The see was occupied by a succession of some sixteen bishops before its extinction four centuries later, but there is no record of their activities; and the Christian settlers were finally absorbed by the pagan Eskimos.

3. THE EAST

The Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Russia

The Byzantine Empire: Colonists from Pisa, Genoa, and Venice settled in the Byzantine territories as a result of new contacts with the East after the First Crusade; and they made demands upon the Greek emperor for commercial privileges in return for military aid. Racial jealousies caused so many disagreements that, although nearly all the Latin rulers in the East had taken an oath of allegiance to Emperor Alexius I, conflicts occurred between Eastern and Western Christians. During one of these contests Frederick Barbarossa formed an alliance with the Turks.

In the troubled reign of Isaac II (1185-1195), the Bulgarians declared their independence of the empire; the Turks advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople; and Isaac was deposed in favor of Alexius III.

Bulgaria: A series of uprisings ended with the achievement of Bulgarian independence in 1185. Kaloyan, who became ruler in 1197, was crowned by the legate of Pope Innocent III in return for his promise to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope; and the Bulgarian Church was organized in eight dioceses under the primate of Tirnovo. But this good understanding with Rome lasted only a short time.

Russia, torn by domestic feuds and by barbarian invasions, suffered from more than eighty civil wars within less than two centuries. Kiev was sacked in 1169 and by the end of the century it had ceased to be the political center of Russia. Meanwhile the city of Vladimir and the states of Galicia and Novgorod devel-

oped rapidly; and about the middle of the century the principality of Moscow was founded.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

The papacy passed a fork in the road when the ancient quarrel over the right of investiture was settled, not on the basis of Paschal II's proposed renunciation, but by the mutual concessions embodied in the Pact of Callistus, the first concordat of history (1122).¹⁹ Thereafter, the popes possessed dominant influence in every quarter of Christendom.²⁰

Nevertheless, papal-imperial misunderstandings and conflicts continued. Frederick I resented the use of the word "benefice" by Pope Adrian IV, because it seemed to imply that the empire was a papal fief. Later, when the Council of Pavia (summoned by Frederick) decided against the validity of Alexander III's election, Frederick set up a series of antipopes; but this schism dealt no vital blow to the growing prestige of the Holy See. Before long Frederick was forced to submit; for the popes had the support of the people and the free cities in the war for civil and religious liberty provoked by the emperor's attempt to dominate Italy.

Two years before the century ended the cardinals chose as pope, Innocent III, a man who formulated in plain words, his claim to universal dominion over temporal affairs and carried his theory into practice by deeds of startling boldness.

Paschal II (1099-1118), a monk of Cluny and like his predecessor, a man of deep spirituality, was eager to end the long contest over investiture. In the year 1111, therefore, he proposed a plan by the terms of which churchmen would surrender to the emperor all *regalia*—towns, dukedoms, estates, castles, taxes, and whatever else they possessed as feudal lords; and in return the emperor would relinquish his claim to the right of investiture

¹⁹ A concordat is an agreement between Church and State which has the effect of civil and ecclesiastical law in a specified area.

²⁰ According to Voltaire, Alexander III did more than any man in the Middle Ages for the preservation of human rights.



(Joel Cooke)

MONT ST. MICHEL (11th to 15th century)

Founded in the 8th century; given to the Benedictines in the 10th; confiscated during the French Revolution; used as a prison; made a national monument in 1872



"KRAK DES CHEVALIERS," TRIPOLI, NORTHERN SYRIA (12th century)

Greatest of the Crusader strongholds

which had been exercised for three centuries at the cost of endless trouble to religion. Paschal hoped thus to set the Church free from lay control by the acceptance of poverty and to support religion by tithes and voluntary offerings. But immediate protests from powerful churchmen began to pour in; and, sensing the pope's inability to carry out the bargain, Henry V seized Paschal and extorted a *Privilegium* which conferred the right of investiture on the emperor.

The announcement of the pope's concession aroused intense excitement. Prelates who had inherited the Gregorian tradition and were strong advocates of papal power denounced the *Privilegium*; and the archbishop of Lyons even attempted to convoke a council of French bishops to send a message to the pope. Helpless in the face of this universal disapproval, Paschal appeared before a council of one hundred thirty bishops gathered in the Lateran and acknowledged that he had erred. The bishops thereupon condemned the *Privilegium* and declared it null and void.

A series of councils held in different parts of France pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the emperor; and, at a council held at Rome in 1116, Paschal, without expressly naming Henry, endorsed the sentence of excommunication. Two years later Paschal died, leaving the unsettled question to be decided by his successor, Callistus II, who had taken a leading part in the opposition to the *Privilegium*.²¹

Theodoric (1100-1102)—antipope.

Albert (1102)—antipope.

Sylvester IV (1105-1111)—antipope.

Gelasius II (1118-1119) refused to grant Henry V the right of investiture. Henry thereupon refused to recognize Gelasius as pope and elected an excommunicated prelate, Maurice of Braga, as antipope (Gregory VIII). Gelasius excommunicated both the emperor and the antipope. The Frangipani family opposed Gelasius, whose reign was filled with tragedy. He aided St. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians.

Gregory VIII (1118-1121)—antipope.

Callistus II (1119-1124), kinsman of several reigning sovereigns, and archbishop of Vienne²² at the time of his election, entered at once upon a vigorous anti-imperial policy. Having excommunicated the emperor, he proceeded, with the aid of the Normans, to defeat Henry V and his Italian allies, the Frangipani, on the field of battle, and to put the antipope, Greg-

²¹ What turn an acceptance of Paschal's original plan might have given to the course of Church history no man can say. Some Catholic scholars believe that Paschal alone clearly saw the real point at issue, and that the Gregorian policy to which he was forced to return was bound to make trouble sooner or later because it aimed to secure the advantages of two mutually exclusive systems, while escaping the burdens of both.

²² As archbishop of Vienne he had defied Paschal II, he had offended a neighboring bishop, St. Hugh of Grenoble, and his official acts betrayed prejudice against the see of Grenoble.

ory VIII, in prison. Then, at a synod held at Worms in 1122, the pope and the emperor came to an understanding and signed an agreement known as the *Pactum Callixtinum* or the Concordat of Worms. It made certain concessions to the emperor, yet was on the whole a victory for the pope. It drew a distinction between spiritual and temporal rights, established the principle that ecclesiastical jurisdiction comes from the Church alone, and abolished the control of ecclesiastical offices and benefices by laymen. The emperor received the right of investing prelates with the sceptre, symbol of temporal authority, but renounced the right of investiture with ring and crozier, symbols of spiritual authority. The emperor was authorized to be present at the election of prelates within the kingdom of Germany on the understanding that he would not interfere in papal elections. This agreement was ratified in 1123 by the Ninth Ecumenical Council (First Lateran), the first general council ever held in the West.

Callistus devoted his pontificate to the promoting of peace and to the defense of papal rights; and in both respects he attained a large measure of success. He induced Louis of France and Henry of England to stop fighting; he further limited armed violence by extending the Truce of God; and he ended an ancient controversy between Vienne and Arles by making Vienne, his old see, the metropolitan church of the adjacent provinces.

Celestine II (1124) abdicated immediately.

Honorius II (1124-1130). On the death of Callistus II the cardinals elected Cardinal Theobaldo who took the name of Celestine II; but immediately afterwards a faction led by the Frangipani proclaimed Cardinal Lambert pope, under the name of Honorius II. Both candidates then resigned and Lambert was re-elected. On the death of Henry V (1125), Honorius, with the aid of Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz, brought about the election of Lothair who acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, even in temporal matters. Later, when Lothair's enemy, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, was crowned king of Italy by Archbishop Anselm of Milan, Honorius excommunicated both Conrad and the archbishop.

Innocent II (1130-1143), like his predecessor, had helped to prepare the Concordat of Worms. Three hours after his election a group of cardinals elected an antipope, Anacletus II. Innocent immediately went to France, where he gained the support of Louis VI and the French clergy; and later, with the help of St. Norbert, he secured the aid of Lothair, the German king, and the German princess. In 1132 he crowned Lothair emperor; and in 1137 Lothair reinstated him. The following year the antipope, Anacletus, died; and his successor, the antipope Victor IV, abdicated at the plea of St. Bernard. When in 1142 the French king, Louis VII, refused to recognize Pierre, the canonically elected archbishop of Bourges, Innocent laid an interdict on every place which the king might enter.

Anacletus II (1130-1138)—antipope.²³

Victor IV (1138)—antipope.

Celestine II (1143-1144), a learned and upright man who had been a legate to France, lifted the interdict placed on France by Innocent II. He died after a pontificate of less than six months.

Lucius II (1144-1145), who had been a legate to Germany, built several monasteries in Italy and Germany and encouraged the new order of the Premonstratensians. He was mortally wounded in battle with the rebellious Romans.

Eugene III (1145-1153), abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Tre Fontane, was a friend and pupil of St. Bernard, who composed for him the little book, *De Consideratione*. His reign was troubled by a "democratic" uprising under the leadership of Arnold of Brescia. A compromise placed Rome in the hands of a dual government composed of the pope and a senate chosen annually by popular election. This system soon came to an end; and in 1148 the pope excommunicated Arnold.

After the fall of Edessa in 1144, Eugene commissioned St. Bernard to preach the Second Crusade; but it ended in disaster. The pope spent three years in France reforming abuses; the Synod of Rheims (1148) passed disciplinary decrees backed with severe penalties and also condemned the Albigenses. Eugene deposed the archbishops of York, Mainz, and Rheims for disobedience; he promoted the intellectual revival under Peter Lombard; he helped Gratian in his great work of codifying the canons of the Church; and he sent the future Adrian IV as legate to Scandinavia, establishing a metropolitan see for Norway at Trondheim. His plan to erect another see in Sweden was defeated by the rivalry between Sweden and Gotland.

Anastasius IV (1153-1154) settled an ecclesiastical dispute by recognizing the nominee of Frederick Barbarossa as bishop of Magdeburg.

Adrian IV (1154-1159), born in Hertfordshire, England, abbot of an Augustinian monastery in Avignon, became bishop of Albano under Eugene III and was elected pope on the death of Anastasius IV. He immediately had to face the enmity of King William of Sicily, the loss of the Campagna, the Roman rebellion under Arnold of Brescia, and the hostility of Frederick Barbarossa.²⁴

William of Sicily seized part of the papal territory and also 5,000 pounds

²³ Pietro Pierleone, grandson of a wealthy Jewish convert and member of one of the most powerful families in Rome, became a monk of Cluny and later acted as legate under several popes. A few hours after Innocent II had been elected at a meeting attended by sixteen cardinals, Pierleone was elected by his followers who numbered thirty. That he was rejected by the Church at large was due mainly to the efforts of St. Bernard.

²⁴ When Frederick came to Sutri, about thirty miles from Rome, to be crowned in 1155, the pope refused to crown him until he had paid the usual homage. Frederick was crowned in St. Peter's but, after a battle between the Romans and his troops, he returned home, burning Spoleto on his way.

weight of gold which the Greek emperor, Manuel I, had sent to the pope. Peace was finally made when the pope recognized William as king over all the area then in his possession, and he in return acknowledged the pope as his feudal lord. The recognition of William as king over certain territories claimed by the Emperor Frederick provoked the latter's resentment; and within a short time the investiture dispute broke out again.

Alexander III (1159-1181), one of the greatest of the popes, was elected despite pressure put on the cardinals by agents of Frederick Barbarossa. Four cardinals voted for Cardinal Octavian, who took the name of Victor IV, but the majority, twenty-three in number, under the leadership of Cardinal Boso (Breakspear) moved into the Castle of Sant' Angelo and elected Alexander III. The emperor summoned the two rivals to appear in judgment before him; but Alexander refused, excommunicated the emperor, and released his subjects from their obedience. The resultant schism lasted for seventeen years and ended with the unconditional surrender of the emperor after his defeat at the battle of Legnano.

In the dispute with Henry of England, Alexander, by a combination of firmness and diplomacy, succeeded in obtaining recognition of the rights for which St. Thomas Becket died; and he promoted the intellectual movement then under way in Europe—a natural activity for a man who had been professor of canon law in the University of Bologna.

Victor IV (1159-1164)—antipope.

Paschal III (1164-1168)—antipope.

Callistus III (1168-1178)—antipope.

Innocent III (1179-1180)—antipope.

Lucius III (1181-1185), forced out of Rome by rebellious Romans, held a council in 1184 against the Albigenses and the Waldenses.

Urban III (1185-1187) sent legates to England to crown the English prince, John, king of Ireland. He threatened to excommunicate Barbarossa and refused to crown that monarch's son, Henry, as emperor.

Gregory VIII (1187), as papal legate, had been sent to England to investigate the death of St. Thomas Becket. As pope, he attempted to negotiate peace with Barbarossa, to organize a crusade, and to mediate between Pisa and Genoa.

Clement III (1187-1191) separated the Scottish Church from the metropolitan see of York. He sided with Tancred, the Norman king of Sicily, against Henry VI of Germany.

Celestine III (1191-1198) crowned Henry VI of Germany as emperor. He defended the indissolubility of marriage against two kings, Alfonso IX of Leon and Philip Augustus of France.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: For the most part the documents deal with the abuses which the Holy See was trying persistently to remove—simony, clerical marriage, and lay investiture. We note also the condemnation of Abelard and of the Albigensian and Waldensian heretics.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Paschal II</i> (1099-1118)		
1102	Lateran Synod	On obedience to the Church; against Henry IV.
1106	Council of Guastalla in Lombardy	On heretical and simoniacal ordination.
<i>Callistus II</i> (1119-1124)		
1123	First Lateran Council (Ecum. IX)	On simony, celibacy, and lay investiture.
<i>Innocent II</i> (1130-1143)		
1139	Second Lateran Council (Ecum. X)	On simony, usury, and pseudo-repentance.
1140	Council of Sens	Against nineteen errors of Peter Abelard.
1141	Letter to the bp. of Sens	Against Peter Abelard.
(?)	Letter to the bp. of Cremona	On baptism of desire.
<i>Eugene III</i> (1145-1153)		
1148	Council of Rheims	On the Trinity.
<i>Alexander III</i> (1159-1181)		
1177	Letter	On the humanity of Christ.
(?)	Letters	On just price; on marriage.
(?)	Letter	On the form of baptism.
1179	Third Lateran Council (Ecum. XI)	On simony; on association with heretics; against Albigenses and Waldenses.
<i>Lucius III</i> (1181-1185)		
1184	Council of Verona	Against Albigenses; and concerning the sacraments.
<i>Urban III</i> (1185-1187)		
(?)	Letter	On usury.

Councils: *The Ninth Ecumenical Council* of 1123—first of a series of three held in the Lateran Palace at Rome in the twelfth century—was summoned to endorse the Concordat of Worms. Three hundred bishops and six hundred abbots, presided over by the pope, after ratifying the Concordat, enacted twenty-two disciplinary decrees upon clerical marriage, heretical ordinations, episcopal jurisdiction, and appropriation of Church property.

The Tenth Ecumenical Council—the Second Lateran—was convoked by Innocent II in 1139 to eliminate the remaining traces of the schism which had been organized by the antipope Anacletus. Almost a thousand prelates attended under the presidency of the pope. The assembly deposed and excommunicated the supporters of the antipope, including King Roger of Sicily; condemned the followers of two heretics, Peter Bruys and Arnold of Brescia; and promulgated disciplinary canons for the improvement of ecclesiastical morals. The council prohibited usury, jousts or tournaments, hereditary claims to office or Church property, marriage of blood relatives; and nullified the ordinations made by the antipope. It is probable (not certain) that the Second Lateran Council made a rule excluding all but cardinals from voting in papal elections, thus terminating the share assigned to priests and people by the decree of Nicholas II, eighty years earlier.

The Eleventh Ecumenical Council—the Third Lateran—which met in 1179 under the presidency of Pope Alexander III, was attended by over three hundred bishops; and it had a total membership of nearly one thousand. Convoked after the defeat at Legnano had forced Frederick I to recognize Alexander III, it terminated the schism that had lasted seventeen years. In addition to annulling all sacred orders conferred by Frederick's antipopes, the council condemned the Waldenses and Albigenses, and promulgated decrees for the reformation of the clergy. It also decreed that future popes should be elected by a two-thirds vote of the cardinals present.

The policy of holding frequent local councils was continued. Clerical misconduct and lay investiture still caused grave concern to the Church authorities. Heretical tendencies occasioned repressive laws. The legisla-

tion of the Church concerned itself also with the prohibition of duels, the restoration of free schools, and the control of robbery, usury and piracy. Decrees were passed to curb avarice. Several synods forbade clerics in sacred orders to act as lawyers; but despite the prohibition, many bishops and abbots—notably in England—continued to hold office as secular judges.

Among the more significant local synods were the **Council of Guastalla** in Lombardy (1106), where King Coloman renounced the right of investiture; the **Council of Gran** (1114), which prohibited simony and clerical marriage, but decreed that priests married before receiving orders might keep their wives; the **Council of Sens** (1140), where Bernard vanquished the eloquent Abelard in theological debate; and the **Synod of Rheims** (1148), which forbade nuns and canonesses to live outside their convents, and in other respects tightened the discipline of religious communities of women, now greatly increased in number.

Many decrees passed by local councils were repeated or summed up in the disciplinary canons of the three great Lateran Councils.

Organization: The method of selecting bishops underwent several alterations. Some years earlier the Holy See had decreed that bishops were to be chosen from among the clerics in major orders; and now cathedral chapters²⁵ began to acquire almost exclusive control of episcopal elections—at the expense of those who had previously enjoyed voting rights, namely, bishops of the province, local abbots, cathedral clergy, royal representatives. Another notable change was the growing share of the pope in the nomination of bishops and in the conferring of benefices. Adrian IV (1154–1159) was content to recommend names; later popes undertook actually to nominate candidates and even to order their election—a proceeding which gave rise to numerous protests.

By this time archdeacons—usually canons of the cathedral or provosts of the principal churches—had acquired powers so extensive that they sometimes rivaled bishops. The fact that the archdeacon was chosen not by the bishop, but by the cathedral chapter or the king, involved a weakening of the bishop's authority; and bishops therefore often protected themselves by assigning archdiaconal duties to vicars-general removable at will.

²⁵ A corporate ecclesiastical body composed of clerics organized according to canon law under the headship of a dean or president.

In parishes which were under the control of cathedral chapters and monastic abbeys the pastoral duties were discharged by priests or monks who served as temporary vicars and received only a relatively small percentage of the revenue—an arrangement open to obvious objections.

Marriage: The theologians of the West regarded the indissolubility of marriage as wholly beyond dispute. However, the University of Bologna maintained that the quality of indissolubility attaches to marriage only after consummation, whereas the University of Paris held that it attaches even to the betrothal. Alexander III (basing his teaching on an interpretation of Gregory II's letter of 731) adopted a middle position and ruled (1) that the effective cause of marriage is the consent of the two parties, but (2) that before consummation a marriage (otherwise indissoluble) may be dissolved by papal authority.

Meanwhile Greek canonists affirmed that the ancient rule of indissolubility formulated by St. Basil had been superseded by Justinian's law; and that pre-nuptial unchastity, unnatural vice, irreconcilable hatred, heresy, and apostasy constitute legitimate grounds of divorce.

Worship: Many regulations concerning churches and divine worship were published by the three Lateran Councils, as for example, that churches may not be fortified or otherwise converted to profane uses; that the faithful may not assist at a Mass celebrated by a priest who disregards the law of celibacy; that the Divine Office may not be sung jointly by nuns and monks; that wherever possible each church shall have its own priest; that persons afflicted with leprosy are entitled to have churches, priests, and cemeteries for their own use. It was in the pontificate of Pope Innocent III and by a decree of that pontiff that the subdiaconate became a major order and that subdeacons thus became canonically eligible for bishoprics.

Art: This era of beginnings in so many fields witnessed a quickening of artistic activity—due in part to the Crusades which facilitated intercourse between East and West and led to the emigration of Greek artists into Italy. The decorating of St.

Mark's, begun about this time, was to be carried on for almost three hundred years. In twelfth-century churches of Sicily—Gefalù, the Cappella Palatina of Palermo, the Cathedral of Monreale—we possess masterpieces of surpassing beauty. Frescoes, sometimes important, but of very unequal value, were produced in Italy, largely under Benedictine leadership. North of the Alps Gothic churches, in order to reduce the amount of stonework needed, developed ribbed vaults and a system of flying buttresses, and their larger windows created an opportunity for the artist in stained glass to display his love of allegory. Notable examples of twelfth-century glass are to be found at Chartres and in other French churches, as well as at Canterbury and York.

Communities: With manual labor no longer indispensable to life, with writing and illuminating taken over largely by a new professional or commercial class, and with monks classified as "great capitalists whose income was not the result of any work or employment of the religious life as such," monasteries no longer symbolized simplicity, poverty, and unworldliness. The introduction of a centralized administration at Cluny had been a valuable aid in the reforming of its dependent monasteries and in the general improvement of the Church; but it also helped to make the order wealthy and powerful, and the fervor of the Cluniac monks declined.²⁶

In England, during the first half of the century, religious vocations numbered perhaps fifteen thousand in a total population of some three million. Anglo-Norman monasticism reached its peak at this time; for the Normans possessed cultural resources lacking to the Anglo-Saxons. The Benedictines (Black monks) acquired vast estates, built magnificent abbeys and churches; and abbots, like other feudal lords, were obliged to render military

²⁶ In 1123 the ambitious abbot Pontius behaved so badly that the monks protested to the Holy See, and Pontius was excommunicated. His successor, Peter the Venerable, at once inaugurated a stricter regime. A number of monks had transferred from Cluny to the more austere Cîteaux. The situation was further complicated by a dispute over taxes from Cîteaux claimed by Cluny—terminated in 1132 by Pope Innocent II. To offset the damage that the reputation of Cluny had suffered, Peter addressed a letter to St. Bernard describing the Cistercians as Pharisees. Bernard's eloquent defense—not only an *apologia* but also a violent attack on Cluny—was so practical that it provided Peter with a basis for his program of reform; and the two men became fast friends.

service to the king.²⁷ A reaction was inevitable. Popular favor swung from the Black monks to the Cistercians (White monks), who established some seventy abbeys within less than a hundred years after their first appearance in Yorkshire; yet they, too, soon lost much of their influence. For a while, in the last quarter of the century, esteem turned towards the Premonstratensian (White) canons—more austere than the Black monks and closer to the people by reason of their missionary activities than the Cistercians; but it was only for a while. The most flourishing days of monasticism were over; Church leadership had passed to the purified hierarchy of the Gregorian reform; the new universities now held the intellectual front; and, with the coming of the friars, the affection of the people was about to turn to another form of religious life.²⁸

In addition to the Carthusians and the Premonstratensians, other orders which now took shape were the Canons of St. Victor, the Carmelites, the Beguines. The nunneries of England were usually at this time aristocratic retreats where literature was cultivated and the daughters of noble families received their education. Nuns increased in number notably during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.²⁹

Cistercians: Alberic, second abbot of Cîteaux, in order to prevent interference with the spiritual freedom of the community, secured from Pope Paschal II a sentence of excommunication and deposition against any archbishop, bishop, emperor, or king who would molest the abbey or its monks. His successor, the Englishman, Stephen Harding,³⁰ in addition to

²⁷ It has been calculated that monasteries controlled approximately a quarter or even one-third of the total wealth of the country.

²⁸ However, the twelfth century was not without monastic bishops of great political ability and of recognized holiness—the extraordinary Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, may serve as an example of the first, and St. Hugh of Lincoln as an example of the second.

²⁹ Of the more than thirty Cistercian nunneries that have been established in England almost one-half date from the period 1175–1215. See Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

³⁰ The Charter of Charity, drawn up in 1119—the Cistercian Magna Carta—is a document “distinctly democratic, and in striking contrast to the monarchical principles according to which Cluny was governed.” Stephen placed the supreme power in a council of all the abbots; and this “General Chapter” proved to be a useful instrument of government and a valuable training school in the management of men. It was gradually adopted by many communities and finally imposed upon all orders by the Fourth Lateran Council in the following century. See Ailbe J. Luddy, *The Order of Cîteaux*, p. 30.

scholarly gifts, possessed a love of austerity and a degree of executive ability which kept his monastery on a high level of religious observance; yet the dwindling of numbers had reduced the community to a serious condition by the year 1112. Then came Bernard of Fontaine—with his four brothers and some twenty-seven companions, all members of noble Burgundian families—and soon Cîteaux had so many recruits that several new foundations were made, notably Clairvaux, established by St. Bernard in 1115, and Tre Fontane near Rome, the abbot of which became Pope Eugene III.²¹ By the end of the century the Cistercians had spread throughout Europe, and even into Syria; and the order included some five hundred communities of men and about half as many convents of nuns. Persecuted by the Emperor Frederick for their loyalty to Alexander III, many Cistercians suffered expulsion from their monasteries and other penalties, without wavering.

At Tart near Dijon, in 1133, Stephen introduced the Cistercian rule into a convent which became the mother house of a new order of Cistercian nuns. Their best known convent was Helfta in Saxony, the home of Sts. Gertrude and Mechtilde.

Carthusians: At first the hermits who gathered around St. Bruno possessed no rule, but as their numbers grew, it became necessary to reduce the customs to writing. This was done by the fifth prior, Guigo, a gifted organizer, who during his term of office added nine new monasteries to the two founded by St. Bruno. The first General Chapter of the community was held under St. Anthelm in 1142. The first Carthusian house in England was established at Witham in Somerset by King Henry II in 1178. In addition to St. Anthelm, the list of twelfth-century Carthusian saints includes Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln (d. 1200), St. Arthold, Bishop of Belley (d. 1206), and Stephen of Chatillon, Bishop of Die (d. 1213).

Canons of St. Victor: William of Champeaux, who was a member of the Canons Regular, retired in 1108 to the little hermitage of St. Victor in Paris, with the result that this institution developed into the famous Abbey and School of St. Victor. Its canons acquired wide influence and the community grew so fast that the annual General Chapter assembled about one hundred abbots and priors. Among its noted men were Hugh of Blankenburg, the "Augustine of the twelfth century," Richard, "the Scottish Mystic," Adam, a distinguished poet, and Peter Lombard, author of the *Book of Sentences*.

Carmelites: A Carmelite tradition—which was rejected by Baronius and later historians, including Carmelites—holds that the order began among hermits dwelling on Mt. Carmel in the days of the Prophet Elias. In the year 1154 (or 1155) St. Berthold, a monk from Calabria, established a community of hermits on Mt. Carmel; and this group, according to some au-

²¹ Two other Cistercians became popes, Gregory VIII in 1187 and Benedict XII in 1334.

thorities, formed the nucleus of the present order. The Carmelites made their first appearance in Europe in the following century.⁸²

Premonstratensians: In 1120 St. Norbert gathered a group of disciples around him at Prémontré near Laon; and within a few years the Norbertines had more than a hundred abbeys in many parts of Europe, and also in Jerusalem (1141) and Bethlehem (1187). The organization included three groups: priests and clerics; nuns; and persons living in the world, the first of the "Third Orders."

Beguines: This name, of uncertain origin, was given first to half lay, half-religious associations of pious women. Similar groups of men came later; and the movement spread from the Netherlands into France, Germany, and Italy.

Saints: The Holy See—especially in the pontificates of Callistus II and Eugene III—made the procedure of canonization more strict, limiting the right of bishops to decree public ecclesiastical honors even for those who were popularly regarded as saints. Alexander III (1159–1181)—because of the scandal caused by the public veneration of a man who had been killed while intoxicated—published a decretal reserving the right of beatification to the Holy See. But the canonists did not agree on the interpretation of this decretal, and some bishops continued to exercise their old right of establishing a public cult within their jurisdiction.

Well known at present are Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) and Thomas Becket (d. 1170). Little known today, but conspicuous in his lifetime, was Leopold (d. 1136), margrave of Austria (father of Emperor Conrad III), who defended his country against Hungarian invaders. He was canonized in 1485. St. John of Matha (d. 1213), who founded the Trinitarians, and St. Felix of Valois (1127–1212), who inspired him, got Innocent III's approval in 1198 for their work of redeeming enslaved Christians.

St. Hugh of Lincoln (c. 1135–1200), a Burgundian noble by birth, built at Witham the first Carthusian house in England on the model of the Grande Chartreuse. Raised to the see of Lincoln and later made papal legate, this first and last Carthusian

⁸² In the seventeenth century the Bollandists attributed the foundation of the Carmelite order to St. Berthold; and a violent controversy took place which was terminated after some thirty years by the Holy See's prohibition to discuss the matter further.

bishop of England remained always a monk in spirit. Austere and fearless, he rebuked Richard I sternly for marital infidelity and for violation of ecclesiastical rights; and he protected the Jews against their persecutors.

Education: The roots of modern education really run back to the intellectual revival of the twelfth century when the Church schools, especially in France, deepened general interest in literature and facilitated the progress of physical and historical science. The scholastic movement systematized philosophy and theology; it provided logical refutations of the immoral and irrational Manichaeistic teachings; it developed language by insisting upon accurate thought and precise expression. Both by laws and by academic foundations, the Church continued to assist intellectual progress.³³ Several universities developed out of older institutions, "and the twelfth century, the golden age of monasticism, was also the golden age of the schools."³⁴

The energies of the twelfth-century schoolmen were largely occupied with a struggle between two tendencies, one of which emphasized the rights of reason, whereas the other emphasized the value of devotion. The champions of the first group were Roscelin, Abelard, and Peter Lombard; on the other side were St. Anselm, St. Peter Damian, St. Bernard, and the School of St. Victor. The School of Chartres and its alumni, particularly John of Salisbury, helped to broaden the spirit of scholasticism; and, by the end of the century, a compromise was reached which recognized both the excellence of the mystical life and the just claims of the reasoning faculty as well. In the field of theology too, the leading masters were welcoming the aid of dialectics and preparing to use the inheritance of Greek philosophy passed on

³³ The Third Council of the Lateran (1179) ruled that every cathedral church should support a master who would instruct ecclesiastical students and give his services gratis to poor scholars.

³⁴ Maurice De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, I, 50.

"There were, however, men of that generation and of the previous one—Anselm, Abelard, Ivo of Chartres, Bernard, to name but a few—who were of a stature to challenge comparison with the most eminent thinkers and writers of any period." (Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 95.) Of Anselm, Dom Knowles says, "Few in the whole history of education can have equalled him as a teacher whose influence covered every activity of mind and will, and for whom his pupils never failed to feel a love which was greater even than their admiration." *Ibid.*, p. 97.

to them through the Arabians and the Jews. Rational philosophy took its place as the "handmaid of theology."

France: French bishops were active in the field of education, notably at Laon and Chartres. At Laon the most distinguished teacher was Anselm (d. 1117), "Doctor Scholasticus," who composed the earliest systematic textbook of theology.³⁵ Chartres, a Platonist stronghold, was the home of Exaggerated Realism.³⁶ Before the end of the century the school at the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris acquired a theological faculty and became a university.³⁷

Italy: Bologna was the chief intellectual center of southern, as Paris was of northern, Europe. Men from every country came to Bologna to learn jurisprudence; for the commercial activities of the time stimulated a revival of legal studies. The university was under the control of the students, who themselves engaged the masters—a system imitated later by other universities of Italy, Spain, and France.

England: Early in the century we find a school at Oxford with about a hundred scholars—possibly the outgrowth of an ancient foundation of uncertain date. Towards the end of the century it became the chief clerical school of England, numbering among its students St. Edmund Rich of Abingdon, afterwards tutor of Roger Bacon and still later archbishop of Canterbury. Cambridge had a monastic school destined to develop into a university.

Spain: One of the most distinguished philosophers of the century was the Arabian, Averroes of Córdoba. He won so high a reputation by his interpretation of Aristotle's works that he was called "the Commentator." He was the last of the great Arabian philosophers; but his writings were preserved in the Jewish schools and his teachings became well known to the Scholastics. Worthy of mention too, is Maimonides, a Jewish scholar of Spain, who found wide favor by his defense of Judaism, based on the teachings of Aristotle.

The East: Through the association of Moors and Christians in Spain, and later through the Crusades, contacts multiplied between Christians and non-Christians. Students frequently went to Sicily or to Spain to work under Moslem teachers; Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa became academic centers; and Moslem culture was pressed into the service of Christian Europe.

³⁵ He is not to be confused with Anselm of Canterbury.

³⁶ Great attention was also paid to medical studies at Chartres.

³⁷ Philip Augustus signed a document often regarded as the charter of the university, although it was in reality only a decree exempting the students from the jurisdiction of the civil authorities.

Writers: In the field of spiritual science, as well as in education, the twelfth century brought a stirring of new forces. Different groups discussed mystical problems and offered instruction on progress in the way of perfection; and as the consciousness of the time was dominated by the concept of love, all these teachers discussed the part played by love in the ascent of the soul towards mystical heights. St. Bernard and William of St. Thierry represented the Benedictine (Cistercian) school; Hugh and Richard of St. Victor attained distinction among the scholars of that abbey; Guigo was conspicuous among the Carthusians. Easily first of these was St. Bernard; and his friend, William of St. Thierry (although less profound and presumably less perfect personally) made a valuable contribution to the development of mystical doctrine.

An idea of the intense literary activity of the times may be gathered from the following list which includes the more prominent teachers and writers.

Teachers: **Adelard of Bath** (c. 1100), professor at Paris and Laon who traveled in Greece and Spain, translated Euclid from the Arabic in 1116, and also wrote against exaggerated realism. His psychological teaching shows the influence both of Plato and of Augustine.

Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) attracted numerous students to the school which he set up about 1100. Among his distinguished pupils were William of Champeaux and Abelard.

William of Champeaux (1070-1120) taught at the cathedral school of Notre Dame of Paris in 1103. His *Book of Sentences* still exists; but his dialectical treatises have perished. After Abelard had challenged his doctrine, he left Notre Dame and began to teach at the Abbey of St. Victor; and he died as bishop of Chalons in 1120. His extreme realistic tendencies found a following among the teachers of Chartres.

Peter Abelard (1079-1142), richly gifted in intellect but egotistical and sometimes unjust, was a popular teacher at Paris until his relationship with Eloise led to his disgrace and retirement. He was followed into solitude by numerous students for whom he opened a school at Le Paraclet. After his first condemnation in 1121 he was made abbot of the monastery of St. Gildas in Brittany. He resumed his teaching at the school of St. Genevieve in Paris; but St. Bernard complained of his rationalistic tendency. Abelard appealed to Pope Innocent II, who ordered him to cease

teaching; and he then retired to the monastery of Cluny where he died.

His little book, *Sic et Non*, lists the apparent contradictions discoverable in the great writers of the Church, without attempting any reconciliation of the conflicting statements. Modern historians tend toward the theory that Abelard was largely misunderstood, and that he erred chiefly in the application of principles; and they give him credit for reaching a final solution of the problem of "Universals."

Peter Lombard (c. 1100–c. 1160) studied theology at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, taught at the cathedral school of Notre Dame in 1140, and died as bishop of Paris. An eclectic rather than an original teacher, he borrowed from Abelard, Hugh of St. Victor, Gratian, John Damascene, and St. Augustine; but he organized various elements into a single system. His *Four Books of Sentences*, a compilation, was the standard textbook of theology until replaced by St. Thomas's *Summa*.

Gratian (d. 1160), an Italian monk of the faculty of Bologna, published about the year 1140, his *Decretum*,³⁸ which was in canon law the counterpart of Lombard's work in theology and became the common text on which canonists based their commentaries.

John of Salisbury (1115–1180), an Englishman—alumnus of Chartres and Paris, secretary to St. Thomas Becket and present at his murder in Canterbury Cathedral—was bishop of Chartres from 1176 to 1180. Earliest of the great English scholars of the period, an expert dialectician, a promoter of literary education, well versed in the classics, he was a typical product of the humanistic school of Chartres. His *Polycraticus*—a philosophical treatise on politics based upon the teachings of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and others—became a source book for the study of political theory.³⁹ His *Metalogicus*, a defense of logic, was the first medieval treatise that displayed familiarity with Aristotle's *Organon*.

Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187) gathered a group of scholars around him at Toledo and translated into Latin something like a hundred works from Greek and Arabian authors.

Mystics: St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), while still a young monk at Cîteaux, was sent by his abbot, St. Stephen, to found a house at Clairvaux; and under him the new monastery acquired a world-wide reputation for austerity and holiness. Bernard condemned the pursuit of intellectual activity for its own sake. Yet in addition to practicing the contemplative life, he developed its theory, mainly by a study of St. Augustine; and he thus became the founder of medieval mysticism.⁴⁰ He stamped his personality on the age; advised popes and monarchs; intervened in wars,

³⁸ When canon law was codified under Gregory IX in 1234, the *Decretum* was incorporated into the official *Corpus Juris Canonici*, a name adapted from Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

³⁹ It justifies and even recommends tyrannicide in some circumstances.

⁴⁰ See Etienne Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard*.

schisms, and theological controversies; promoted the Second Crusade; and played an important part in the foundation of several religious orders. His sermons, letters, hymns, and devotional writings have made his influence permanent in Christian history.

William of St. Thierry (c. 1085–1148), who wrote letters to St. Bernard of Clairvaux and also composed the opening chapters of the Saint's biography, was the author of a number of extremely valuable works on the spiritual life, and of a treatise against Abelard.

Guigo or Guiges de Chastel (c. 1083–1137), who is regarded as the second founder of the Carthusians, was the author of the *Consuetudines*—the first written rule of the order—of a life of St. Hugh of Grenoble, of a book of meditations, and of letters to a number of celebrated men, including St. Bernard. He is sometimes given the title "Venerable" or "Blessed."

Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1141), born in Saxony, a teacher in the school of St. Victor, made important contributions to philosophy and theology, and especially to mystical teaching.

Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) was so exclusively a theologian that he regarded secular learning with suspicion. His most important works are *Benjamin Major* and *Benjamin Minor*, two books on mystical contemplation which continue the teaching of his master, Hugh.

Adam of St. Victor (d. 1192), who lived in the abbey of St. Victor during most of his life, was the author of more than a hundred liturgical hymns; and he has been called the foremost sacred Latin poet of the Middle Ages.⁴¹

Peter Montboissier (1097–1156), known as the Venerable—successor of the unworthy Pontius as general of the Congregation of Cluny—reformed the abbey thoroughly. In addition to having the Koran translated into Latin in 1139, he wrote sermons, theological treatises, and a rule for Cluny which is regarded as one of the best examples of a monastic code. Although venerated as a saint, he was never canonized.

St. Hildegard (1098–1179), a Benedictine contemplative whose career resembled in some respects that of St. Catherine of Siena, founded two convents near Bingen. Being herself unable to write, she dictated several remarkable treatises on the mystical life.⁴² She was greatly honored by dignitaries of the Church and State, and gave counsel to people in all stations of life.

Historians: In the field of historical writing three authors are especially worthy of note. One was **Bishop Otto of Freising** (c. 1110–1158),⁴³ whose

⁴¹ His poems were edited by Léon Gautier in 1858.

⁴² Her manuscripts, when discovered in 1814, were deposited in the State Library at Wiesbaden. Several critics have denied the genuineness of these writings; and the collection of her correspondence contains some which are certainly spurious, including three alleged letters from popes.

⁴³ Otto—who was a native of Champagne, son of St. Leopold of Austria, half brother of Conrad III, and uncle of Frederick Barbarossa—entered the Cistercian order and is

theologico-philosophical *Chronicon*, usually called *The Two Cities*, ranks as the best medieval contribution to the philosophy of history. Ekkehard, abbot of Aura (c. 1050–1125)⁴⁴ fused older narratives into a chronicle which remains our chief source of the history of Germany during the years 1080–1125. A third author, Robert of Auxerre (c. 1156–1212), published a universal history (particularly valuable for France in the reign of Philip Augustus) which marked the transition to a sober type of historiography more critical of the old legends favored by the troubadours.

In England came the earliest of the great Anglo-Norman chronicles, written chiefly by men of the invading race.⁴⁵ Among these was the richly informative narrative of Ordericus Vitalis (son of a French priest at Shrewsbury and himself a monk in southern Normandy) which carried the story of the Normans in France, England, and Sicily to the year 1142. Of high value too were two works by William, monastic librarian at Malmesbury—*Gesta Regum*, which brought the history of England from early Saxon days down to 1140; and *Gesta Pontificum*, an authority upon which all later writers have had to depend for the early ecclesiastical history of England. Roger Hoveden (d. 1201), the Yorkshire chronicler who incorporated many state papers and other documents in his narrative, is our main source for the political history of England in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

Anglo-Norman biographies of saints included the lives of Saints Brendan, Catherine, Giles, George, Edmund.

The history of the *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* by William of Tyre (1130–1190) exemplifies a new type of writing stimulated by the Crusades. About this time too, a priest, Ari, the Bede of Iceland (d. 1148) wrote the first of the Icelandic sagas.

Several biographies of Leo IX were written—notably one by Wibert (Guibert) of Toul and another by an anonymous monk of Beneventum. Cardinal Boso (Breakspear by name, a nephew of Pope Adrian IV, and third English cardinal), a Benedictine who helped to secure the election of Adrian's successor, Pope Alexander III, was the author of several papal biographies, including the life of his uncle. He died about 1181.

Two English archdeacons were representative of a numerous class—the highly educated clerics attached to royal or episcopal households who cir-

now ranked among its blessed. His *Chronicle*, which attained a wide circulation, was drawn upon by almost fifty later writers. It is regarded as the chief work of its kind in the period between Augustine's *City of God* and Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History*. Otto's *Gesta Frederici*, a eulogy of Emperor Frederick, is of less value.

⁴⁴ Not to be confused with five other Ekkehards—four of them earlier and one later.

⁴⁵ But Geoffrey of Monmouth (1100–1154), Bishop of St. Asaph, who wrote the *History of the Kings of Britain* in Latin, was of Welsh blood. Wace, a Norman French poet, canon of Bayeux, who flourished about 1170, wrote a long rhymed chronicle of English history based on Geoffrey's work.

culated criticisms and even calumny about the monks. **Gerald de Barri** of Wales, or *Cambrensis* (c. 1147–c. 1220), archdeacon of Brecknock, who made several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a bishopric, was friendly to the Carthusians but uncompromising in his hostility to the Cistercians. His books, especially *Speculum Ecclesiae*, readable but unreliable, have been subjected to serious criticism and must be corrected by writings which present another point of view.⁴⁶ **Walter Map** (c. 1140–c. 1210), probably a Welshman and, like Gerald, educated in Paris, who represented King Henry II at the Third Lateran Council, became archdeacon of Oxford in 1197, also tried in vain to be made a bishop. He too, circulated unverified charges against the monastic establishments and openly proclaimed his willingness to do justice to all men "except Jews and Cistercians."

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: Disputes over the overlapping royal and papal jurisdictions continued to cause friction, even after the Concordat of Worms (1122) had outlawed the ancient practice of lay investiture. For years Frederick Barbarossa was either quarreling or bargaining with the Holy See; his excommunication by Alexander III caused a seventeen-year schism.

The Justinian Code, introduced at Bologna by Irnerius (d. 1130), became a textbook there; and a school of civil lawyers biased in favor of the emperor taught that any letter or rescript of the emperor had the force of law, an entering wedge for state absolutism. Opposed to the imperialists were the disciples of Gratian, the Italian Benedictine, who in his *Decretum*⁴⁷ emphasized the autonomy of the Church and pointed out the danger of allowing the state to control ecclesiastical affairs. From the middle of the twelfth century these two schools of thought faced each other as antagonists, with the civil lawyers supporting the empire and the canonists supporting the papacy. An attempt

⁴⁶ Although Gerald's reckless and self contradictory statements contain many calumnies against Ireland, he has been described in not unkindly terms by a professor of Irish history at University College, Dublin. "He is real flesh and blood—this learned, vain, pugilistic cleric, so confident of his own merits, so bitter towards his opponents, and yet (one realises) so zealous, according to his lights, for the honour of the Church, so ardent in reform, so diligent in the discharge of his duties, as he understood them." Mary T. Hayden. "Giraldus Cambrensis," *Studies*, XXIV (March, 1935), 110.

⁴⁷ This work, compiled about the year 1140, and described as "an inspired textbook," followed the method used in the *Pandects* of Justinian (then recently brought to light), collected the existing canons, and answered objections made against them.

to reconcile the conflicting claims was the theory formulated by Huguccio, Bishop of Ferrara (1190) and teacher of the future Innocent III—that both pope and emperor receive their power from God and neither is dependent on the other.

Heresies: *The Albigenses.* An anti-Christian reaction, which was also antisocial, manifested itself in several heretical groups of southern France and northern Italy. The chief of these, the Neo-Manichaean Cathari—named Albigenses by the Council of Tours (1163) because Albi was their headquarters⁴⁸—gained many followers among the nobility and soon dominated the discouraged Catholic minority in Languedoc. The count of Toulouse and other nobles seized Church property; mobs attacked the clergy; at Béziers the canons had to fortify the church for defense against the townsmen; the bishop of Carcassonne was driven from his see. The Albigenses were condemned by several councils (Toulouse 1119, Rheims 1148, Tours 1163); and a papal legate sent by Pope Eugene (1145) coöperated with St. Bernard in an effort to win over the heretics. The effort met with small success. Then in 1179 the Third Council of the Lateran decreed that force should be used.

The Waldenses: In 1176 Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, distributed his wealth and organized his followers into a group. They lived on charity and were known sometimes as the “Waldenses,” sometimes as the “Poor Men of Lyons.” Many of them, who led austere lives and possessed a reputation for sanctity, went about advocating a return to evangelical poverty, denouncing the wealthy clergy, insisting upon personal effort and renunciation as more efficacious than reception of the sacraments, and protesting against all wars. They were prohibited from preaching in public by the archbishop of Lyons and by the Lateran Council in 1179; but they refused to desist and were included among the heretics excommunicated by Pope Lucius III (1184). Before long the Waldenses were teaching a sort of Puritan Protestantism, denying the authority of the Church, and holding that every just man could absolve, consecrate, and preach the Gospel without sacramental ordination. They spread into

⁴⁸ For a long time the name “Albigenses” was applied to all heretics in France.

many regions—especially into Languedoc, where they were often confused with the Albigenses, and into Italy, where they gave their name to the “Waldensian Valleys” of Piedmont.

The Fraticelli: Joachim of Flora (c. 1132–1202), an Italian mystic, converted from a worldly life while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, entered the Cistercian Abbey of San Bucina, became a priest about the year 1168 and, after having been elected abbot, resigned his office to devote himself to writing, founded the Abbey of Flora in the mountains of Calabria, and wrote three books based upon a mystical interpretation of the Apocalypse. He taught that in the earliest period of world history the First Person of the Blessed Trinity ruled by fear (the Old Testament); then the Second Person revealed the hidden wisdom of the ages (the Catholic Church); and finally the Third Person would begin a new dispensation of universal love (the Kingdom of the Holy Spirit) about the year 1260. The Lateran Council of 1215 condemned the teachings of Joachim. Some of his followers, who called themselves “Joachimists,” further discredited his reputation by writings which were incorrectly attributed to the abbot himself. Joachimism was revived with modifications by the Franciscan Spirituals who obtained from Celestine V authorization to leave the jurisdiction of their Franciscan superiors and to live in hermitages. When this privilege was revoked by Celestine’s successor, Boniface VIII, the Spirituals refused to recognize the abdication of Celestine and the election of Boniface; and they continued their way of life, calling themselves “Fraticelli.”

The twelfth century discloses a steadily growing tendency to deal severely with heretics, then regarded as dangerous public enemies; and persons guilty or suspected of heresy suffered punishments extremely repulsive to the modern mind, although approved by the spirit of the time. At first the ecclesiastical authorities reproved civil rulers for their cruelty; but as attacks upon churches and prelates increased, stern repressive measures were sanctioned by the Church.

In 1118 the Emperor Alexius Comnenus put to death a number of Bogomili, earliest of the Manichaeans to invade Europe. In France not many years later thirteen prominent citizens of Orleans were burned to ensure “the safety of the kingdom and the salvation of souls.” About the

middle of the century Peter Bruys was burned by a mob. In 1166 Henry II of England had thirty heretics branded on their foreheads, scourged in public, and driven out of the kingdom. Raymond V of Toulouse (d. 1194) enacted a law which prescribed death as punishment for the Cathari.

The opposition of the Church to the cruel treatment of heretics may be gathered from the decrees of the Synod of Toulouse, presided over by Pope Callistus II (1119); from the pronouncement of the bishop of Liège (1130) that heretics should be excommunicated but not put to death; and from St. Bernard of Clairvaux's vigorous protest against the use of violence.

The civil rulers and the people regarded the Church as too indulgent. In Cologne several heretics were forcibly taken out of the custody of the Church authorities and burned alive. At Liège, in 1144, the bishop had great difficulty in rescuing some Manichaeans who were about to be carried to the stake.

Later, especially when heresy became more defiant, ecclesiastics displayed an inclination to punish heretics severely. At the Lateran Council in 1179 Alexander III urged secular rulers to repress the heretics in southern France, if necessary by imprisonment and confiscation of property. In Flanders, Duke Philip and Archbishop William of Rheims in 1183 burned many heretics alive, confiscated their property and divided it between themselves. Pope Lucius III (d. 1185) agreed that convicted heretics, after having been excommunicated, should be handed over to the civil power for "suitable punishment," i.e., exile and confiscation of property; and at the Council of Verona he imposed on bishops the obligation of making search (*inquisitio*) for heretics and delivering them to the secular power. In 1192 the bishop of Toulouse ordered the Waldenses to be put in chains and haled before the episcopal court. In 1193 Alfonso of Aragon decreed severe punishment for heretics; and four years later Pedro II ruled that they should be burned at the stake. Many churchmen, however, still continued to protest against the cruel extremes to which the authorities went in dealing with heresy.

Other Disputes: Much of the philosophical writing of the time consisted of argumentation about the nature of universal ideas—a dispute which waxed particularly warm at Paris and at Chartres. It was in the course of this controversy that Peter Abelard (d. 1142) first came into prominence as a champion of the rights of reason, then slowly winning adequate recognition. He occupied a middle position between the extreme nominalism of Roscelin and the exaggerated realism of William of Champeaux; and his teaching "was very similar to the moderate Realism

which began to be official in the schools about half a century after his death." ⁴⁹ However, he was accused of magnifying reason at the expense of faith; and the Council of Sens, at the urging of St. Bernard, censured him for rationalistic tendencies and made him discontinue his teaching.

John of Salisbury, perhaps the best Latinist of the century, personified the classical learning for which Chartres was famous. He led a campaign against the Sophists who had brought discredit on the schools by discussing such points as the question whether a pig is led to market by the rope or by the man who holds the rope.

A controversy over the doctrine of the Trinity took place in connection with the writings of Gilbert de la Porrée, Chancellor of Chartres and later Bishop of Poitiers until his death in 1154. His teaching was censured by the Council of Rheims in 1148, and he withdrew the propositions condemned.

The Moslems: Greatest among the Turkish sultans of this period was the famous Saladin, who restored the Caliphate of Baghdad, suppressed the Fatimite Caliphate of Egypt in 1171, and revived the orthodox Abbassid faith, establishing its headquarters at Cairo and Alexandria. He took Jerusalem, won back nearly all Palestine, and in 1192 exacted a truce which ended the Third Crusade, leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Mohammedans—with permission for Christian pilgrims to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Saladin died in 1194.

In the East Mohammedan rulers reigned from Peshawar to the Bay of Bengal. Many of the people of India accepted Islam; but towards the end of the century Hinduism revived.

The Jews: As Western Christendom developed into a highly organized theocracy, the Jews became more conspicuously differentiated from the rest of the population. Moreover, in the social and political changes that accompanied the growth of commercial towns, the populace became increasingly aware of the Jew's failure to identify himself with his neighbors. Always a group apart, the Jews cherished their own traditions and frowned upon intermarriage with the Gentiles. In some countries, notably

⁴⁹ William Turner, "Abelard," *Cath. Encyc.*, I, 38.

France and Spain, they had acquired considerable intellectual prestige and political influence; and many of them became enormously wealthy through trade with the Orient and the business of money-lending—forbidden to Christians under penalty of excommunication.⁵⁰ Jews were employed frequently in another odious occupation, that of tax collecting. Additional hatred was aroused by calumnies—especially the calumny of ritual murder.⁵¹ And a plausible excuse for persecuting Jews could always be based on the charge that they formed a menace to Christian faith and Christian morality. Further, the excitement stirred up by the Crusades often led to outbreaks of anti-Semitism; and the mob ignored protests by St. Bernard and other churchmen.

Probably because of anti-Semitic outrages in connection with the First Crusade, Callistus II (about the year 1120) issued the bull *Sicut Judaeis*, which was practically a Jewish Bill of Rights.⁵² It laid down that the Jews should not be forced to accept baptism; nor should they be injured in life, limb, or property except by due process of law; nor should they be disturbed in their festival celebrations or obliged to render feudal service beyond what was customary. This bull, often referred to as the "*Constitutio pro Judaeis*," was reissued or confirmed by twenty or thirty pontiffs during the next four hundred years. It was republished by Eugene III about the middle of the century, by Alexander III a little later, then by Clement III and Celestine III about the time of the Third Crusade (1189-1192).

Jews were put to death on more than one occasion in England during the reign of Richard I. In northern France many of the nobles expelled

⁵⁰ Despite prohibitions by the 2nd and 3rd Lateran councils Christians practised usury secretly, or under some such pretext as payment for possible loss. On unsecured loans interest was high—in Germany and England over 40%; in Vienna, for Jews (who ran more risk), 87%.

⁵¹ The first allegation of ritual murder—the murder of Christian children to obtain blood—occurred in 1144 when a boy, "St. William of Norwich," disappeared at paschal time, and the charge was repeated three times in England before the year 1200.

⁵² To what extent the Jews had been as well off as their Christian neighbors during the preceding centuries is a point debated by scholars. Occupying an anomalous position as eligible neither for military service nor for ownership of land, the Jew had been classified as "property" belonging to the great nobles or the king. Frederick I spoke of the Jews in his jurisdiction as "belonging to the royal treasury"; and in some instances the Jews of a district would be conveyed with a piece of land as part of a dowry. A baron would speak of "my Jews"; and in France Jews were required to deposit money as security against leaving a given domain.

Outbreaks against the Jews were to some extent associated with the confiscation of Jewish property when money was being raised for the Crusades, as the feeling prevailed that the Jews should contribute financial help while others were giving their lives in defense of Europe or to rescue the Holy Land. The bull *Sicut Judaeis* has not always been recognized for what it was—a sincere attempt to protect Jews against mob violence.

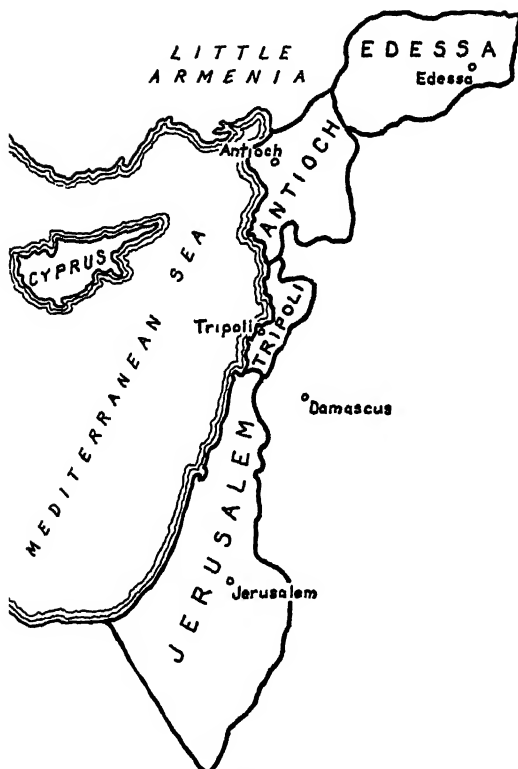
Jews and appropriated their belongings; in 1171 the charge of murder caused the death of a number of Jews in Blois; and finally in 1182, Philip Augustus banished them, recalling them to become royal serfs in 1198. A Jewish appeal to Innocent III was answered in 1199 by a papal decree renewing the prohibition of violence and forbidding forced baptism; but, like the preceding legislation, it remained largely ineffective.

4. MISSIONS

Northern Europe: Many new sees were erected. Scandinavia became independent of Hamburg-Bremen by the creation of new provinces—Lund for Denmark (1104), Trondheim for Norway (1152), Upsala for Sweden (1164). Missionaries visited the pagans of northern Europe. Premonstratensian monks continued the work begun among the Pomeranians by Otto of Bamberg and by the Spanish monk, Bernhard. But these labors were nullified in the so-called "Wend Crusade" of 1147, when certain Saxon nobles, aroused by St. Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade, assembled an army of one hundred thousand men and invaded the country of the Wends, a Slavonic people of east Germany. This attempt to force Christianity on the Wends imbued them with a deep hatred of the Church.

Meinhard, an Augustinian canon, accompanied by a band of German traders from Bremen, went to Livonia and became bishop there in 1191. His successor, a Cistercian abbot, Berthold, driven out in a pagan uprising, came back with an army raised by papal authority and imposed Christianity on the people in 1198. After the army withdrew, many of the natives returned to the worship of their pagan gods and began to persecute the Christians.

The Crusades: Of tremendous importance was Europe's effort to retain the territory earlier acquired in the East by the First Crusade. Between Egypt and the Euphrates there now lay four Latin states: the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Tripolis, the Principality of Antioch, and the County of Edessa. The ownership of these states was vested in all Christendom; and they were theoretically under the direct control of the Holy See. During the first half of the twelfth century they prospered.



XII Century - The Crusaders' States

But they were surrounded by powerful enemies—the caliph of Egypt on the south, the emir of Damascus on the east, the Greek emperor on the north—and reinforcements from the West were intermittent and uncertain. Quarrels between Greeks and Latins recurred frequently. The Latins, during their occupation of Antioch and Jerusalem, excluded the Greek patriarchs of those two cities and introduced Latin patriarchs; and only the pope's restraining influence kept them from giving more forcible expression to their disapproval of schism. Towards the middle of the century hostilities broke out between Raymond of Antioch and the Greek emperors, John Comnenus and his successor, Manuel. The clashes between the two races finally induced Emperor Andronicus Comnenus to order a general massacre of the Latins in 1182; and in 1190, Dositheus, the Greek

patriarch of Constantinople, offered an indulgence to any Greek who would kill a Latin.

Meanwhile the capture of Edessa by the Turks in 1144 had startled Western Christendom; and the Second Crusade, organized by St. Bernard, set out for the Holy Land in 1147. The crusaders suffered great losses in their march through Asia Minor; and, after an unsuccessful siege of Damascus, they retired. In 1187 Saladin seized Jerusalem and, except for Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli, all Syria fell into Moslem hands.

Urged by Gregory VIII and Clement III, Philip Augustus of France, Henry II of England, and Frederick Barbarossa organized the Third Crusade. Frederick was drowned in Asia Minor; Henry's successor, Richard I, led the crusaders on to Acre which they took in 1191. The leaders then commenced a three-cornered dispute over the crown of Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards King Philip left Palestine. King Richard, having concluded a truce with Saladin, started for England in 1192; but he was waylaid and imprisoned by the duke of Austria, who sold him to the Emperor Henry VI. Henry exacted an enormous ransom and forced Richard to declare England an imperial fief.

In 1195 Emperor Henry VI prepared a new expedition to seize Constantinople from Alexius III and also to recover Jerusalem. He died at Messina; and the German crusaders made peace with the Moslems.

Innocent III, immediately after his election in 1198, called on the crusaders to concentrate upon one objective—the reconquest of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Innocent succeeded in reconciling Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion-hearted in 1199; and numerous knights in France and Germany “took the Cross.”

Orders of Knights: The presence of crusading troops in the East brought about the organization of the religious orders of knighthood.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John, originally created to serve in the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, were later transformed into a fighting force.⁵⁸ Their habit was a black mantle with a white cross. **The Knights**

⁵⁸ See a good, although not in all respects accurate, account of the activities of this order, by Elizabeth Wheeler Schermerhorn, *On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross, A Study of the Heritage of the Knights Hospitallers in Feudal Europe* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940).

Templars, organized in 1118, lived under the Rule of St. Bernard. Many nobles joined their ranks; and they built fortresses at strategic points throughout the country. The Templars wore a white mantle with a red cross. The **Teutonic Order of Knights** was organized in 1190 during the siege of Acre; and their rule was approved by Clement III the following year. They wore a white mantle with a black cross.

These orders soon grew wealthy and powerful. They were directly under the Holy See; and their papal privileges occasioned so much trouble with the secular clergy and the civil rulers that the Lateran Council of 1179 officially defined these privileges. In 1181 the Holy See warned all persons to respect the rights of both the Hospitallers and the Templars.

The knights of the great military orders took the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and shared the immunities of monks.

SUMMARY

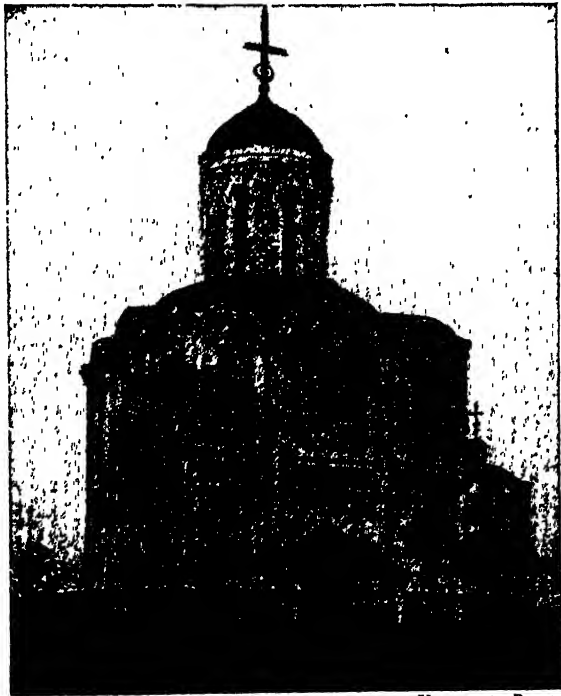
The idealistic proposal of Paschal II was set aside; and the Ninth Ecumenical Council ratified the less conciliatory plan of Callistus II, formulated in the Concordat of Worms. Thereafter the popes played vigorous roles: Callistus II, who protected the Jews, also forced Henry I to accept Archbishop Thurstan of York; Honorius II crowned Lothair, recognized the Sicilian kingship of Roger the Norman, excommunicated Conrad of Hohenstaufen, pioneer in the Guelph-Ghibelline feud and future emperor; Innocent II, with the aid of St. Bernard and the Tenth Ecumenical Council, ended the Anacletan schism. In the pontificate of Adrian IV, Arnold of Brescia was burned as a heretic; to Alexander III fell the tasks of excommunicating Frederick Barbarossa and making Henry II do penance for the murder of Thomas Becket.

Although restless Albigenes and Waldenses troubled the authorities, and the rationalistic tendencies of Abelard gave concern to the theologians, Europe rose steadily to higher levels. The schools at Bologna, Paris, Chartres, developed under such noted masters as Irnerius, Gratian, William of Champeaux, Peter Lombard, and the gifted John of Salisbury, first of that "long

series of English intellectuals who were at once statesmen, churchmen, humanists, philosophers, and writers.”⁵⁴ St. Bernard, William of St. Thierry, and Guigo laid the foundations of mystical theology. Carthusians, Cistercians, Carmelites, Premonstratensians, Canons of St. Victor, erected new centers of religious fervor, wherein tens of thousands devoted themselves to prayer and the practice of austerities.

The aggressive Normans—usually with papal approval—were extending their power in the British Isles, in Italy, and elsewhere. But Islam too (except in Spain), was gaining ground; and the Latin kingdoms of the East shook under Turkish pressure. Although Emperor Conrad III and Louis VII of France enrolled in the Second Crusade, and three powerful monarchs, Frederick, Richard, and Philip Augustus, followed them in the Third, Islam took possession first of Edessa and then of Jerusalem.

⁵⁴ De Wulf, *op. cit.*, I, 226.



University Prints

CHURCH OF ST. DMITRI (12th century)

In Vladimir which followed Kiev and preceded Moscow as Russia's capital

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1111 <i>Paschal II</i> offers concessions</p> <p>1115 St. Bernard founds Clairvaux</p> <p>1119 Neo-Manichaeans condemned at Toulouse</p> <p>c. 1120 <i>Callistus II</i> issues <i>Pro Judaeis</i> and threatens Henry I</p> <p>St. Norbert founds Premonstratensians</p> <p>1122 Concordat of Worms</p> <p>1123 Ninth Ecumenical Council (Lateran I)</p> <p>c. 1135 <i>Innocent II</i> aided by St. Bernard vs. Anacletus</p> <p>1139 Tenth Ecumenical Council (Lateran II) ends Anacletan schism</p> <p>1140 St. Bernard vs. Abelard at Sens</p> <p>1147 Second Crusade</p> <p>1148 Albigenes excommunicated at Rheims</p> <p>c. 1154 St. Berthold's hermits on Mt. Carmel</p> <p>1156 <i>Adrian IV</i> "donates" Ireland</p> <p>1163 Albigenes condemned at Tours</p> <p>1178 Carthusians in England</p> <p>1179 Eleventh Ecumenical Council (Lateran III) vs. Waldenses and Albigenes</p> <p>1189 Third Crusade</p> <p>c. 1190 Teutonic Knights founded</p> <p>1198 Accession of <i>Innocent III</i></p> | <p>1108 William of Champeaux at St. Victor's</p> <p>1118 Spanish retake Saragossa</p> <p>1130 Norman kingdom of Sicily</p> <p>1140 Battle of Weinsberg</p> <p>c. 1140 Gratian's <i>Decretum</i></p> <p>1143 Portugal a kingdom</p> <p>1144 Turks take Edessa</p> <p>c. 1148 Peter Lombard's <i>Book of Sentences</i></p> <p>c. 1169 Novgorod develops</p> <p>1170 Normans invade Ireland</p> <p>Henry II vs. Thomas Becket</p> <p>1176 Frederick I defeated at Legnano</p> <p>John of Salisbury, Bp. of Chartres</p> <p>1187 Saladin takes Jerusalem</p> <p>c. 1192 Latins vs. Greeks in East</p> <p>1195 Raymond VI of Toulouse favors Albigenes</p> <p>c. 1200 Aragon a papal fief</p> |
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CHAPTER XIII

(The Twelve Hundreds)

The Papacy Dominant

PREVIEW

WERE the thirteenth century renowned for no other reason, it would be saved from oblivion by the memory of three men who personified three vital elements of medieval civilization—papal authority then at the acme of its influence; simple holiness expressing faith, hope, and love in the practice of poverty, chastity, and obedience; and scholasticism, rational, profound, fervently spiritual, source of an intellectual tradition which still endures. Those men were Pope Innocent III, whose pontificate illustrated better than any other the theocratic ideal; Francis of Assisi, commonly acclaimed the disciple most closely resembling the Divine Master; and Thomas Aquinas, patron saint of the *philosophia perennis*.

The dominance of the pope, the development of religious life, and the progress of learning, all contributed to the elimination of abuses and the spread of virtue. Simony was suppressed, priestly celibacy enforced, the hierarchy lifted up. Spiritual fervor expressed itself in the huge membership of the mendicant friars who preached to the Christian people of Europe, to the pagans still lurking in the north, to the far eastern Tatars.

Nevertheless, as indicated by Pope Innocent IV in his startling sermon, "The Five Wounds of the Church," certain serious symptoms manifested themselves as the years went on. Early in the century the pope had been able to discipline contumacious persons of whatever rank. Fifty years later he found himself practically helpless before kings accustomed to exercise absolute

power within their own dominions. Rulers, nominally Christian and Catholic, devoted themselves to dynastic or to national interests, at the cost of religious unity and loyalty. More than one gifted scholar dallied with false doctrine; misguided enthusiasts turned the Flagellants into a fanatical sect; and, in the endeavor to suppress heretics and "witches," the defenders of orthodoxy developed a procedure inexcusably cruel.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The long struggle of the empire for world domination ended in defeat; but the victory of the papacy proved to be a barren one. When the popes, breaking the tradition of centuries, turned from Germany to France for support, they put themselves in the hands of masterful friends; the ambitious Hohenstaufens were replaced by the domineering Robert of Anjou and the unscrupulous Philip IV.

Momentous changes took place in the chief European countries during these years. Under St. Louis, the French people developed that veneration for royalty which became one of their outstanding characteristics; and, at the end of his long reign (1226-1270), France was the most powerful country in Europe. England, building up a parliamentary government, insisted upon the exclusion of foreign prelates and the limitation of papal jurisdiction within the realm. The allied kings of Castile, Aragon, and Leon extended the re-conquest of Spain almost to the southern shores of the peninsula. Germany and Italy fared less happily: first came the strife of Guelph and Ghibelline, making the people insecure and wretched; then the fall of the Hohenstaufens; then the chaos of the Great Interregnum (1256-1273). Bohemia's bid for greatness ended suddenly with the death of Ottocar II in 1278, when the Hapsburgs dismembered the Czech kingdom. Poland and Hungary, overrun by Mongol hordes, were the homes of demoralized peoples.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland

The Empire: The dispute over the succession to Henry VI caused a nine years' war; then Philip of Hohenstaufen died, and his rival, Otto of Brunswick, was formally elected Emperor Otto IV in 1208. Otto had secured the support of Pope Innocent III by agreeing to the pope's conditions; and, when he attempted to revive the claims he had renounced, Innocent excommunicated him.

Frederick II¹ (1215-1250), entering upon the scene as champion of the pope, acknowledged the jurisdiction of Innocent, gave up all claim to the estates of Matilda of Tuscany and to the right of intervention in episcopal elections, and defeated Otto in battle. Before long, however, Frederick proved to be one of the most dangerous enemies ever encountered by the papacy. Trouble with Honorius III was followed by an open break with Gregory IX. The immediate issue was Frederick's plan to control Italy and Sicily and to convert the empire into an hereditary possession of the Hohenstaufens. But far more serious than the struggle over the lordship of Sicily was the opposition between Frederick's theory of royal autocracy and the old medieval view of limited kingship. For the despotism established by Frederick embodied a conception of the monarch as sole source of right and power, supreme in both spiritual and temporal fields and responsible to no authority.²

¹ Frederick—crowned king at Mainz and Aachen, and emperor at Rome (1212, 1215, 1220)—was son of the Norman princess, Constance, and laid claim to Sicily as an hereditary estate; but for two centuries Sicily had been a fief of the popes, and they were not content to be "encircled" by leaving it in the hands of the German emperor. ". . . it was obviously the interest of the Pope to maintain his prescriptive rights over Sicily in order to save himself from being crushed between the upper and the nether millstone. This he would be wholly unable to do if the Kingdom of Sicily became an hereditary appendage of the Empire." See Mann, *op. cit.*, XIV, 119.

² "Such a view of political society was alien to the spirit of all medieval political thought. As we know (in the words of Lord Acton), the chief political product of the Middle Ages was 'a system of states in which authority was restricted by the representation of powerful classes, by privileged associations, and by the acknowledgment of duties superior to those which are imposed by man.' With Frederick this was denied. The State becomes an end in itself." David C. Douglas, "The Development of Medieval Europe," in Eyre, *European Civilization, Its Origin and Development*, III, 344.

With the independence of the Holy See menaced and the Christian tradition thus repudiated, the popes took up the challenge. Gregory IX in 1239, having formed an alliance with the Lombard cities, excommunicated Frederick and called upon the German princes to depose him. The war continued during the pontificate of Innocent IV who renewed the excommunication. Frederick undertook to set up an antipope in 1248, but died two years later. Bent upon excluding from the imperial succession "the brood of that viper who had been nourished in the bosom of the Church," Innocent IV excommunicated Frederick's son, Conrad, who had already begun to follow in his father's footsteps. Conrad died in 1254 without having received the imperial crown, leaving a son, Conradin, aged two years; and with the defeat of Conradin at Tagliacozzo and his execution in 1268 the Hohenstaufen dynasty came to an end.³

Germany never recovered from the effects of Frederick's disastrous rule; for he purchased the support of the German princes by giving them practical sovereignty, and he left the country in a condition of political and social chaos. Some one hundred fifty disunited principalities, duchies, counties, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbeys, with varying degrees of independence, replaced the great medieval kingdom. Germany had been sacrificed to the demands of the empire; and meanwhile the emperor had made himself less and less necessary, and therefore less and less important.⁴

The Great Interregnum lasted until 1273. Then, as the German princes were still reluctant to assume the responsibility of the empire, Gregory X ordered the electors to name a ruler, threatening that otherwise he himself (with the advice of the cardinals) would take steps to provide one; and the electors chose the unimportant Count Rudolf of Hapsburg, "whose little castle still stands on the Aar." Rudolf's crowning dated the beginning of a new epoch in which "Emperor" was an empty title. Although his successors retained it, they rarely went to Rome to be crowned; and few of them made any attempt to regain the Italian territory for which their predecessors had made such sacrifices. After a period of temporizing during several pontificates, Rudolf in 1278, finally acknowledging that it was the Holy See which had transferred the empire from the Greeks to the Romans, formally annulled all that had been done by his own officials

³ After the death of Conrad IV several candidates were elected (William of Holland, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Alfonso X of Castile); but none obtained general recognition. The Great Interregnum followed.

⁴ See Eyre, *op. cit.*, III, 416.

against the interests of the papacy, and recognized the authority of the pope over the disputed area in Italy.⁵

At Rudolf's death in 1291 the imperial throne was claimed by his son Albert and by Adolf of Nassau, friend of the English king, Edward I. Albert had the support of Philip the Fair and the powerful Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, and although threatened with excommunication by Pope Boniface, he won the crown in 1298. He later secured the friendship of Boniface by making an acknowledgment similar to that made by his father.

Bohemia: The Czechs remained partially independent of the empire, and during the long reign of the two Ottocars, which lasted almost the whole of the thirteenth century, Bohemia advanced so swiftly in extent and prosperity that the antagonism of the neighboring German princes was aroused. The vast designs of Ottocar II ended in disaster. He was killed at the battle of Marchfield while fighting against the Emperor Rudolf (1278); the Czech kingdom was dismembered; and Rudolf seized Austria and other German districts, thereby laying the foundation of the future Hapsburg greatness.

Hungary: Western ideas had begun to penetrate into Hungary and to transform it into a European state. When Andrew II (1205-1235), father of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, impoverished the country by reckless expenditures, his nobles forced him to make concessions in the Golden Bull—published just seven years after the signing of the English Magna Carta.⁶ The influence of Jewish and Mohammedan financial experts over Andrew was greatly resented by the Catholic prelates; and the king's disregard of Church rights led to the placing of an interdict on the kingdom in 1232.

Under Bela IV (1235-1270) a Tatar invasion destroyed thousands of people and hundreds of churches. New churches and convents were erected and colonists were brought in to resettle the country; but among the immigrants were many pagan Cumans from the region of the Black Sea, and during the reign of Ladislaus IV (1272-1290) (son of a Cuman mother) the court

⁵ See Mann, *op. cit.*, XVI, 106-07.

⁶ The Golden Bull (1222) confirmed the rights of the nobles and authorized them to make war on the king if he violated his agreement.

was more pagan than Christian. The king's pro-Cuman policy provoked a remonstrance from the pope, who tried in vain to effect a reformation in 1279.

Under Andrew III a Mongol invasion brought on a condition of near anarchy. In the general collapse of authority the great barons became virtually independent; and Charles Robert of Naples, with the approval of the Holy See, claimed the title, "King of Hungary" (1295).

Poland: To overcome the Prussians—fiercest enemies of both Poles and Germans—Conrad of Masovia in 1226 called in the Teutonic Order. The Knights took over the region between Pomerania and Courland; and their Grand Master became one of the most powerful rulers in Europe. In the reconstruction which followed the mid-century Tatar invasion a German attempt to take control was defeated by the archbishop of Gnesen who organized the Poles. Early in the century Innocent III had to admonish the archbishop of Gnesen to proceed against the married priests; but—in contrast to the disedifying clerics—Cracow had two bishops venerated for holiness: Vincent Kadlubek (d. 1223), Poland's first chronicler; and John Prandotha (d. 1266), foe of the Flagellants. Fleeing from persecution elsewhere, the Jews flocked into this "Paradise of the Jews," receiving from Boleslaus the Pious, in 1264, privileges that they held for five centuries.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

France: During half a century (1226–1270) the good example and wise rule of Queen Blanche and of that "perfect medieval king" her son, St. Louis IX, greatly advanced the welfare of the kingdom.⁷ No timid soul, Louis loved justice well enough to fight for it. He sent a veiled threat to the Emperor Frederick II whose allies had seized the French bishops on their way to a council convoked by the pope; he served on two crusades, suffer-

⁷ Nevertheless the heavy taxes provoked widespread complaint; and in 1246 a league of the barons of the north and the west accused the clergy of amassing wealth and of abusing their ecclesiastical privileges. Innocent IV urged Louis to dissolve this league; but we have no record of the king's response.

A Pragmatic Sanction which limited the power of the pope in France is often represented as the work of St. Louis in 1269; but in reality it is a fourteenth-century forgery.

ing imprisonment at Cairo in 1250, and dying at Tunis in 1270.

Philip IV (1285-1314), whose political undertakings required large sums of money, laid new taxes upon the French clergy; and the pope's protest secured no real redress.⁸ When Pope Boniface VIII forbade the clergy to pay taxes without papal permission, Philip, by way of reprisal, prohibited the exportation of gold and silver from France to Rome.

Spain: The unification of the country and the expulsion of the Moors were still uncompleted. Castile and Aragon, which had separated in the eleventh century, and united in the twelfth, separated, reunited, and then separated once again before the year 1300. In the latter half of the century, as a result of dissension and feuds, much of the peninsula was in a condition bordering upon anarchy. In the reconquered northern area where almost half of the inhabitants were Mohammedans or Jews, monks from Cluny, with other missionaries, were busily engaged in ministering to the needs of the people and in making converts to the faith.

Castile: With the help of Aragon, Alfonso VIII (1158-1214), drove the Mohammedans out of his kingdom in 1212. His daughter, Berengaria, married King Alfonso of Leon; and, although the marriage was dissolved by the pope on the ground of consanguinity, their son, Ferdinand III (1219-1252), was recognized as legitimate. He reigned over Castile and Leon—two kingdoms never again separated. He was canonized in 1671.

The united forces of Castile, Leon, and Aragon drove the Moors farther and farther south. Córdoba, Valencia, and Seville were taken within a dozen years (1236-1248). The greater part of Andalusia came again into Christian hands; and Mohammedan Spain dwindled to the province of Granada and a few coastal towns near Cadiz. Unfortunately, the progress of the Reconquest was deferred while Alfonso X, the Wise, was trying to become head of the Holy Roman Empire, and while Sancho the Brave (1284-1295) and Ferdinand IV (1295-1310) were engaged in disputes with their own nobles.

Aragon: During the reign of Pedro the Catholic (1196-1213), the dual kingdom of Aragon-Catalonia lost territory in Provence; but a temporary alliance with Castile resulted in the victory of 1212 over the Moors at Tolosa—an event still commemorated by the Spanish Church on the 16th

⁸ It is claimed that in the reign of Philip the Church of France was practically ruined by overtaxation. See Mann, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 238-39.

of July. Pedro applied in vain to the pope for an annulment of his marriage; and he faced considerable opposition from the nobles of Aragon who resented his placing Aragon in vassalage to the pope. Pedro, although a crusader and a liegeman of the pope, died in battle at Muret while fighting on the side of the Albigenses against Simon de Montfort.

Pedro's son, James the Conqueror, who reigned for sixty-three years, formed an alliance with Castile, swept the Moors from the province of Murcia, and conquered Majorca; and his successor, Pedro III, in 1282 seized Sicily from the House of Anjou. For this act Pedro III was excommunicated by Pope Martin IV, who upheld the Angevin claim to Sicily. Anxious to secure the support of the Aragonese nobility in his struggle, Pedro III granted them many concessions at his own expense.

Pedro's death in 1285 was followed by much trouble—too much for the young king, Alfonso II the Liberal (1285–1291), who, while facing the antagonism of France and the pope, was also threatened with civil war by an organization of nobles and citizens called the Aragonese Union. To pacify them, Alfonso granted still further concessions. James II, in 1295, compromised the dispute with the French king and the pope by renouncing Sicily in exchange for Corsica and Sardinia.

Portugal: During most of the century Portugal was in confusion. Alfonso II (1212–1223), lacking money to run the government, disregarded clerical immunities and seized Church property, with the result that he was excommunicated by Pope Honorius who also threatened to depose him. At this point Alfonso died and was succeeded by Sancho II (1223–1248), during whose minority the nobles and bishops continued their efforts to control the country.⁹ Things went from bad to worse. The crown was involved in violent disputes with the bishops; the nobles ignored the censures of the Church; the clergy lost much of their property; many priests were assassinated. After the bishop of Lisbon had presented a number of charges against the king, Innocent IV deposed Sancho and gave the throne to his brother, Alfonso III (1248–1279). Alfonso, too, was at odds with the clergy during most of his reign; and the pope's attempt to depose him was ineffective.

In view of the need of moral and religious reform, the Franciscans and Dominicans entered Portugal to inaugurate a spir-

⁹ The bishop of Lisbon decreed that in his jurisdiction the sacraments should be refused to all persons who would not observe the custom of willing one-third of their property to the Church. See "Portugal," *Cath. Encyc.*, XII, 299d.

itual revival; but they were expelled from Oporto by the bishop of that city. However, by their fervor and austerity of life, the missionaries soon won the friendship of the people, and numerous monasteries were founded.

At the close of the century Denis, influenced by his wife, St. Isabel, brought the contest between Church and State to an end, by renouncing the royal right of appointment to benefices, (1284) by restoring the property seized under Alfonso III, and by promising to respect clerical privileges and the ancient laws and customs. He greatly strengthened the royal power by pursuing a policy of centralization which made the clergy and the military orders dependent upon the crown; and the Church never regained its old control.

Italy: A large part of the country was in a state of disorder during nearly the whole century because of wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, contests over the crown of Sicily, feuds between Italian cities, and various factional struggles for political control. The Italian coast cities—especially Venice and Genoa—entered upon a flourishing period after the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, but they failed to keep peace with one another; and the papacy was involved in most of their quarrels.

In Florence, first the Guelphs and then the Ghibellines exiled all their enemies. Finally, in 1280, the Ghibelline exiles were recalled; and during the last years of the century Florence remained in peace—supreme among the Tuscan cities.

Pisa, the Ghibelline center of Tuscany, supported Frederick II against the popes, and, while at the height of its power, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Genoese in 1260. In 1288 Archbishop Ruggieri of Pisa, at the head of an armed force, arrested the podestà (mayor), who had shown Guelph (papal) sympathies, and starved him and his sons to death in a tower.¹⁰

Milan prospered during the long period of peace that followed the defeat of Frederick I (Barbarossa) by the first Lombard League (1176) at Legnano; but a second Lombard League, organized to protect the cities against Frederick II, was less successful, and the Milanese nobility, who favored the emperor, almost provoked civil war in 1258. During the clos-

¹⁰ This is referred to in the *Divina Commedia*, *Inferno*, XXXIII, 13-75.

ing years of the century the Archbishop Ottone Visconti made his family lords of Milan, put an end to the republic, and locked up several of his enemies in cages at Como.

In Rome the rivalries of the great families caused ceaseless trouble. The Savelli, kinsmen of Honorius IV, contended with the Orsini; and in 1288 Nicholas IV raised his friends, the Colonna, to an equality with the two families just named. After his death the quarrels of the Roman factions kept the papal throne vacant for two years (1292-1294).

Sicily was a cause of constant dispute. Manfred, illegitimate son of the Emperor Frederick, claimed the Sicilian crown; but the pope offered it to Prince Edmund of England who refused it. Finally Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, accepted the offer, and was crowned king of Sicily by Clement IV. Manfred was killed in battle in 1266; but the oppressive administration of the French brought about their massacre at the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, and, although Charles retained Naples, the kingdom of Sicily passed to Manfred's grandson Frederick, whose claim was confirmed by Pope Boniface VIII.

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: In the history of England's relations with the papacy, exceptional interest attaches to this century. Its early years witnessed King John's total surrender to Pope Innocent III; its middle period, under Henry III, recorded antipapal outbreaks among the English people; its closing decades saw the beginning of those successful attempts to nullify the pope's power, which characterized the reigns of the three Edwards (1272-1377). The politico-ecclesiastical situation was complicated by several factors: native dislike of foreign prelates appointed by the pope to English benefices; the crown's claim to select the archbishops of Canterbury, primates of England; Rome's reverence for the royal authority which the English barons were seeking to curb; the pope's reliance on English aid to keep the Hohenstaufens out of Sicily. In retrospect the Roman policy of imposing heavy taxes upon English clerics and of appointing foreign ecclesiastics to English offices appears to have provoked inevitable resentment on the part of a people growing steadily more conscious of power and more definitely nationalistic.¹¹

¹¹ Barons and churchmen contributed much to the growth of representative government in these years. Under the leadership of Stephen Langton the nobles wrested the Magna Carta from King John in 1215; they forced Henry III to make similar concessions

In the reign of John (1199-1216), the loss of the English possessions in France, the consequent shrinking of taxable areas, and the expense of war, increased the financial burden carried by the higher nobles and ecclesiastics;¹² and the burden was made even heavier by papal demands for revenue to finance the struggle against the Hohenstaufens. Insistent at first on his right of nomination to the see of Canterbury, King John yielded when faced with the threat of papal excommunication, the laying of an interdict on the kingdom and King Philip's preparations to invade England at the request of the pope. John made England a papal fief and, when the barons forced Magna Carta from the king, the pope took steps to annul it as a concession granted under duress. The accession of Henry III (1216-1272) at the age of ten, was followed by civil strife between the crown and the barons under the leadership of Simon de Montfort. Henry III too, was supported by the popes in his struggles with the barons; and, although Langton in 1221 secured a papal promise to send no more legates into England with unlimited powers, comparatively little was done to correct the abuses complained of during the pontificates of Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Alexander IV, Urban IV. Insistent demands for church taxes stirred up antipapal and antiforeign feeling among the clergy as well as the laity; riots broke out; a papal agent was killed in 1232. Bishop Grosseteste complained to the pope and the college of cardinals.¹³ At the height of Simon de Montfort's power, a bull of excommunication issued against him was seized and thrown into the ocean. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand that Edward I (1272-1307), on his accession, found England well prepared for his policy of strengthening the royal

in the Provisions of Oxford (1259); and although Edward I defeated the baronial leader (Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, son of that Simon who crushed the Albigenses), he had to grant a series of charters (1275, 1278, 1285, 1297) in order to obtain money for his war with Scotland. In 1295 a new political era opened when the Model Parliament brought together the three estates, nobility, clergy, and commons.

Conspicuous for bold resistance to royal encroachments upon traditional rights were three archbishops of Canterbury (Cardinal Stephen Langton, St. Edmund Rich, John Peckham). Peckham, a Franciscan (appointed archbishop in 1279 over King Edward I's opposition) complained "that the Church had been oppressed contrary to the decrees of Popes and Councils, and that the age-long conflict between the Church and the State would go on till kings acknowledged that their laws were secondary to those of Christ." Mann, *op. cit.*, XVI, 136.

¹² "It was from this source that there followed the two memorable events of the reign—(1) the introduction of representation for purposes of national taxation, and (2) the issue of the Great Charter (Magna Carta)." Belloc, *A Shorter History of England*, p. 145.

¹³ "The unflinching courage displayed by Grosseteste in placing the facts before such an assembly is hardly equalled in history, and it must be recognized that Innocent showed no small degree of toleration and breadth of view in allowing such a document to be read aloud." Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, p. 285, quoted by Mann, *op. cit.*, XIV, 261-62.

Grosseteste's refusal to accept Pope Innocent IV's appointment of his nephew, di Lavagna, to the position of canon of Lincoln Cathedral gave rise to a rumor that the bishop had been excommunicated. On the contrary, after the bishop's protest, the Holy See consented to a limitation of the papal rights of nomination to English benefices.

authority at the expense of the papacy. Under his leadership the country progressed towards political unity and parliamentary government; and victories over Wales and Scotland gave promise of creating an extensive British kingdom under one sovereign, a cherished hope of Edward I which he nearly succeeded in realizing.

The statute of Mortmain in 1278 limited ecclesiastical property rights; similar laws followed in 1286; in 1295 certain monasteries near the sea-coast were confiscated as the abode of traitorous aliens ("fifth columnists"); and, when Philip of France defied Boniface VIII, King Edward showed less sympathy with the pope's claims than with the king's.

Ireland: King John, who merged Ireland into the kingdom of England, used the native chieftains as a check upon his Norman barons. He recognized O'Connor and O'Brien as kings in the west and the south; in 1205 he named young Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster to replace De Courcy, last of the early Norman invaders; in 1228 he extended the benefit of English law and customs to Ireland. The Normans, however, persisted in treating the natives as a conquered race; and the Irish, unwilling to accept the position of serfs, kept on fighting. Towards the end of the century the English gave up hope of complete conquest, and devoted themselves to ruling the territory already under their control.¹⁴

Meanwhile, England had been sending over a constant stream of newcomers to occupy the higher political and ecclesiastical offices; and the English crown had decreed that no Irishman should be chosen as bishop, or as cathedral canon—an order which was obeyed, although Honorius III annulled it. The Irish monasteries, in turn, refused to accept English novices. Thus the country housed two peoples dwelling on opposite sides of civil, racial, and religious partitions.

Scotland: The Scottish hierarchy, growing stronger; took an

¹⁴ The conquered area lay roughly east and south of a line drawn from Limerick through Lough Neagh to Coleraine on the coast.

"The war of the two races thus ended in a drawn fight, the Irish unable to make a central union but strong in local resistance, the Normans divided from one another by their feuds and ambitions, and already through residence and intermarriage knowing the Irish speech and allying themselves with Irish princes. The plan of a final Norman conquest had failed, but the failure was only admitted openly a century later by the Statutes of Kilkenny." Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, pp. 86-87.

active part in the political life of the country and also came into close relationship with the Holy See.¹⁵ The reigns of the two Alexanders made up the Golden Age of Scotland. Alexander II was excommunicated for aiding the English barons against King John, but was later reconciled to the Church. He and his son, Alexander III, established monasteries for Dominicans, Franciscans, Cistercians, Trinitarians, and Carmelites.

After the invasion of Scotland by Edward I in 1296, Boniface VIII (appealed to by the Scottish regents) admonished him that Scotland was a papal fief and urged him to free the prisoners he had taken. Edward released John Baliol, the dethroned king; but, after consultation with English prelates and barons, he denied the pope's claim and affirmed that Scotland was subject to England.

c. Scandinavia

Vigorous efforts were made to improve moral conditions in all three of the Scandinavian countries.

Denmark: Lund became a Christian center; and its archbishops were among the most conspicuous men of the kingdom. Archbishop Andreas (d. 1228)—the only Dane ever admitted to the College of Cardinals—strictly enforced ecclesiastical discipline, especially the rule of celibacy. During the closing years of the century clashes occurred between the throne and the Church; two archbishops were imprisoned; the Holy See excommunicated King Eric VIII and placed the country under an interdict.

Norway: At the beginning of the century Norway lay under a papal interdict, imposed by Innocent III as a punishment for King Sverre's attack upon a papal legate. Peace was restored in 1202 under King Haakon; and, about the middle of the century, Innocent IV dispatched a legate to Norway to correct undesirable customs, including the practice of ordeal by red-hot iron.

¹⁵ Four Scottish bishops attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and almost all the Scottish hierarchy attended the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. An income tax of 5 per cent for the support of the Crusades was imposed upon the clergy; and a papal legate was sent to Scotland to supervise the collecting.

Thereafter Norway remained loyal to the Holy See; and a series of provincial councils provided for Christian education and the reform of discipline.

Sweden: A papal legate sent to Sweden about the middle of the century reorganized the Church; and in 1248 a provincial synod stressed the obligation of clerical celibacy. Towards the end of the century the relics of St. Eric were transferred from old Upsala to new Upsala. The Gothic cathedral erected there—the largest church in Scandinavia—ranks as an architectural masterpiece.

3. THE EAST

The Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Russia, Latin States

The Byzantine Empire: While the leaders of the Fourth Crusade were at the Dalmatian city of Zara, which they had seized and given to the Venetians in part payment for transportation, they received an offer from the son of the deposed emperor, Isaac II. He promised money, troops, and the religious reunion of East and West if they would restore his father to the throne. Accepting the offer, the crusaders occupied Constantinople only to be driven out by a popular rising. But they returned, with the help of the powerful Venetian fleet, captured the city and looted it, destroying priceless artistic and literary treasures in one of the most disgraceful episodes of Christian history.¹⁶ They then proceeded to carve up the Byzantine empire, allotting half of the city to the Venetians, setting up a Latin empire, and relegating the Greek emperor to Asia Minor. This Latin empire of Constantinople lasted little more than half a century. Isolated among hostile Greeks, weakened by internal quarrels, poorly supplied with reinforcements from Europe, it grew more and more feeble; and in 1261 it ceased to exist, after having suffered

¹⁶ "The events of 1204 are a crime for which an historical judgement can find no pardon. . . . The course of the Fourth Crusade justifies the taunt that the Crusades were for the Eastern Empire nothing but a series of barbarian invasions of a peculiarly embarrassing kind. . . . A judicious modern historian has observed: 'If the Eastern Empire had not been reduced to the dimensions of a petty state by the greed and brutality of the western brigands who called themselves Crusaders, it is possible that the Turks might never have gained a footing in Europe.'" David C. Douglas, in Eyre, *op. cit.*, III, 197-98.

a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus (1259-1280).

The sack of Constantinople created undying Greek resentment against western Christendom. Never forgotten or forgiven, it ruined many later attempts at reunion. When Emperor Michael wished to negotiate a return to unity with the Holy See at the Second Council of Lyons, he encountered unyielding opposition from the patriarch of Constantinople, the clergy, and the people; and the plan was repudiated by Michael's successor, Andronikos (1282-1328).

Bulgaria: The newly founded kingdom joined the Greek Church about the year 1234 and formed an alliance with the Greek emperor against the Latin Empire of the East. Pope Gregory IX excommunicated the Bulgarian king in 1236 and two years later announced a crusade against him. Except for brief periods, the Bulgarian Church was never again in union with Rome.

Russia: Early in the century the Mongols marched across the Caucasus, swept over southern and central Russia, seized Kiev, and occupied a large region near Novgorod. For three centuries Mongolian khans ruled over the greater part of Russia, tolerating both the religious and the political institutions of the various Russian principalities, but collecting taxes, conscripting military recruits, and exercising similar acts of jurisdiction. The long Mongolian rule, which cut the country off from European civilization almost entirely, greatly influenced the nature of Russian development. Meanwhile the Orthodox Church of Russia secured many privileges from the patriarch of Constantinople; and numerous monasteries were established.

Latin States of the East: Beginning with Baldwin of Flanders in 1204, a succession of Latin emperors ruled at Constantinople. The remaining Greek territory was broken up into several small states.¹⁷ Although Innocent III had condemned the

¹⁷ Most of the captured Greek territory fell to the princes of Achaia, the dukes of Athens, and the lords of Corfu. The invaders founded also a Venetian colony, a Genoese colony, and other small political units. In Athens the Latins took possession of the Parthenon, which in the fifth century had been transformed into a Christian church, and in the sixth century had been dedicated to the Virgin Mother of God, Theotokos.

unjust occupation of Constantinople, he and his successors gave all possible help to the Latin States of the East as a bulwark against Islam and as a possible entering wedge of reunion between East and West.

During the lifetime of the Latin Empire constant friction occurred between Greek and Latin ecclesiastics. The suppression of a number of ancient dioceses and the favor shown to the Latin bishops by Honorius III aroused considerable resentment among the Greeks. Innocent IV treated the Greeks with more friendliness; but the policy of his successors, notably Alexander IV, helped to perpetuate racial animosities.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Under Innocent III the papacy reached the height of its temporal glory. But, soon after their final victory over the Hohenstaufens, the popes had to face a French attempt at domination; and efforts to place Frenchmen on the papal throne (successful in five instances) prolonged the conclaves scandalously—for fourteen months in one case and for twenty-seven in another. The papacy had been impoverished by the financing of the Crusades and by war with the Hohenstaufens; and the popes, failing to realize the new strength of national feeling, provoked widespread disapproval by the employment of unwise and distasteful methods of taxation and by the appointment of Italian prelates to English benefices.

Boniface VIII regained for the papacy some of its vanishing prestige; and the jubilee of 1300 was a magnificent demonstration. But a change had come over the spirit of Europe. When the bull *Clericis laicos* (1296) forbade the clergy to submit to lay taxation, lines were at once drawn for battle between the pope and the kings of France and England, supported by a large section of the clergy. The immediate issue presented was the question whether the churches of the more wealthy countries should be taxed by the needy pope or by the needy king; and

that issue was inextricably associated with others—the universal sovereignty of the Holy See, the traditional clerical immunities, the ever present class consciousness which so easily turned into anticlericalism, the rising nationalism of princes and of people.

Innocent III (1198–1216), an Italian by birth, one of the most learned men of his time who had studied at Paris and at Bologna, was among the Church's strongest rulers.¹⁸ He claimed the right to bestow the empire on whatever claimant he might consider to be best qualified; and he exercised that right when, upon the death of Henry VI, the imperial succession was disputed by Henry's brother, Philip, a Ghibelline, and Otto of Brunswick, a Guelph. Appealed to by both sides, Innocent favored first the one and then the other candidate. After the death of Philip in 1208, Otto agreed to Innocent's conditions and was crowned emperor at Rome. Almost immediately he broke his promise and the pope excommunicated him and ordered another election. In obedience to Innocent, the electors then gave the imperial title to Frederick of Hohenstaufen, son of Henry VI, who had been left in the pope's guardianship by his mother, Constance.

Innocent consistently forced monarchs to respect the rights of the Church and to obey the moral law; he ended the war between Philip Augustus of France and Richard of England by the threat of interdict; and by a similar threat he made Philip Augustus take back his repudiated wife, Ingeburga of Denmark. By actually placing England under interdict, he forced King John to accept Stephen Langton who had been elected to the see of Canterbury. He also excommunicated Alfonso IX of Leon for marrying a relative contrary to the laws of the Church; and he annulled the marriage of Prince Alfonso of Portugal with the daughter of the king of Castile.

His field of activity was world-wide. He arbitrated between two claimants in a contest over the Norwegian throne; he intervened in a dispute between the king of Hungary and his brother; he sent a legate to crown the king of Bulgaria in 1204; he reformed the Church in Poland; he dispatched missionaries to Prussia; he supported the preaching expeditions of Franciscans, Dominicans, and other religious orders; and, after the Albigensian heretics of southern France had murdered a papal legate in 1208, he called for a crusade against them.¹⁹ He inspired the Fourth Crusade; and when the crusaders seized Constantinople, he excommunicated their leaders.

In 1215 Innocent convoked the Fourth Lateran Council—the most im-

¹⁸ Several popes of this period, notably Innocent III, have been grossly misrepresented by Matthew Paris, Gregorovius, and other writers.

¹⁹ This was a novelty as previous crusades had been conducted against pagans and Mohammedans, but never against heretics within the borders of Christendom.

portant synod of the Middle Ages—which published seventy decrees of reform, formulated a creed against the Albigenses, and for the first time made official use of the term “Transubstantiation.” During the sessions of the council the pope brought forward a plan to secure an assured revenue for the Holy See by providing that a tenth of all the revenues of cathedrals should be paid over to the Roman church. The plan apparently had originated with the Emperor Henry VI and its adoption would have helped to obviate the charge of avarice so often brought against the Holy See; yet despite its support by many bishops it was so vigorously opposed by others that Innocent withdrew his proposal.²⁰

Honorius III (1216–1227), although in contrast with his predecessor a man of natural meekness and a persistent lover of peace, followed the policies inaugurated by Innocent III. By appealing to all the churches of Christendom for aid, he succeeded in getting another Crusade under way.²¹ Owing to the want of unity among the leaders, however, and to a lack of ability in the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, who overrated his own skill, the expedition ended with the loss of Damietta to the Turks. The failure of Frederick II to participate in the Crusade despite his sworn promise, caused strained relations with the Holy See; but no actual break came during this pontificate.

The influence of Honorius in the cause of moral reform and of education was felt throughout Europe. He ordered every diocese to send men to the great centers of learning so that they might return to their own dioceses and build up schools there; he deprived at least one bishop of his office and withheld approbation from another bishop-elect because of illiteracy; and he promoted the development of the Universities of Paris and Bologna. True, he prohibited the study of civil law in Paris, but the decree was aimed at priests who neglected their sacred duties.²²

During the minority of Henry III of England, Honorius practically ruled that country through the papal legates, Gualo and Pandulf; and historians are pretty well agreed that at this time, “on the whole, the powers of the papacy were judiciously exercised.”

Reviving the plan which Innocent III had first submitted to the Lateran Council and then withdrawn, Honorius proposed that the works under-

²⁰ See Mann, *op. cit.*, XII, 294–96.

²¹ Popes and cardinals were to contribute one-tenth of their incomes, and all other ecclesiastics one-twentieth part; bishops of the various countries were to take up collections under the direction of the papal legates.

²² Honorius had received a complaint from the bishop of Poitiers with regard to priests who were practicing civil law for gain and slighting their ministry. Canon Rashdall writes that “the study of civil law was forbidden in 1219 by Honorius III, not (as is sometimes represented) in a narrow spirit of hostility to legal or to secular studies in general, but because it threatened to extinguish the study of theology in the one great theological school of Europe.” Apparently, Honorius was seconded by the French king, anxious to preserve the supremacy of French law in France. See *The Universities of Europe*, I, 322–23.

taken by the popes in the different countries of Christendom should be financed by the donating to the papal treasury of a fixed proportion of the revenues of all dioceses and monasteries and all cathedral and collegiate churches. Placed before the French and the English bishops, the suggestion was rejected at the Council of Bourges in 1225 and at St. Paul's in the following year; and the former unsatisfactory and relatively haphazard method of raising money was continued.²³

Gregory IX (1227-1241), who became pope when well over 80 years of age, having excommunicated Frederick for his failure to embark on a crusade, was driven out of Rome by an imperialist mob. When Frederick finally started for the East, the pope refused to recognize him as a true crusader and absolved all other crusaders from obedience to him. Temporary peace between pope and emperor was effected in 1230; but as Frederick soon invaded the rights of the Church again, Gregory excommunicated him a second time and attempted to have the German princes elect a new king. The attempt was vain; for Frederick retained a large following of German bishops and princes and he was able to prevent the members of the German hierarchy from attending the council summoned by Gregory in Rome in 1241.

Educated at Paris and Bologna, Gregory fostered learning. He helped to introduce Aristotle into the schools by commissioning William of Auvergne to publish a correct translation of the Greek philosopher's works freed from the pantheistic tendencies which had been incorporated in the older translation. Gregory is responsible, too, for a valuable collection of papal decretals made by Raymond of Peñafort in 1234. His correspondence with Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, failed to effect the desired reunion of Greeks and Latins; the Greeks were unwilling to accept the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost or to approve the use of unleavened bread in the Mass. The only result of the effort was the temporary conversion of some bishops and monks, including the Monophysite patriarch of Syria.

In his dealing with heretics Gregory was stern. As papal legate in Lombardy, he had approved the imperial decree condemning heretics to be burned at the stake; in 1231 he ordered that heretics in Rome should be handed over to the secular power for "due punishment";²⁴ and in 1233 he established the Papal Inquisition in order that heresy might be more effectively repressed.

Celestine IV (1241) died after a reign of fifteen days.

Innocent IV (1243-1254), elected after a vacancy of twenty months

²³ "We may safely assert that the nations behaved neither generously nor wisely in not adopting this or some other similar scheme which, without throwing all the burden on the clergy, would have made the Roman Church more independent and less open to the charge of avarice." Mann, *op. cit.*, XIII, 143-44.

²⁴ Death by fire for the obstinate and life imprisonment for the penitent.

caused by the interference of Frederick II, inherited from his predecessor, not only the war with the emperor, but a legacy of debt; and his efforts to meet his financial obligations provoked complaint in many places, notably in England and France.²⁵ Most of his pontificate was taken up with the struggle against Frederick II—ostensibly a contest over the sovereignty of Sicily, but in reality a battle about far more important issues; for Innocent was fighting not only for his political rights, but also in behalf of religious freedom.

In 1245, when Frederick was occupying the region around Rome and had blocked most of the roads, Innocent IV escaped in disguise and took refuge first at Genoa and then at Lyons. Having convoked a general council in Lyons, he preached his memorable sermon *On the Five Wounds of the Church*, declared that no Hohenstaufen should ever wear the imperial crown, refused Frederick's proffered concessions, excommunicated him, and called for the election of a new emperor. But the candidate elected by the papal party never received wide recognition, and even after Frederick's death, Conrad IV and Manfred kept up the contest. Meanwhile other important affairs were neglected, and serious abuses spread unchecked. Innocent's irreconcilable attitude towards the Hohenstaufens has occasioned the charge of vindictiveness; yet there is much to be said on his side.

Well-trained, especially in law, Innocent was interested in the development of universities; and he encouraged the pursuit of higher studies. He engaged in political activities not only in Germany, Italy, and France, but also in England where he supported Henry III against his discontented subjects; in Portugal where he deposed Sancho II in favor of Alfonso III; and in Bohemia where he confirmed Ottocar II as king. He had heretics subjected to the torture usually inflicted on thieves.

Alexander IV (1254-1261), who became pope at an advanced age, ruled the Church well in spiritual affairs, but proved unequal to the political difficulties in which he was involved. It was unfortunate that his ineffectual reign coincided with a crisis in Italy.²⁶ Following the policy of his predecessor, Alexander excommunicated Manfred, Frederick's illegitimate son; but Manfred ignored the excommunication and kept possession of the "Two Sicilies." Alexander's offer of the crown of Sicily to Edmund, the son of the English king, was rejected. The pope failed also in his effort to unite Christendom against the threatening invasion of the Tatars. Like his uncle, Gregory IX, he encouraged the Franciscan order; and he promoted the canonization of St. Clare.

Urban IV (1261-1264), French by birth and a distinguished graduate

²⁵ Among the objectionable practices was the custom of "provisions," the bestowing of benefices upon papal officials who had no sufficient means of support.

²⁶ "Alexander continued Innocent's dubious policy of calling in French or English Beelzebubs to cast out the German Lucifers." James F. Loughlin, in *Cath. Encyc.*, I, 288.

of the University of Paris, had acted as papal legate in Poland, Prussia, and Germany, and in 1255 had been appointed patriarch of Jerusalem, where his diplomatic skill was tested during the battles between Genoese and Venetians, the quarrels of the military orders of knights, and the negotiations—sometimes peaceful, sometimes warlike—between the Tatars and the Christians. Urban immediately increased the College of Cardinals to twenty-one by the appointment of seven Frenchmen and seven Italians (thus unconsciously paving the way for French control). After having restored the papal finances by putting pressure upon negligent debtors, he found himself under the necessity of contracting new debts. Unable to bring Manfred to terms, Urban excommunicated that prince in 1262 and summoned Charles of Anjou to take possession of the Kingdom of Sicily, the source of Manfred's power. It was because of the expense incurred during this struggle and also because of the financial needs of the Latin Kingdoms of the East that Urban appealed to England "to assist the Roman Church in her necessities."²⁷ He supported Henry III in the struggle with the barons; and in 1264 the papal legate Guy Fulcodi (later Clement IV) excommunicated Simon de Montfort and his followers.

Clement IV (1265–1268), a Frenchman educated at the University of Paris, served at the court of King Louis as an expert jurist, and became a cleric after the death of his wife, about the year 1256. As pope, he lived an ascetic life, adopting many of the austerities of the Dominican rule. His general policy was shaped on that of Urban IV whose legate he had been in England. His own legate, Ottoboni, gave aid to King Henry III and after the defeat of the barons helped to establish peace.

Clement gave Charles of Anjou all possible assistance, hoping thus to benefit both Italy and the Church at large. He crowned Charles king of Sicily in 1266 and helped to finance the expedition which brought about the death of Manfred in battle and the execution of Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufens, in 1268.

St. Gregory X (1271–1276), although neither a priest nor a cardinal, was elected after an interregnum of nearly three years, caused by a French-Italian deadlock. In order to prevent the recurrence of long interregna, the new pope decreed that in future conclaves no cardinal could leave the assembly until the pope had been elected. Gregory placed an interdict on the city of Florence in order to stop a conflict between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. He convoked the important Council of Lyons in 1274 to promote reconquest of the Holy Land and reunion with the East; but the first of these plans failed because of rivalry between the Knights Templars and King James I of Aragon, and the second plan was only temporarily successful. The Greek delegates—Germanus, former Patriarch of Constan-

²⁷ Urban IV spent more than a million dollars and his successor, Clement IV, spent at least half that sum in financing the war against the Hohenstaufens.

tinople, the metropolitan of Nicaea and several court officials—accepted the “Filioque” and papal supremacy; but, on their return home, their action was repudiated by the Oriental bishops.

Gregory’s appointment of the Dominican provincial, Robert Kilwardby, to the see of Canterbury caused King Edward I to protest that the pope had overstepped his rights. The king, however, overlooked the offense in this particular case “as a special favor.”

Innocent V (1276), at one time provincial of the Dominicans in France, wrote several works of philosophy, theology, and canon law. Like his predecessor, he devoted his efforts to securing peace and promoting reunion of the Greeks with Rome.

Adrian V (1276), a nephew of Pope Innocent IV, reigned only six weeks. While cardinal, he had labored to make peace between Henry III of England and his barons. He annulled the enactments of Gregory X concerning papal conclaves.

John XXI (XX) (1276–1277), the only Portuguese pope (and the only pope placed in Paradise by Dante), had been professor of medicine at the University of Siena; and his textbook on logic remained in use for three hundred years.

Nicholas III (1277–1280), a member of both the Orsini and the Gaetani families, had filled important positions under four popes. To secure the freedom of papal elections, he decreed that senatorial and municipal offices were to be held only by Roman citizens. He tried to win the friendship of the Byzantines by discouraging the king of Naples from attacking the East. In Hungary, by threatening to impose temporal and spiritual penalties on the king, he ended feuds which were injuring religion. In 1279 he settled a Franciscan dispute by approving the stricter observance of poverty; and he sent five Franciscan missionaries to preach the Gospel in Persia and China. He gave lucrative positions to a number of his relatives—the one blemish on his reputation.

Martin IV (1281–1285), a Frenchman elected by the influence of Charles of Anjou, was dominated by that prince; and, in order to assist Charles to revive the Latin Empire of the East, he excommunicated the Greek emperor who was opposing the plan. This ruptured the union of East and West which had been effected by the Council of Lyons (1274). After the French had been driven out of Sicily by the massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers, and the Sicilians had elected Pedro III of Aragon as their king, Martin excommunicated Pedro and ordered a crusade to be preached against him.

Honorius IV (1285–1287), energetic in spite of his advanced years, was ordained a priest six weeks after his election to the papacy. He drew up a constitution to protect the people of Sicily against royal and official tyranny; and when Pedro of Aragon’s son James became king of Sicily, the

pope refused to recognize him. Honorius was acceptable to the Romans because of his Roman birth; and his victory over Count Guido of Montefeltro established his authority throughout papal territory. He gave many new privileges to the mendicant orders; and he encouraged the study of Oriental languages as an aid to the missions.

Nicholas IV (1288–1292), general of the Franciscan order, reluctantly accepted the papacy after a year's interregnum. He antagonized both Spain and Germany—Spain, because he refused to recognize James of Aragon as king of Sicily, and Germany because he conferred Hungary, a papal fief, on the son of Charles of Anjou instead of on the son of Rudolf of Hapsburg. Moreover, he permitted the French king to finance a war against the House of Aragon by exacting tithes from certain German districts. Nicholas was unsuccessful in his attempt to start a Crusade.

St. Celestine V (1294), a saintly Benedictine hermit advanced in age, unwillingly accepted the papacy after a vacancy of more than two years. Of the twelve new cardinals he created, seven were French. He gave privileges and offices to all who asked for them—often creating great disorder by bestowing the same benefice on more than one applicant. Realizing his unfitness to rule, he resigned; and nine months later he died at the age of eighty-one. There is no full record of the deeds of Celestine, because his official acts were annulled by Boniface VIII.

Boniface VIII (1294–1303), member of the powerful Gaetani family of Rome, experienced in the papal diplomatic service in Rome, in France, and in Sicily, was elected to replace Celestine V ten days after that pope's abdication. At his consecration in 1295—a splendid ceremony—Boniface was attended by two monarchs, Charles of Naples and Charles of Hungary. He immediately revoked all extraordinary privileges granted by his predecessor and in order to lessen the possibility of schism, kept Celestine in close confinement until his death.

A vigorous exponent of the Gregorian tradition, Boniface held that the civil power is dependent upon the ecclesiastical and that the pope may rebuke kings and emperors, and if necessary depose them—the doctrine of the canonical extremists. He undertook to exercise authority in political affairs whenever his intervention seemed justified. Before long he came into conflict with a foeman worthy of his steel in the person of Philip the Fair of France, who possessed a very definite conception of royal supremacy. The king's views were supported by the civil lawyers.

An issue between the pope and the king was soon raised over the question of clerical immunity from taxation. In need of money because of wars with Spain and England, Philip ordered a tax to be put upon the clergy, ignoring the old decree that this might not be done without the consent of the Holy See. The pope thereupon published the bull *Clericis laicos* (1296) which threatened the excommunication of all who disre-

garded the clerical immunities. Adolf, king of the Romans, accepted the pope's ruling, and Edward I of England, reluctantly yielding to pressure from the English hierarchy, also accepted it; but Philip refused and took steps which seriously lessened the papal revenue.²⁸ The pope then made certain concessions for cases of emergency; Philip rescinded his own decree; and the century ended during this period of truce.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: For the most part, pronouncements are devoted to clarifying faith concerning the sacraments, condemning heresies, reasserting canonical discipline, and denouncing lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Innocent III</i> (1198-1216)		
1198-1206	Letters	On marriage.
1201-1209	Letters	On baptism, the Eucharist, the Mass.
1202	Decree, <i>Venerabilem</i>	On Church and State.
1204	Letter	On confirmation.
1208	Letter	Profession of faith imposed upon Durandus and the Waldenses.
1215	Fourth Lateran Council (Ecum. XII)	On the Trinity and sacraments; on Transubstantiation; on papal primacy; on the order of precedence of the patriarchal sees (Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch); on the hatred of the Greeks for the Latins; on the errors of the Albigenses, the Waldenses, Joachim of Flora, Amalric, the Greek schismatics; on the secrecy of confession; on relics.
<i>Honorius III</i> (1216-1227)		
1220	Letter	On the Eucharist.
<i>Gregory IX</i> (1227-1241)		
1228	Letter	On authentic theological terminology and tradition.

²⁸ Before the appearance of the bull the clergy of several countries had complained that the civil authorities were ignoring exemptions based on old laws and immemorial customs. The bull was open to criticism, as it did not distinguish with sufficient care between Church property and taxable fees held by churchmen; nor did it sufficiently consider the matter of possible exceptions to the general rule. The whole question of the taxation of clerics was a tangled one.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
c. 1229	Formula of excommunication	Condemnation of various heretics.
1232	Letter	On ordination and baptism.
1234	Fragments of Decrees (c. 1227-1234)	On the marriage contract. ²⁹
1241	Letter	On the matter of baptism.
(?)	Letter	On usury.
<i>Innocent IV</i> (1243-1254)		
1245	First Council of Lyons, (Ecum. XIII)	Deposing Emperor Frederick II; taxing the Cistercians; decreeing red hats for cardinals; imposing taxes for the relief of the Holy Land and the benefit of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.
1254	Letter	On certain usages of the Greeks.
<i>Alexander IV</i> (1254-1261)		
1256	Pronouncements	On the errors of William of St.-Amour; concerning the Mendicant Friars.
<i>Gregory X</i> (1271-1276)		
1274	Second Council of Lyons (Ecum. XIV)	On the Procession of the Holy Ghost; profession of faith imposed on Michael Paleologus.

Councils: *The Fourth Lateran Council*, commonly known as the "Great Council," presided over by Innocent III, brought together seventy-one primates,³⁰ four hundred twelve bishops, nine hundred abbots and priors, and legates sent by the Emperor Frederick II, by the Latin emperor of Constantinople, and by the kings of France, England, Aragon, Hungary, Cyprus, and Jerusalem. It ratified seventy canons on government and discipline which had been prepared by the pope and—in addition to the subjects listed above—discussed the holding of annual provincial councils; the procedure for trials of ecclesiastics; the establishment of free schools for clerics in every cathedral in conformity with the decrees of 1179; the punishment of moral transgressions on the part of the clergy; yearly confession to the parish priest; Easter Communion, in conformity with earlier

²⁹ Teaching that an agreement in favor of contraception might invalidate marriage.

³⁰ Including the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and delegates of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria.

legislation; and a distinct dress for Jews and Mohammedans.

Moreover, the council confirmed the nomination of Frederick II as emperor, and arranged for the coming crusade by establishing a four years' truce in all Christian nations. Its decrees were ratified by the provincial councils of many countries.

First Council of Lyons: When Innocent IV took refuge in France from the Emperor Frederick II, he convoked at Lyons the Thirteenth Ecumenical Council which was attended by over two hundred bishops and a large number of prelates. The pope opened the council with a moving sermon on *The Five Wounds of the Church*: the evil conduct of prelates and people, the attacks of the Saracens, the Greek Schism, the Tatar invasion of Hungary, the Emperor Frederick's persecution of the pope.

After waiting almost three weeks for the arrival of the emperor, Innocent deposed him in a decree signed by one hundred fifty bishops; and the imperial envoy then appealed to a future pope and to "a more universal" council. Among the measures decreed by the council were a three years' levy of 5 per cent on the income of every benefice for the relief of the Holy Land, and a special levy of 50 per cent on the income of benefices whose titulars were absent for six months, for the benefit of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

Second Council of Lyons: The Fourteenth Ecumenical Council, under the presidency of Gregory X, brought together more than one thousand members, including some two hundred fifty bishops, King James I of Aragon, the ambassadors of Germany, France, Sicily, and England, and representatives of the Greek emperor and the Tatar khan.

Obeying their opportunist emperor, who needed papal support, and disregarding the general sentiment of the Orthodox Church, the Greek delegates accepted the "Filioque" and the Roman primacy—an action that was soon repudiated. The council discussed the plans for a new crusade; and the pope sent a request to the khan of Tatar asking him to refrain from attacks upon Christians during the proposed campaign. Relations with the Tatars had become friendly and two of the Tatar ambassadors were baptized during the session of the council.

The council passed decrees on the subject of moral reform, deposed a number of unworthy bishops, and suppressed several mendicant orders, while approving the Dominicans and Franciscans. It also decreed that in future conclaves no cardinal should leave the assembly until a pope had been chosen ⁸¹—a decree suspended by Adrian V in 1276 and revoked by John XXI, but re-enacted many years later and still substantially in force. Before adjourning, the council rejected the claim of James I of Aragon to the imperial throne, and proclaimed Rudolf I king of the Romans and emperor-elect.

St. Thomas Aquinas died on his way to this council, and St. Bonaventure died during its sessions.

Organization: Authoritative decrees made the Catholic pattern of life more definite with regard to episcopal elections,⁸² the rights of religious, judicial procedure, benefices, the administration of sacraments. The Fourth Lateran Council penalized electors who left a cathedral see vacant for three months, and forbade the ordination of ignorant persons. That same council solidified the general organization of the Church by formally enumerating the legitimate powers of bishops and superiors (which to some extent had lapsed) and by insisting that the Church should be governed by means of the ordinary laws, rather than by legates, courts, and appeals upon which the Gregorian reformers had been forced so largely to rely.

As revised in this century, the canon law placed new emphasis upon the exemption of clerics from the jurisdiction of civil courts.⁸³ The number of cases exempted from civil jurisdiction

⁸¹ Practice had preceded legislation. In 1241 the Romans kept the cardinals confined until the election of Celestine IV. the Neapolitans used the same method to hasten the election of Alexander IV in 1254. and Gregory X was elected in 1271 (thirty months after the death of his predecessor, Clement IV) only after the Viterbese had limited the food supply and actually taken the roof off the house in which the slow moving conclave was assembled. A letter from the cardinals in the conclave was headed, "Given from the uncovered Palace"—"*Datum in Palatio discooperto.*"

⁸² The Fourth Lateran Council recognized three forms of election: secret balloting; compromise (i.e. arbitration); quasi-inspiration (i.e. spontaneous unanimity).

⁸³ Between 1190 and 1226 five collections of new canons were added to the *Decretum* of Gratian. They included all the decretals published between the reigns of Alexander III and Honorius III. They were edited by the Dominican, Raymond of Peñafort, formerly professor at the University of Bologna; and they appeared as the second part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The *Corpus* became the official text in the Universities of Bologna and Paris; and Church students were forbidden to study Roman law, which

caused protests from the lay courts; and this issue was among the causes of dispute between Philip Augustus and Innocent III. In 1254 Innocent IV condemned a league of French nobles for having attempted to limit the field of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

In the pontificate of Innocent III official documents began to be carefully preserved; and the materials for the history of the papacy from this time on are more complete. The *Register of Innocent* contains over four thousand items; and for the next four centuries we have an almost unbroken record of the documents issued by the Holy See. The importance of these various papers for the history of Europe can hardly be exaggerated.

The disciplinary regulation of indulgences attracted attention in this century, partly because of new privileges extended to the friars and partly because of laws passed to check abuses.³⁴ Among the best known indulgences of the time were the "Portiuncula," so universally popular down to the present time; the Jubilee Indulgence granted by Boniface VIII in 1300; and certain indulgences granted in connection with the canonization of saints.³⁵

From time to time disputes arose in connection with indulgences. For example, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 restricted the indulgence powers claimed by certain bishops; and in 1268 Clement IV forbade the bishops to interfere with the privileges granted to the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and reserved the interpretation of indulgences to the Holy See.

Marriage: Although some individual bishops condoned the divorce of King Philip Augustus, Innocent III illustrated the Church's unyielding attitude by ruling that the king had to take

included many principles at variance with Christian doctrine—for example, the absolute authority of princes and the despotic rights of husbands and fathers.

³⁴ Christ bestowed upon the Church not only the power of forgiving sin and the eternal punishment due to sin, but also the power of remitting the lesser, or temporal punishment due to sin. The power of remitting temporal punishment was therefore claimed and exercised from apostolic times, especially in the era of persecution, when sinners would obtain a lessening of the usual punishment at the request of a martyr. Such a substitution of a lesser for a greater penance was called an "indulgence." As time went on, the substituted penances assumed a milder and milder character; and eventually they were almost always confined to prayers, pilgrimages, and almsgiving.

³⁵ The name "Jubilee"—of Hebrew derivation—is attached to a special indulgence granted by the Holy See during a certain limited time, usually in connection with some special event.

back his lawful wife. In treating of the indissolubility of marriage, theologians debated only the origin of this quality—which arose from the law of nature, according to Scotus, but from the divine positive law, according to Aquinas.

Worship: As one hundred fifty feasts of saints had been incorporated in the Divine Office and the list of required prayers was constantly growing, Innocent III edited the Office and published it in a single book called the *Breviary*. The Franciscan general revised this breviary with the approval of Gregory IX in 1241; the private recitation of it became obligatory on monks when they were unable to attend choir; and thereafter they carried portable breviaries with them on their missions. Nicholas III made the breviary official for the Roman Church.

Chief among the many festivals which affected the devotional life of the people was the Feast of Corpus Christi, for which St. Thomas in 1264 composed a Mass and Office, including the celebrated stanzas, *Tantum Ergo* and *Panis Angelicus*.

The liturgical hymns of this period rank high. Our best known medieval hymns date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The *Stabat Mater* and the *Dies Irae* were written by Franciscan friars. St. Thomas Aquinas was the author of the *Pange Lingua* and the *Adoro Te*. Other hymns in use at the time were *Jesu Dulcis Memoria*, *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, and *Salve Regina*. Deserving of mention are Bernard of Cluny's hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden" and the hymns written by two monks of the Abbey of St. Victor, Adam and Hugh, popular both in their own day and in succeeding centuries.

The medieval drama, which previously had been presented in Latin, began to be produced in the vernacular during the thirteenth century; and the stage was transferred from the sanctuary, first to the churchyard and later to the marketplace. Plays concerned with our Lord's life and death were called Passion Plays. Paschal plays formed a part of the liturgical celebration in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Holland.

Art: The religious spirit of the time expressed itself in splendid Gothic edifices. In Notre Dame of Chartres (consecrated in 1260), and in the Cathedral of Amiens (begun in 1220), mediæ-

val art "reached a height of achievement which has never been surpassed";³⁶ and the Cistercian tradition of building, introduced into England, proved to be "one of the direct ancestors of the most beautiful Gothic."

The renaissance in painting was led by Giotto, whose story of St. Francis adorns the church of the Saint in Assisi. The new era in sculpture, which began with the work of the brothers Pisano, produced celebrated pulpits at Pisa and Siena. Mosaics were used generously to ornament pulpits, episcopal thrones, candlesticks, and the columns of cloisters.³⁷

Communities: The university movement has been called the watershed dividing the era of monasticism from the new era of mendicant orders. Of that watershed however, the new towns and cities formed no small part. With more peaceful conditions, the peasantry, previously grouped near feudal castles for the sake of security, began to build up towns. Trade developed; burghers became independent; some cities grew so powerful that when united, as in the Lombard League or the Hansa League, they could defy kings and emperors; town guilds, organized by various trades and crafts, had patron saints and chaplains, and the members observed religious feasts, usually attending Mass and receiving Holy Communion in a body. Yet other less edifying features of town life were also common—pestilence, vice, sordid poverty. The new social structure called for religious ministrations different from those required by people dwelling near the great monastic establishments which were now vast feudal estates;³⁸ and, responding to a popular demand, Francis and Dominic founded three orders each—one for men, one for women,

³⁶ Professor Norton, cited by Cram, *Cath. Encyc.*, VI, 680.

³⁷ These adornments were called "Cosmati work" from the family name of the leading craftsmen.

³⁸ Bishop Stubbs described the inhabitants of the monasteries at this period as "bachelor country gentlemen, more polished and more charitable, but little more learned or more pure in life than their lay neighbors." Dom David Knowles makes the comment, "If the judgment, pronounced originally by Stubbs and often repeated, that a monastery of the thirteenth century was composed of a group of country gentlemen, be held far too summary, and misleading in more than one respect, it nevertheless contains more than one element of truth with which all historians of English monasticism must reckon." (*Op. cit.*, 686.) Light is thrown on the habits of monastic superiors by the twelfth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which provides that when abbots and priors attend the triennial councils "no one bring with him more than six horses and eight persons."

one for persons of both sexes living in the world. Franciscan and Dominican friars alike devoted themselves to the inhabitants of the towns and cities;³⁹ they quickly gained a hold upon the people; and they helped to inspire the contemporary world with a remarkable love of holiness.

The Hermits of St. Augustine were organized in 1256, through the amalgamation of a number of monastic societies which, by the wish of Pope Alexander IV, united in order to avoid confusion and quarrels. This new community, under the influence of the same inspiration which fostered the growth of Franciscans and Dominicans, expanded into Germany, France, and Spain and then into England where they were known as Austin Friars.⁴⁰

Having been founded earlier, the Carmelites were not affected when, in 1215 the Lateran Council prohibited new orders, and they received papal approval of their rule in 1226 and 1229, and final approval at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. Under the new and less austere rule, they moved from desert places into towns and cities, undertook missionary and educational work, and inspired numerous vocations. About the middle of the century their general, St. Simon Stock, strong advocate of higher studies, established houses at Cambridge, Oxford, London, York, Paris, Bologna; but a reaction took place under the next two generals who were less partial to intellectual and missionary activities.

The character of Benedictine monasteries, and indeed the whole future course of monastic history, was profoundly affected by the Fourth Lateran Council's decree that the abbots and priors of each ecclesiastical province should hold a triennial chapter, under the presidency of two Cistercian abbots and two others selected by them. The council also instituted a system of visitors, and directed that especial attention should be given to reform.

³⁹ Characteristic tendencies of the different orders are described in the couplet:

Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Dominicus urbes.

(Bernard loved the valleys, Benedict the mountains,
Francis the towns, Dominic the famous cities.)

⁴⁰ See Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif*.

According to the account usually accepted—although certain points remain obscure and uncertain—the organization of the Franciscans and Dominicans was as follows:

St. Francis gathered companions about him and wrote a rule for them in the year 1209. This rule, as revised in 1221 and later in 1223 (under **Honorius III**), is observed by three separate bodies now existing—the **Friars Minor**, **Friars Minor Conventuals**, and **Friars Minor Capuchins**. Concessions or mitigations of the rule offered by Pope **Innocent IV** in 1245 were declined by two general chapters of the order (in 1249 and 1260). The **Second Order of Franciscans** (the **Poor Ladies** or **Poor Clares**) developed from the little group headed by **St. Clare** who were established at **San Damiano** in the outskirts of **Assisi** in 1212. Their first rule was written in 1219 by the future **Gregory IX** and was later recast by **St. Clare** and then endorsed by **Innocent IV** in 1253. The **Third Order**,⁴¹ established in 1221 under the name of the **Brothers and Sisters of Penance**, corresponded to the modern tertiaries, occupying a middle state between the cloister and the world. From it developed the **Third Order Secular** (persons living in the world), the **Third Order Regular** (possibly organized by **St. Elizabeth of Hungary**, 1228), and numerous other tertiary congregations basing their rule on that of the Franciscan order.

St. Dominic also was responsible for the foundation of three orders: **Friars Preachers**, **Dominican Sisters**, and the **Brothers and Sisters of Penitence**. While engaged in converting the heretics of **Languedoc**, **St. Dominic** adapted the Rule of **St. Augustine** to the needs of himself and his companions, and received approbation from **Innocent III** in 1216. As revised in 1241, this became a basis of many rules used by different congregations. Some years earlier (1205) **St. Dominic** had established a community of women at **Prouille** (**Toulouse**), and this group developed into the **Dominican Sisters of the Second Order**, under the official name of **Sorores Ordinis Praedicatorum**. Their rule was adjusted to that of the **Friars Preachers** in 1257. **St. Dominic** himself did not formally establish a **Third Order**, but a number of lay persons associated themselves with the first Dominicans for the purpose of leading lives of piety and apostolic zeal. A rule for them was written by the seventh master general of the Dominicans, based upon the rule of the **Brothers of Penance**, and they were given canonical standing by **Honorius IV** in 1286 with the name, **Brothers and Sisters of Penitence**.

Groups not unlike the above named were the **Beguines**, founded in the previous century, who now began to lead a cloistered life, to wear a special

⁴¹ Although the best known and the largest, the **Third Order** of **St. Francis** is not the oldest, for similar organizations had been founded in the preceding century; and the affiliation of lay persons with religious orders had been introduced by the **Benedictines** as early as the ninth century.

habit, and to follow a strict common rule. The **Beghards**, a similar community, adopted a rule less austere. Many of these lay groups became centers of heretical teaching and were condemned by the Church toward the end of the century.

A new order, the **Mercedarians**—outgrowth of a pious confraternity of Barcelona—was founded by St. Peter Nolasco (c. 1189–c. 1256) to redeem Christians enslaved by the Moors; and it was confirmed by Gregory IX in 1235.

Self-flagellation had been a common practice in many religious orders; and public religious processions had been popular from time immemorial. Both these customs were combined by an Umbrian hermit who organized the brotherhood known as the **Flagellants** about the middle of the thirteenth century. It was their custom to march in procession through the public streets scourging themselves and at the same time exhorting the people to repent of their sins. The movement spread rapidly through the various cities of Italy, the membership including layfolk, clerics, men, women, and even children. From Italy it extended into Germany, Bohemia, and Poland. As it began to take on a political color and to be exploited by ambitious men, the Holy See, in the year 1261, prohibited processions of the Flagellants.

In 1221 the Franciscans and Dominicans entered England. Meanwhile the monks of that country had suffered heavily from the levies and fines imposed by King John who practically ruined many Cistercian houses; and the Fourth Lateran Council had imposed upon the Black monks the obligation of holding a triennial general chapter, thus terminating forever the autonomy previously enjoyed by individual houses. This reform, which had been called for by critics, enabled the monks, not indeed to regain their old pre-eminence, but to play an important part in the spiritual and intellectual life of the future.

Saints: It would be impossible to present an adequate picture of thirteenth-century Europe without making mention of the many saintly men and women who contributed so richly to the real splendor of the period. They were too numerous to be enumerated here individually; those described below may be regarded as leaders and types of a multitude.

St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) renounced his inheritance, devoted himself to the sick and the poor, organized the disciples who gathered around him, and traveled through Italy, southern France, and Spain preaching to the poor. By his charity and zeal he exercised an extraordinary influence. Cardinal Ugolino (later Gregory IX) befriended him;

Innocent III gave him oral approval in 1209; Honorius III approved the revised Franciscan rule a few years later. Francis received the *stigmata*—the impression of our Lord's five wounds—in 1224, died in 1226, and was canonized in 1228.⁴²

St. Anthony of Padua (1195–1231), born in Lisbon of noble parents, was at first a member of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Moved by the sight of the bodies of the first Franciscan martyrs slain in Morocco in 1220, he became a Franciscan and started for Morocco, hoping to become a martyr there. Illness and shipwreck prevented the realization of this hope, and Anthony was appointed to teach theology to the Franciscan students, first in Bologna and then in France. As teacher and preacher he made numerous converts, exercised wide influence, and won praise from St. Francis. His greatest fame came from the sermons in which he denounced the vices of the time. He was active in opposing the heresy of the Cathari and of the Patarini in Italy, and also of the Albigenses in France.⁴³

St. Clare (1194–1253), born in Assisi, became a disciple of St. Francis. She took vows of religion and lived for a while with the Benedictine nuns. Later, under the direction of St. Francis, she established the convent of San Damiano, of which she remained superioress until her death. Her community, known as the Poor Clares, followed a very austere rule, and she declined the offer of Pope Gregory IX to mitigate its hardships. At the time of her death the order had spread into many countries of Europe.

St. Dominic (1170–1221), a noble Castilian youth who tried to sell himself into slavery in order to liberate Christian captives of the Moors, began his missionary work in Languedoc early in the century. Seeing that the contrast between monastic self-indulgence and heretical rigorism was weakening the influence of the faith among the people, he inaugurated a more austere mode of life and, by a crusade of preaching, made many converts in and about Carcassonne. Having organized a little band and founded a convent, he obtained the approval of the Holy See in 1216. The work of the Dominicans was aided by the censure which the Fourth Lateran Council directed against bishops who failed to make provision for the teaching of the faith; and the followers of St. Dominic multiplied all over Europe.

St. Simon Stock (c. 1165–1265) who entered the Carmelites soon after

⁴² The little chapel of Our Lady of the Angels near Assisi, given to St. Francis by the Benedictines and known as his Portiuncula (little portion) was intimately associated with the beginnings of the Franciscan order; and around it grew up the present town. The Portiuncula Indulgence was a spiritual privilege granted by the Holy See to all the faithful who, after confession and Communion, visited the chapel on August 2. Later the privilege was extended to many other churches. As the oldest documentary evidence of the Indulgence is a notary's deed of 1277, the silence of contemporary writers has led some scholars to deny that the Indulgence was granted during the lifetime of St. Francis.

⁴³ The celebrated apparition of the Child Jesus to St. Anthony is placed by French writers near Limoges, and by Italian writers near Padua.



SAN DAMIANO (13th century)

St. Clare's first convent

Ewing Galloway



CATHEDRAL OF TRIER (4th to 13th century)

Oldest Christian church of northern Europe; shrine of the "Holy Coat"

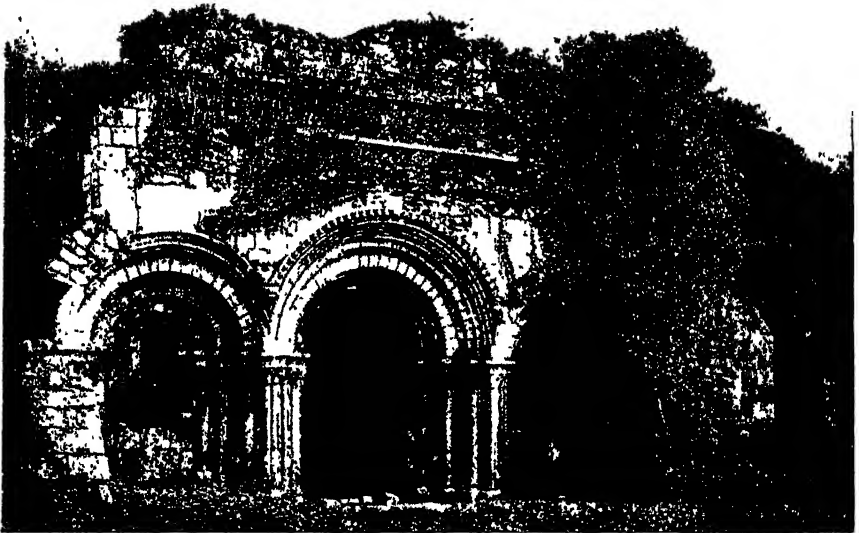
Black Star



(M. R. James)

ABBEY OF MALMESBURY (7th century)

Rebuilt in 13th and 14th centuries



(M. R. James)

**AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY OF HAUGHMOND, SHROPSHIRE
(12th century)**

Made into a family residence at the Suppression

they settled in England, became their general in 1247 and a few years later obtained a modification of the primitive rule of the order from Pope Innocent IV. His feast, introduced into England, Ireland and France in the fifteenth century, was extended to the entire order by a decree of the general chapter in 1564. The narrative of his vision of the Blessed Virgin and of the promises attached to the wearing of the Carmelite scapular is based upon Carmelite tradition, not upon strictly historical proof.⁴⁴

St. Edmund Rich (c. 1180–1240), Archbishop of Canterbury, a teacher at Oxford promoted the Fifth Crusade. In his quarrel with Henry III, the king appealed to the Holy See; and the papal legate upheld the king.

St. Ferdinand III (1198–1252), king of Leon and Castile, uncle of St. Louis, founder of the University of Salamanca, was famed for austerity.

St. Gertrude the Great (1256–c.1302), who wrote two mystical treatises, *Legatus* (Herald of God's Loving Kindness) and *Revelations*, exercised widespread influence, both on her contemporaries and on posterity. Modern researches have cleared up the misunderstanding which confused her sometimes with a seventh-century Gertrude and sometimes with the abbess of her Monastery of Helfta near Eisleben. St. Gertrude's extant writings are in the Benedictine tradition and show that she was one of the earliest writers to promote the devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Lord. Her works were widely circulated in the sixteenth century by Lanspergius and Blossius, and in Spain St. Teresa and Suarez favored them particularly.

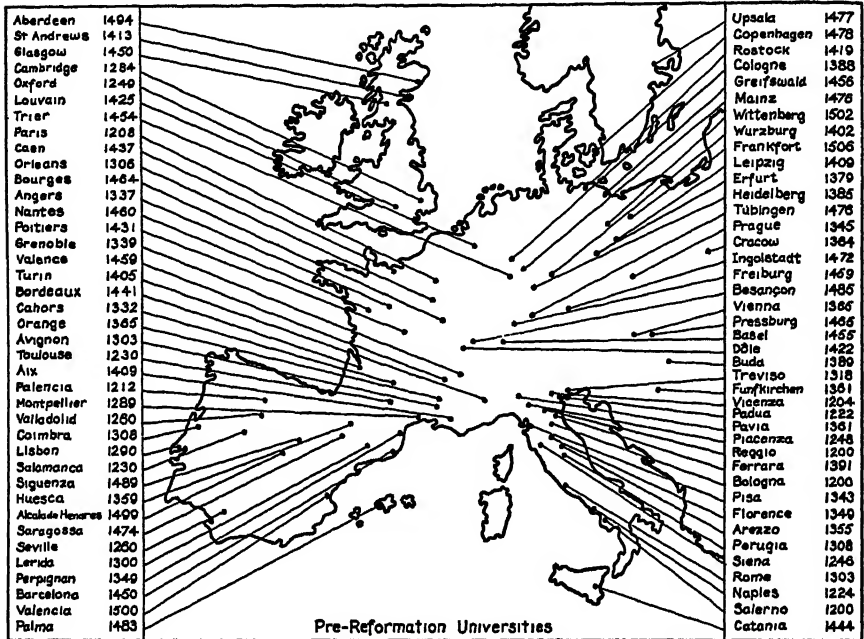
Education: As the medieval renaissance approached its climax, European schools developed into great religious and intellectual centers. By 1250 Bologna and Paris had given birth to a dozen other universities.⁴⁵ Influenced by Paris, and helped by Dominican and Franciscan masters, Oxford became important; Cambridge was founded soon afterwards. With the multiplication of great academic institutions monastery schools confined themselves chiefly to the training of their own novices and thus lost

⁴⁴ See B. Zimmerman, *Mon. hist. Carmelit.*, cited by Joseph Hilgers, S.J., in *Cath. Encyc.* XIII, 511.

⁴⁵ From Bologna, where law continued to be the chief study, Padua was founded in 1222; and in 1224 a school for the training of lawyers was set up at Naples. But Orleans was the chief center of legal study after Bologna.

Innocent III, himself an alumnus of Paris, gave that university its first code of laws in 1215. Honorius III exempted it from local ecclesiastical authority and made it directly subject to the pope. The Dominicans established themselves there in 1217 and began to provide professors in 1229; and the Franciscans commenced to teach in 1230. The residence for poor theological students, founded at Paris by Robert de Sorbon in 1257, later became the home of the whole theological faculty. Among other celebrated universities were Padua, Angers, Florence, Lisbon, and Salamanca (founded as a school by Alfonso IX in 1230, and made a university by St. Ferdinand III in 1243).

their importance as centers of learning.⁴⁶ The mendicant orders, by contrast, entered wholeheartedly into the intellectual life of the day—witness the number of Franciscans and Dominicans among the renowned teachers.



Not only the universities, but the cathedral schools also made progress. The Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), renewing the older legislation of 1179, required that trained teachers should be attached to every ecclesiastical see. Schools were founded by guilds, trade corporations, and cities; and in southern Germany and France nearly every large town had a grammar school. Meanwhile, clerical training still remained an uncertain quantity; there were no diocesan seminaries; the average cleric received a minimum of instruction; and many priests were no better educated than the simple people to whom they ministered.

As a rule, thirteenth-century teachers were devoted to the systematizing of knowledge and not deeply interested in the investigation of natural

⁴⁶ In fact, monastic interest in higher education diminished so notably that Benedict XII in the next century felt obliged to order at least one monk in every twenty to attend a university.

phenomena. Nevertheless, **Roger Bacon**, the Franciscan, and **Albertus Magnus**, the Dominican, contributed to the beginnings of experimental science by emphasizing the value of observation, experiment, and induction.

The common language of the universities was Latin; and, until the thirteenth century, Catholic philosophy in the West embodied almost exclusively the Augustinian tradition. Then the more important works of Aristotle appeared in Latin translations; Christian scholars became familiar with these texts and with the writings of two great Aristotelians of Córdoba—the Arabian, **Averroes**, and the Jew, **Maimonides**. From these three sources, Greek, Arabian, and Jewish, new currents flowed into the stream of Christian philosophy.⁴⁷

A little-known feature of the times is the number of libraries which preserved many beautiful books, and also provided for the needs of readers. Among the lending libraries of France were those at the Sorbonne, Notre Dame, and the Abbey of St. Victor.

Writers: An extraordinary array of thinkers and writers gives this period a conspicuous place in the annals of human learning. Philosophy and theology were combined in the great system known as Scholasticism, which embraced several schools of thought and left much room for the play of individual genius and original speculation.

A large proportion of the most gifted scholars of the time belonged to the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Among the Dominicans were St. Albertus Magnus and his pupil, St. Thomas Aquinas, who contributed more than any other scholar to the systematizing of Christian theology. The Franciscan group included St. Bonaventure, a great mystical theologian, Roger Bacon, particularly noted for his interest in the inductive method and in the reform of education, and Duns Scotus, one of the ablest thinkers known to history. Both Dominicans and Franciscans worked at the task of providing a correct version of Sacred

⁴⁷ With regard to the number of students at the universities, it is impossible to give even an approximate estimate; but modern scholars view the old claim of tens of thousands at Oxford and Paris as a wild exaggeration. See G. S. Coulton, "Student Numbers at Medieval Oxford," (Historical Revisions LXXII), *History: the Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, XIX (June, 1934–March, 1935), 324. See also William Kane, S.J., *An Essay Toward a History of Education*, p. 155. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* is an indispensable work on the medieval schools; but, even in its most recent edition, it leaves something to be desired and must be supplemented by M. d'Irsay's *Histoire des Universités Françaises et Étrangères*.

Scripture. The first revised edition, published by the Dominicans in 1236, was soon followed by a second. The Franciscans brought out a revised edition of St. Jerome's Vulgate text, prepared by Roger Bacon and other scholars. In 1230 Hugo of St. Cher (later cardinal and professor of the University of Paris) with the aid of five hundred other Dominicans, published the first Concordance of Holy Scripture. It contained merely an index of the passages where each word might be found; and twenty years later it was supplemented by the work of three English Dominicans of Oxford who added quotations of the passages indicated. Later, Hugo published the first complete commentary on Scripture in eight folio volumes. Other commentaries written by St. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas are still in use.

The Dominican School: St. Albertus Magnus (1206–1280), called the "Universal Doctor" because of his wide learning, discussed almost every subject then known and took rank as an extraordinary genius. Like Roger Bacon, he was a pioneer in the methods of experimental science. In 1256 he wrote a defense of the mendicant orders against William of St-Amour. He wrote two treatises against the Averroists, one of them being composed in 1270 to aid St. Thomas in his controversy with Siger of Brabant. In 1277 he traveled to Paris to defend the writings of St. Thomas against the charge that they favored the infidel philosophers.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), the most eminent scholar of his day and the present patron of all Catholic schools, was born near Naples and educated at the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino. Later, as a Dominican, he went to Paris and became the pupil of Albertus Magnus (1245). His two chief works are: *Summa contra Gentiles*, an apologetic work directed against the Arabian philosophers; and *Summa Theologica*, a reasoned discussion of the objections to, and the proofs of, the articles of Catholic belief. He completed the systematizing of dogma at which St. Anselm, Peter Lombard, and Alexander of Hales had worked; and, soon after his death, the Dominicans made his doctrine obligatory on all members of their order. Eventually his *Summa* supplanted the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard as the favorite textbook of theology in Catholic schools.

Thomas undertook to write a series of commentaries on Aristotle, and he did it so successfully that to him is really due the utilizing of Aristotelian philosophy in the service of the Catholic faith. His approach to problems was so objective and impartial, and his method so logical and critical, that some accused him of being a rationalist. Thomas is now recognized as the most powerful and successful champion of the rights of reason

in the whole history of Christian thought. Some six thousand commentaries on his writings have been published and he ranks with Augustine in his permanent influence upon the minds of men.⁴⁸

Jacopo da Varagine, or **Voragine** (1228-1298), provincial of the order in Northern Italy, later archbishop of Genoa, and first translator of the Bible into Italian, has been bracketed with Dante as "a maker of the Italian language" through the widespread popularity of his *Legendary of the Saints*, which later obtained the name of "Golden Legend." It has been described as "the most read book with the exception of the Holy Scripture" during the late Middle Ages; and it served as a working handbook for the artists of three centuries.⁴⁹

The Franciscan School: **Robert Grosseteste** (1175-1253), Bishop of Lincoln, then the largest see of England, was probably the foremost English theologian of the time. He is looked upon as the founder of the Oxford School of Franciscans which exercised so great an influence on medieval thought. He vigorously promoted the cause of reform, especially among the religious communities. In the long contest between King Henry III and the English barons he strenuously defended the rights of the Church and the supremacy of the pope, although he was outspoken in his denunciation of neglect and moral corruption both in England and in Rome. He was deeply interested in science and in the experimental method. Preceding Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in appreciation of Aristotle, he translated the *Nicomachean Ethics*—a fact no longer questioned.

Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), born in Hales, Gloucestershire, was teacher of theology in the University of Paris and the most prominent schoolman of the early thirteenth century. His attempt at a systematic exposition of Catholic doctrine based on the philosophy of Aristotle introduced a new method of teaching theology. His *Summa*, approved by Innocent IV, was the first of a series of similar works by other theologians.

St. Bonaventure (1221-1274), founder of the Franciscan school of theology, taught at the University of Paris and became minister general of the Friars Minor in 1257, succeeding John of Parma. Called upon to settle the controversy between the two Franciscan factions, the "Spirituals" and the "Relaxed," he censured the extremists of both sides. He charged sev-

⁴⁸ He did not write the *Anima Christi*; it is found in 12th century sacramentaries.

⁴⁹ Over 200 MSS of the work are extant, and after the first printing in 1470 more than 150 editions followed within 50 years. Its unparalleled popularity in pre-Reformation times was obscured by scoffing critics in later centuries. But interest has revived, and a new translation into English, by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, was brought out in two volumes by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1941. Ernest Cushing Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University, published in 1935 *Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine*.

Although not to be judged according to the standards of historical criticism, yet, according to the learned Père Delehaye, S.J., "legend, like all poetry, can claim a higher degree of truth than history itself." *The Legends of the Saints*, pp. 230-31.

eral of the Spirituals with heresy and had two of their leaders imprisoned for life, John of Parma being saved from the same sentence by the intervention of the future Adrian V. Bonaventure helped to bring about the election of Gregory X, who created him cardinal bishop in 1273 and appointed him to prepare the agenda for the Fourteenth Ecumenical Council of Lyons in 1274. It was largely through Bonaventure's efforts that the Greeks were reunited to Rome in 1274. He died during this council—of poison, according to his secretary.⁵⁰

Bonaventure's writings include dogmatic, mystical, exegetical, and homiletic works.⁵¹ His *Life of St. Francis* is not critical nor exhaustive and it omits controversial points, in the effort to pacify both sides. In speculative theology he is usually ranked below St. Thomas, but as a mystic he is ranked above. Unlike St. Thomas in his attitude towards Aristotle, he was influenced most by Plato as interpreted by St. Augustine. His preference for devotion over speculation has made his writings popular throughout the Church for many centuries; and he has the title of "Seraphic Doctor." Dissensions within the order delayed his canonization, but he was finally enrolled in the Calendar of the Saints by Pope Sixtus IV in 1482.

Roger Bacon (1214–1294), English by birth, made his studies at Oxford and Paris, and became a Franciscan at the age of forty. Especially interested in the natural sciences, he taught the superiority of experiment to deduction and attacked the foundations of Aristotle's physics. His three famous treatises recommending reforms in the current system of education were entitled: *Opus Maius*, *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium*. After the "great condemnation" by the University of Paris in 1277, Bacon severely criticized the bishop of Paris and other authorities including the pope. On this account and also because his own doctrine contained "many suspected innovations" he was condemned by the Franciscan general and imprisoned in a monastery. Two years before his death he published his *Compendium of Theology*.

Duns Scotus (1270–1308), a native of Berwickshire, England, who taught

⁵⁰ Two acts of Bonaventure provoked much criticism: the order to destroy all copies of Franciscan Constitutions earlier than those adopted in 1260; and the order to destroy all Lives of St. Francis earlier than that written by Bonaventure himself. The purpose of the decrees was probably to prevent further quarrels, rather than to do away with the primitive sources.

⁵¹ The elements of a complete system of philosophy can be found in his writings. His greatest work is a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, written when he was twenty-seven years of age. Attached to tradition and distrustful of novelty, he favored the conservative side during the controversy which divided the scholastics of his day and clung to the teaching of Augustine, without however, excluding that of Aristotle. He differed from St. Thomas in several important points. He applied the term "matter" to both spiritual and corporeal beings; he denied that the substantial form is essentially one; and he held that reason can prove the world was not created from eternity. His psychology was the common teaching of the schools, and excluded the possibility of an immediate vision of God in this life. Among his masters and friends were Edmund Rich and Robert Grosseteste.

at Oxford (c. 1290) and later at Paris and Cologne, founded an important school of philosophy. Thoroughly scientific, fearless and objective in his criticism, he was no man's mere disciple. He agreed with Aristotle on some points and differed with him widely on others; and he was an especially vigorous critic of St. Thomas. His teaching has not always been well understood nor fairly interpreted, but in original and profound thought he was the equal of any philosopher of his time.

Raymond Lully or **Ramon Lull** (c. 1232-1315), a Franciscan tertiary and a pioneer in Catalonian literature, founded a school in the Island of Majorca, his birthplace, for the study of Arabic and Chaldean and for the refutation of Averroes and other Arabian philosophers. After spending some time as a teacher in Paris, he went to Tunis in 1291; and at the end of a missionary career, he was stoned to death by the Moors in 1315. Reacting from the Arabian doctrine which completely separates philosophy and theology, Raymond denied the distinction between reason and faith, and undertook to demonstrate the supernatural mysteries by logic through the use of the *Ars Magna*.⁵² His system of mystic rationalism was popular for a while at the Universities of Barcelona and Valencia; but it was condemned by Gregory XI in 1376. Although Raymond is known as the "Illuminated Doctor," his erroneous teaching prevented his canonization. His romance, *Blanquerna* (with its appendix, *The Little Book of the Lover and the Beloved*), is one of the richest treasures of Catalonian literature.

Other Writers: **William of St-Amour** (d. c. 1273), professor of theology at Paris in the middle of the century and spokesman of the secular clergy there, published a vigorous indictment of the friars in 1256, *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*; and ten years later he wrote an even more savage attack, *Liber de Antichristo*, in which he presented mendicancy as less a quality of Christ than of Antichrist.

Durandus (1237-1296), a canonist, worked with St. Bonaventure in 1247, and at Lyons as secretary of Pope Gregory X. In 1286 he published a book, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, which is the standard authority on thirteenth-century ritual. He also wrote several books on canon law.

Durandus the Younger (d. 1328), a nephew of the elder Durandus, by order of Clement V wrote a book on the procedure to be followed in the calling of general councils. He also attacked the abuses of the time.

Henry of Ghent (d. 1293), who probably taught at Paris, ranks immediately after Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. An original thinker who approached theological problems by way of psychology and metaphysics, he made a rich contribution to the scholarship of his day. He followed

⁵² A mechanical device containing the subjects and predicates of theological propositions so arranged that the movement of a lever would cause the propositions to become affirmative or negative and thus prove themselves to be true or false.

St. Augustine closely, was looked upon as a Platonist, and by some was even suspected of being heterodox.

Among the more celebrated chroniclers were **Villehardouin** (d. 1215) who described the Fourth Crusade in his *Conquest of Constantinople*; and the Dominican, **Vincent de Beauvais** (1190?-1264?), who gathered a number of sacred and profane narratives in a colossal encyclopedia of annals, the *Speculum Majus*, a book of nearly ten thousand chapters. **Jean, Sire de Joinville** (1224-1317?), crusader, wrote a biography of St. Louis which ranks him as the representative historian of the century.

The Anglo-Norman literature included an anonymous history of William the Marshall, composed about the year 1225, which is of high value for the period 1186-1219. Biographies of saints, written in Anglo-Norman, include the lives of Gregory the Great, Thomas Becket, Edward the Confessor, Auban, Hugh of Lincoln.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: Incompatible aims were cherished by two men, Innocent III and Frederick II—the pope who claimed the right to veto candidates chosen by the imperial electors and the emperor who claimed to be the pope's superior. With Frederick's defeat, the last imperial autocrat disappeared; before the century closed, Rudolf of Hapsburg acknowledged that the power of the emperor depended upon the good will of the Holy See.

The official papal attitude was outlined by Innocent III who claimed the overlordship of Christendom on the ground that Pope Leo III had taken the crown away from the Byzantines and bestowed it on the Germans in the person of Charlemagne.⁵³ Thomas Aquinas more moderately described the relationship between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers in terms which later provided the basis of the classical Catholic doctrine that Church and State are two perfect societies, each supreme in its

⁵³ This "Translation of Empire" theory was contained in Innocent's letter *Venerabilem*, written in 1202 and later inserted in the canon law by Gregory IX. It affirmed that: 1. The German princes have the right to elect the king who is to become emperor. 2. They received this right when the pope bestowed the imperial dignity on Charlemagne. 3. The pope has the right of deciding whether or not the king elected by the princes is fit for the imperial dignity. 4. If the king is judged unfit, the princes must elect a new king, or else the pope will bestow the imperial dignity upon another king. 5. In a disputed election the pope will arbitrate. This decree was accepted by many German princes and had the immediate effect of increasing the number of those who supported Otto's claim.

own province. But the clarifying concept of St. Thomas was not assimilated by his contemporaries; and Giles (Egidius) of Rome—whose teaching won the approval of many distinguished canonists and the official endorsement of his own Augustinian order—maintained that civil authorities rule in virtue of jurisdiction delegated to them by the pope.

Reference has already been made to conflicts in England and France. The earlier controversies were at root disputes over clerical immunity from taxation; but out of them came more serious contests involving jurisdiction.

Heresies: *The Albigenses.* Under the protection of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, the Albigenses grew rapidly. Innocent III ordered rigorous measures to be taken against them; and the Cistercian, Pierre de Castelnau, was sent as papal legate to suppress the heresy. In 1208 he was assassinated;⁵⁴ and the pope then proclaimed a crusade against the Albigenses—the first instance of a crusade in a Christian country. Knights from France, Germany, and Belgium enrolled under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester; the reported massacre of six thousand Catholics by heretics provoked savage reprisals; and, despite the protests of the pope, the crusade developed into a war of conquest which made Simon lord of a large area in southern France, including the principal Albigenian strongholds, Béziers and Carcassonne. In 1229 the Council of Toulouse gave the Inquisition the duty of checking further spread of the heresy; and, four years later, the Dominicans took charge of the work. By the year 1300 the Albigenses had been almost completely eliminated.

Heresy at this time was very commonly regarded as akin to worship of the devil; and, as belief in the existence of witches and in the possibility of communicating with the powers of darkness prevailed among the people at this period, accusations of witchcraft occurred frequently in connection with the campaign against heretics. Pope Alexander IV (1258) decreed that the Inquisition should not deal with cases of alleged witchcraft unless they involved the presumption of heresy. A case of this kind actually occurred at Toulouse in 1275, when a supposed witch was burned at the stake after a trial by the Inquisition.

⁵⁴ He is honored as a martyr in Carcassonne and elsewhere.

As heretics became more aggressive, the authorities resorted to more drastic punishment.⁵⁵ The ecclesiastical procedure was adjusted to the civil law; and it came to be understood that persons convicted of heresy in Church courts should, as a matter of course, be delivered to the secular power for burning—a procedure devised to free the ecclesiastics of direct responsibility.

Innocent III approved of confiscation of the property of heretics, although he used his influence to lessen the cruelties commonly practiced by the civil courts of the period in Germany, France, and Spain. Upon Innocent IV falls the chief share of discredit for the increase of severity; in 1252 he insisted that civil rulers must at once enforce the law requiring the death penalty; two years later he inserted in one of his bulls the law of Frederick II condemning heretics to the stake; he is accountable also for authorizing the use of torture by the Inquisition. Much of his legislation was re-enacted by later popes—Alexander IV, Clement IV, Nicholas IV. In general the ecclesiastical authorities did everything in their power to make the civil court carry out the law. Teaching kept pace with practice. Theologians and canonists undertook to justify confiscation of goods, torture, and death; and in some cases they interpreted the law in such a way as to go even beyond the intention of the law-makers.⁵⁶

The Inquisition: The "Inquisitorial Plan" devised by Pope Lucius III in the preceding century was now adopted in many places. Two French councils (Narbonne, 1227, and Toulouse, 1229) decreed that an "Inquisition," composed of one priest and two laymen, should be set up in every parish to check the spread of heresy; and, at the request of King James I, an Inquisition was established in Aragon.

⁵⁵ In earlier times Christian teachers disapproved of capital punishment for heresy. St. Martin of Tours and St. Ambrose, in the fifth century, were outspoken in their condemnation of the Spanish bishops who put the Priscillianist heretics to death. In the seventh century St. Isidore reproached the Visigothic kings for their fanaticism against the unconverted Arians of Spain. St. Raymond of Peñafort, adviser of Pope Gregory IX, held that no greater punishment should be inflicted upon heretics than that of confiscation of property and exile.

It was the civil rulers who introduced capital punishment for heresy. Laws promulgated by Frederick II in Lombardy in 1224, in the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231 and at Ravenna in 1237, made heresy a crime punishable by death—and, according to the German custom, by burning at the stake. The Italian cities adopted the same policy, and a number of persons were burned at Milan and Verona in 1233. A compilation of French laws, called the Customs of Beauvais (c. 1235), prescribed the burning of heretics; and in 1239 one hundred eighty-three were burned in France.

⁵⁶ Heresy was stretched to include such transgressions as failure to purge oneself from sentence of excommunication within a year, or violation of one's oath, on the ground that many heretics denied the obligation of an oath. See *Cath. Encyc.* VIII, 32-34; and Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, p. 161.

In 1233 Gregory IX instituted the Papal Inquisition⁵⁷ (distinct from earlier local tribunals), and placed it in the hands of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, instructing them to coöperate with the local authorities. In its work of suppressing heresy, the Papal Inquisition followed the common procedure of the contemporary courts, accepting anonymous accusations, employing torture to secure confessions, inflicting cruel punishments on convicted persons. The aid of legal advisers was refused to the accused, and—contrary to the usual custom—the testimony of heretical and excommunicated witnesses was accepted. Theoretically, torture was to be applied only once, and in a way which would not imperil life or limb; but merciless officials often evaded this rule and inflicted frightful torments on the poor victims who fell into their hands. In other respects too, the procedure at the trials ignored the natural rights of the accused to an extent which shocks our sense of justice.

The Inquisition was active in southern France, in Italy (especially in Lombardy), and in Germany. It functioned very little in northern France, never in the Scandinavian countries or in England (except in the trial of the Templars), and in the Netherlands only after the Spanish occupation.

The Inquisition has occasioned the publication of an enormous amount of literature—original decrees enacted by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, legal commentaries, manuals for the use of Inquisitors, records of trials, and a vast number of histories and discussions. The subject is one to which critics of the Church return again and again; and for centuries the Inquisition has been a fruitful source of misunderstanding, due both to false propaganda and to the inadvertent overlooking of considerations which explain, and in part extenuate, what at first sight seems utterly inexplicable and inexcusable. In attempting the moral appraisal of a policy so incompatible with our modern standards, we must in fairness recall: 1. that the heresies in question were looked upon as criminal conspiracies against the social and religious welfare of the community. 2. that the common sentiment of the day demanded the infliction of extreme penalties on convicted heretics.

Bearing all this in mind, however, men still find it difficult to under-

⁵⁷ It is usually referred to as the Medieval Inquisition to distinguish it from the Spanish Inquisition of the fifteenth century and from the Roman Inquisition, or "Holy Office," set up by Pope Paul III in 1542.

stand how a century as Christian as the thirteenth could deal with any human being in a way so foreign to the spirit of the Gospel. The fact is—as the preceding chapters have made clear—that the attempt to imbue minds and consciences with Christian principles had been only partly successful; barbarism had not been wholly expelled from the soul of Europe.

Although the activities of a disciplinary tribunal such as the Inquisition provide no sound argument against the Church's claim of divine origin and of infallibility, those activities have illogically been presented as a reason for rejecting the claim. The rejection was bolstered further by false or exaggerated statements about the diabolical cruelty of the inquisitors and the huge number of heretics burned at the stake. Competent scholars who have studied the subject exhaustively in recent years hold that the average medieval judge, whether clerical or lay, was in all probability no less reasonable than the average judge of any other period, that the ecclesiastical officials were not exceptionally heartless, and that no vast numbers of victims were put to death.⁵⁸ As for the popes, they were unquestionably active in opposing the general tendency to judge hastily and to punish cruelly.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ A study of the 287 cases tried between 1249 and 1258 at Carcassonne shows a very small proportion of death sentences—a sharp contrast with the accepted picture. Some of the heretics condemned to death were guilty of such capital crimes as the poisoning of wells.

⁵⁹ "Over the various penalties of the Inquisition the Popes likewise exercised a supervision which was always just and at times most kindly." Vacandard, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

Father Keating, the Jesuit editor of the London *Month*, sums up the question thus: "Catholics are by no means concerned to defend this tribunal in all the details of its activity. It manifested all the characteristics of administration of justice in those crude times, though generally in a milder form. That its processes, according to modern notions, were faulty, that, just like the secular courts of law, it often suffered from the abuses to which its procedure laid it open; that it was used to satisfy avarice and glut private enmities; that its officials were not always above suspicion in their motives; that its penalties were often arbitrary, unjust, cruel—these may be established facts; but the inference is not that the institution was unwarranted by the circumstances of the age or opposed to its mentality. The attachment of physical penalties to offences largely spiritual, the use of torture to elicit evidence, the defects of the legal methods, the harshness of the sentences, these characterized the tribunal, not because it was Catholic, but because it was medieval."

Father James Brodrick, S.J., draws attention to the fact that Pope Gregory IX initiated the Medieval Inquisition as an emergency measure at a time when the Christian faith stood in deadly peril from many powerful enemies. "It is mere justice to a great pope to say that he had at least the strongest provocation for breaking with the age-old milder tradition of Christendom which deprecated the use of violence in the interest of religion. . . . But to say that Pope Gregory had much provocation from the heretics with fantastic names and still more fantastic tenets is not equivalent to saying that he was justified or acted in the Church's best interests in appealing to the secular arm." Father Brodrick goes on to state that not only would the Inquisition be out of place in the twentieth century, but "it was not a good thing in the fourteenth or sixteenth century either. . . . It was a horrible and hateful thing, a grave backsliding, not of the Church, but of churchmen, which no Catholic ought now to lift a finger to defend, except from exaggeration or the too obvious efforts of such people as Lea and Dr. Coulton to turn it to controversial advantage." *The Month*, CLXXVII (Mar.-Apr., 1941), 118 ff.

Other Disputes: *Scholastic Controversies.* These may be divided into two groups—those which presuppose a common doctrinal basis and those which debate heretical theories. In the first group come discussions on the relative value of philosophy and theology, the genesis of ideas, the origin of man's knowledge of God, the relation of reason to faith, the nature of material bodies and of substances. In the second group come discussions on the infinity of God, the nature of the creative act, the destiny of man, human personality, responsibility, immortality.⁶⁰

One of the teachers who incurred censure was Amalric of Paris. Starting from an erroneous notion of the nature of "Being," he concluded that God is identical with everything that exists—obviously a pantheistic theory. Having been charged with heresy, he retracted before his death in 1205. A few years later the Synod of Paris condemned his theories together with those of John Scotus Eriugena. David of Dinant's doctrine—a form of monistic pantheism—was condemned at the same time. Ten priests and clerics who refused to repudiate the theories of Amalric were burned at the stake. The fact that Amalric and David had cited Aristotle in support of their error brought the Greek philosopher into disrepute and in 1215 the University of Paris placed Aristotle on its list of forbidden authors.

Further odium attached to Aristotle because of the use made of his doctrines by the Averroistic party in the University of Paris.⁶¹ Christian Averroists could not, of course, state in plain terms that the Christian revelation is in contradiction with philosophical truth; but equivalently they taught the dual nature of truth, for they affirmed certain philosophical conclusions as necessary results of speculation, while ignoring the relation of these conclusions to Catholic dogma—keeping philosophy and revelation, as it were, in two separate water-tight compartments. Siger of Brabant was one of these. Other more radical teachers—among them John of Jandun—were really unbelievers, who paid merely verbal respect to revelation and looked upon Catholic doctrine with a tinge of cynicism.

The difficulty of reconciling faith and reason was strengthening the tendency to rationalism in the schools, and this situation presented Thomas Aquinas with his great opportunity. He gave proper recognition to the rights of reason without in any degree abating the claims of faith; but the fact that he departed from the Augustinian tradition aroused the

⁶⁰ It is altogether possible that, as a rule, the heterodox theories were rather presented for discussion than actually held by the philosophers who defended them. See De Wulf, *op. cit.*, II, 350–60, and Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*.

⁶¹ Averroes, an Arabian expert in Aristotelianism, while discussing the contradictions between the doctrine of the Koran and Aristotle's teaching, made a distinction between theological (or partial) truth and philosophical (or absolute) truth.

opposition of some, and the respect he paid the teaching of Aristotle offended others. He soon became an academic storm center. Among his opponents were the Franciscan disciples of St. Bonaventure, some of the older Dominicans, and several teachers who subordinated the intellectual to the mystical element in philosophy.

In 1277 Stephen Tempier, Bishop of Paris, published a list of "Errors" which bracketed certain Averroistic propositions with several teachings of St. Thomas; and a few days later the University of Oxford prohibited a number of Thomistic theories on the nature of the human soul.⁶² Albertus Magnus then came to the defense of his old pupil, Thomas; the Dominicans adopted Thomism as their official doctrine; and the controversy between Franciscans and Dominicans continued for years.⁶³

Mendicancy: The friars were involved in two memorable disputes—the domestic Franciscan controversy and the general quarrels between the secular and the religious clergy. Even before the death of their founder the Franciscans had trouble over the provision of the original rule that the brethren should not "receive money or cash in any way, either themselves, or through another." This rule was modified in 1230 when, influenced by the Franciscan general, Brother Elias, Pope Gregory IX allowed the appointment of an official (*nuntius*), through whom money or other gifts might be bestowed upon the brethren *for use*—the ownership remaining with the givers. Innocent IV enlarged the functions of the *nuntius* and invested the Holy See with the ownership of things given to the Franciscans. Displeased at the relaxation of the original rule, one section of the order urged a return to the primitive practice of literal poverty; and their views were published in an extreme form by Gerard de Borgo San Donnino in his *Liber introductorius ad evangelium eternum* (1254)—a work denounced by the faculty of Paris and condemned by Alexander IV. In 1279 Pope Nicholas III effected a compromise between the two parties, favoring the "Spirituals" in theory but approving the moderates in practice; and, with an occasional minor interruption, the situation continued as before until the close of the century.

Meanwhile, at Paris, ill feeling between seculars and religious, generated by many sources, flared into an open quarrel over the question whether the Dominicans should have one or two chairs in the theological faculty. This dispute occasioned the writing of several books; provoked a papal condemnation; led to the temporary exile of the impenitent William of

⁶² The condemnation of the university, of course, had no binding force outside the walls.

⁶³ The teaching of St. Thomas was vindicated in one important respect when the Council of Vienne (1311–1312) defined the rational soul as the substantial form of the human body, and all suspicion of his orthodoxy was terminated when John XXII canonized him in 1323. The following year the bishop of Paris revoked the censure published by Bishop Tempier nearly a half century earlier.

St-Amour, whose attack on the friars included a denial of the very principle of evangelical poverty. Eventually the university authorities effected a compromise; and the quarrel died down—to be revived in the following century.

Elsewhere too, the friars and the parish clergy engaged in controversy, particularly over the privilege of hearing confessions without the permission of the parish priest. Complaints against the friars were voiced at the Council of Ravenna, 1259; at the Synod of Salzburg, 1274; and by the bishop of Olmütz in the same year. Towards the end of the century we find similar protests recorded at Rouen, Amiens, Rheims. Other protests were made in England, at Exeter in 1287 and at London ten years later.

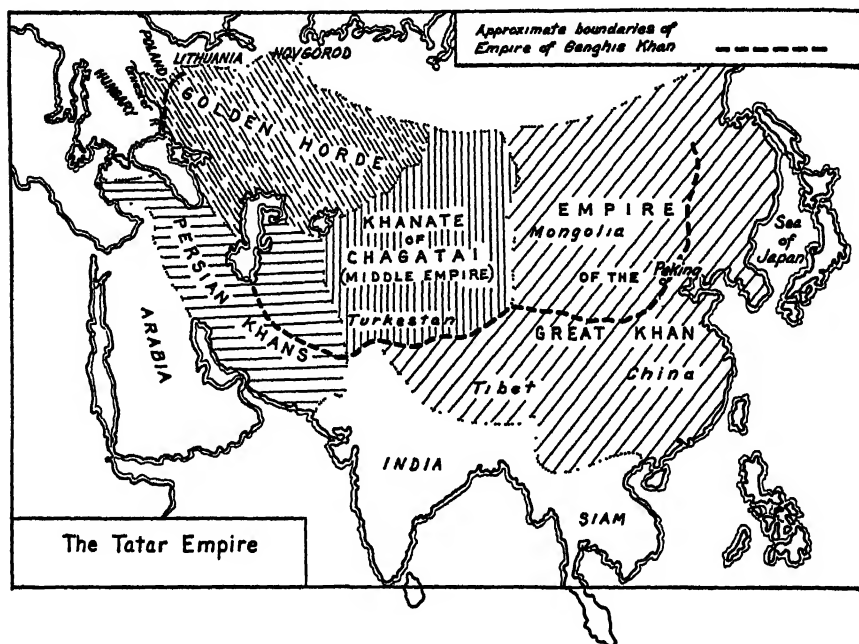
In response to a proposal to put an end to the mendicant orders, the Second Council of Lyons (1274) decided to abolish them all except the great four, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites. Their privileges—extended still further by Martin IV—continued to provoke opposition from bishops and parish priests; and in 1290 the friars in France were again defended against their critics, this time by Cardinal Gaetano (later Pope Boniface VIII).

The Immaculate Conception: A controversy over the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had arisen in the twelfth century, was continued in the thirteenth. To the question, "Does Mary's immunity from sin mean that she was sanctified immediately after conception?" Albertus Magnus, following St. Bernard, answered "Yes; for it would be heresy to say that sanctification took place before animation." Other men opposed these writers. The opinion held by Thomas Aquinas is a matter of dispute; but, according to some interpreters, he taught that the soul of Mary existed at least an instant before her sanctification. A basis of reconciliation was provided by the Franciscan, Duns Scotus, who affirmed that the soul of the Blessed Virgin was created and sanctified at the very instant of its infusion into her body, so that sanctification followed animation logically, but not chronologically. The discussion was carried on for some time, with the Franciscans supporting Scotus and the Dominicans opposing him.

The Moslems: From a military point of view, the crusading armies accomplished little in the thirteenth century; and Turkish pressure upon eastern Europe was increasing seriously, when the Tatar, Genghis Khan,⁶⁴ invaded Turkestan and dealt the

⁶⁴ Early in the century Genghis Khan, founder of the Mongol dynasty, conquered north China, capturing Peking in 1215. Within the next ten years he invaded Turkestan, northern India, and Persia, and crossed the Caucasus into Russia. One of his successors, Batu, carried the Tatar career of conquest to the west, defeating a combined army of Poles and Germans in Lower Silesia in 1241; and for the next two centuries western

Seljuks a blow from which they never recovered—thus indirectly relieving Christendom. But the relief was brief; for a dynastic change brought forward the Ottoman Turks who displaced the Seljuks and seized Baghdad in 1258, beginning a career of conquest which made them the terror of Christendom for nearly three hundred years.



In Egypt, after the Seljuk power faded, sultans were set up and deposed at will by the so-called Mamelukes—soldiers recruited from captives taken in war, many of whom had risen to rank and power. In the East, Islam practically completed the conquest of northern India, and a Mohammedan sultan ruled at Delhi. Later the Mohammedans invaded southern India, gradually overcoming Hindu resistance; and a new language known as “Hindustani” developed from a combination of the old vernacular with the Persian of the conquerors.

The Jews: As time went on popular rumor became more and more ready to charge the Jews with imaginary crimes, including

Russia was ruled by the Kipchak Khanate of the “Golden Horde”—so called from the gorgeous tent of the leader.

the murder of children and the systematic desecration of the Sacred Host; and mob violence grew more frequent and more savage.⁶⁵ This was especially true in France and Germany—by contrast with Spain and Hungary, where many Jews acquired honor and affluence; yet massacres took place also in Spain, notably at Toledo, in 1212. Two distinct tendencies may be observed in the legislation of the time, one to protect the Jews from injustice, and the other to exploit their unpopularity by confiscating their possessions. In many places Jews were required to wear a distinctive dress or badge.

The French king, Louis VIII, in 1223 enacted laws which reduced many wealthy Jews to poverty. About the middle of the century Louis IX made repeated efforts to convert the Jews, especially by means of public disputes; and in 1269 he imposed the wearing of the badge. In 1290 a Jew was burned at the stake in Paris on the charge of having desecrated the Host.⁶⁶ In the latter part of the century persecution became even more common. France banished many Jews in 1254; and a few years later Alfonso X of Castile repeated the "Blood Accusation."

In England an immense amount of money was taken from the Jews who were the chief financial agents of the country,⁶⁷ and in 1290 Edward I expelled the whole poverty-stricken community. Jewish taxes had formed a royal monopoly; and the edict of banishment was so popular in the coun-

⁶⁵ The matter of ritual murder, otherwise known as the "Blood Accusation," attracted much notice at this time. In consequence of the massacre of thirty-four Jews and Jewesses at Fulda after confession elicited through torture, Frederick II appointed a commission to investigate the case. They reported that the charge had no foundation and the emperor forbade its repetition. Nevertheless it persisted. In 1247 the Jews of Germany and France appealed to Pope Innocent IV to defend them against the charge of employing the heart of a Christian child in the celebration of the Passover. He branded the accusation as false. Many popes have refuted the charge of ritual murder made against the Jews and no pope has ever endorsed it.

⁶⁶ A chapel built at the place of execution carried the inscription, "Upon this site the Jews defiled the Sacred Host," and this memorial survived for four hundred years.

⁶⁷ King John extorted great sums. One of the king's victims, Abraham of Bristol, had a tooth extracted each day for seven days, until he consented to hand 10,000 marks over to the king. A deacon at Oxford in 1220 was burned for professing Judaism and marrying a Jewess. The reported murder of "little St. Hugh of Lincoln" in 1225 resulted in the execution of eighteen Jews. About the middle of the century the Jews were restricted to twenty-five towns where they could be duly registered and systematically taxed by the king. On two occasions they requested permission to leave England, but this permission was refused as they were valuable royal chattels. In 1271 the king sold his tax right over the Jews to Richard of Cornwall for two thousand marks. Beginning with the year 1275, the law against usury was strictly enforced. This deprived the Jews of their principal means of livelihood; and as a result, some submitted to baptism, some evaded the law, some practiced coin clipping, and some turned to robbery. In 1278 nearly three hundred Jews were executed.

try that the clergy and the laity voted the king a sum of money in return for what he sacrificed by pursuing his anti-Semitic policy. The presence of Jews in England remained illegal for nearly four centuries.

The Hungarian king, Andrew II, under pressure from the nobility and the clergy, published in his Golden Bull of 1222 a provision requiring both Jews and Saracens to wear distinctive badges. Boleslaus, king of Poland, in 1264 issued a charter placing the Jews under the protection of the law but at the same time classifying them as a separate group, distinct from the general body of citizens.

The ecclesiastical authorities, too, were much concerned with the Jews. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed that they should wear badges. During the first half of the century the Jewish problem was mentioned more than one hundred times in letters of the popes and nearly fifty times in decrees of general and local councils. Sometimes the popes decided legal disputes between Jews and Christians; sometimes they rebuked Jews for conduct injurious to Christian faith and morals; and sometimes they condemned the injustice and brutality of Christians. Five times during those same fifty years the bull extending protection to the Jews was renewed. There can be no question that the popes made an honest effort to protect this unfortunate race and that the effort was in part successful. Nevertheless the persecution continued.

4. MISSIONS

Northern Europe: Missionaries were especially busy among the heathen inhabitants of Prussia, Lithuania, and Livonia. In 1204 Albrecht, a canon of Bremen, established an episcopal see at a German trading station near the present city of Riga; and two military orders, the Brethren of the Sword and the Teutonic Knights, were summoned to help in the defense of the Christians and in the conversion of the natives. Within a few years German colonies and missions were solidly established along the shores of the Baltic.

Missionaries were active also in the far north, for a letter of Pope Innocent III, written in 1206 to the archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim), refers to his exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Christian settlement of Greenland.⁶⁸

The East: The invasions of Genghis Khan and Batu gave new

⁶⁸ The letter is corroborated by documents of three other popes, John XXI, Nicholas III, and Martin IV.

impulse to Christian missions. Innocent IV—hoping both to convert the Tatars and to stop their devastating raids—organized two expeditions, one under John of Carpini, a Franciscan, in 1245, and the other under Anselm, a Dominican, in 1247. Franciscan friars, after visiting many Tatar chiefs, finally arrived at the court of the Great Khan, who sent them back with a letter to Innocent; and the exchange of gifts between the Holy See and the khan gave rise to a rumor of a forthcoming general conversion of the Tatars.⁶⁹

Kublai Khan (1260–1294), grandson of Genghis Khan, ruled over an enormous territory from the Sea of Japan in the east to the Dniester in the west, establishing Buddhism (introduced from Tibet) as the state religion, but tolerating other beliefs. He kept Marco Polo at his court for several years and requested Pope Nicholas IV to send out missionaries. Marco Polo's accounts of his travels and the reports made by the Franciscans stimulated contemporary interest in the Orient and still remain a valuable source of information.

Missions to convert the Mohammedans of Palestine came to be looked upon with more favor—perhaps in view of the small success attained by the crusaders. Franciscan and Dominican missionaries established colonies in the Holy Land soon after the year 1220; St. Thomas wrote the *Summa contra Gentiles* in the hope of winning the heathen by persuasion rather than by force; Raymond Lull, with extraordinary zeal, promoted the study of Oriental languages, and even went in person to preach to the Mohammedans. None of these efforts, however, met with notable success.

The Crusades:⁷⁰ Five Crusades took place between 1202 and 1270. All classes took part—kings, knights, men-at-arms, bishops, monks, peasants; and the crusaders were inspired by a vari-

⁶⁹ Solid evidence is lacking for the report made to Innocent in 1254 of the baptism of the Tatar khan with fifty thousand of his subjects. The Tatars may have deliberately attempted to distract Christian Europe, while they themselves were engaged in conquering the Turks. The Dominican mission among the Mongols of Persia, established in 1240, gained new vigor in 1286 with the coming of Fra Ricoldo of Monte Croce, who tried to convert the Nestorian Christians in that region.

⁷⁰ The numbering of the Crusades is arbitrary—a conventional highlighting of the chief episodes in a more or less continuous series of expeditions.

ety of motives—religious idealism, political pressure, economic necessity, love of adventure, hope of booty. So far as possession of the Holy Land was concerned, the net result was nothing. Yet, despite the failure to establish permanent states in the Holy Land, the Crusades affected the history of Europe in many ways. They helped to broaden the mental outlook of Europeans, to foster the religious and chivalric element of knighthood, to strengthen the conception of the papacy as the international headquarters of Christendom, to encourage travel, both commercial and religious, to develop a free citizenry and a merchant class at the expense of the feudal nobility; and the need of raising money for the Crusades stimulated new financial activities in Europe and played a part in the development of capitalism.

The Crusades were not an unalloyed blessing to either East or West. The Fourth Crusade, for example, deepened the Greek dislike of Latin Christians so gravely as to hamper all papal effort to end the Eastern Schism. Then too, many of the crusaders, while in the East, abandoned the Christian moral code entirely, and some even lapsed into the profession of Mohammedanism. Moreover, the contact between Europe and the East during the Crusades facilitated the infiltration of heretical doctrines into the West.

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) was undertaken in response to Pope Innocent III's plea to save the Holy Land; but he soon lost control of the movement. The French knights chose Thibaud of Champagne as their leader, made a separate agreement with Venice for transportation across the Mediterranean, and on Thibaud's death selected as his successor, Boniface of Montferrat whose cousin, Philip of Suabia, was at that very time in arms against the pope. After the sack of Constantinople, the leaders of the Crusade, having been excommunicated by Pope Innocent III, gave up their expedition to Palestine.

In the so-called **Children's Crusade (1212)**, forty thousand children set forth to conquer the Holy Land. Great numbers perished on the way; some were sent back home; many were sold into slavery by treacherous Christian traders.

In the **Fifth Crusade (1228–1229)** Emperor Frederick II, who had been excommunicated by the pope for his tardiness in starting, secured possession of Bethlehem and Jerusalem by negotiations with the sultan, and had himself crowned king of Jerusalem.

The **Sixth Crusade** (1248–1254), led by St. Louis IX of France, took Damietta in Egypt; but soon afterwards Louis was made prisoner and forced to go home.

The **Seventh Crusade** (1270), also under the leadership of St. Louis, ended in disaster; and Louis died at Tunis.

In 1291 the Mohammedans recaptured Acre. Shortly afterwards they won back all the territory they had previously lost; the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end. The period of the Great Crusades was over.⁷¹

SUMMARY

By quick stages the Hohenstaufens lost their pre-eminence. Frederick II died suddenly; Conrad IV never even received the imperial insignia; Manfred was slain amid his Moslem allies at Benevento; young Conradin was beheaded after his defeat at Tagliacozzo. The throne remained vacant for almost twenty years. Papal hostility was the major factor in this ruin of the House which by its claim on Sicily had come to personify the lay threat to ecclesiastical independence: Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick twice, and offered Sicily to Robert of Artois; Innocent IV repeated the excommunication and offered Sicily to an English prince; Alexander IV excommunicated Manfred and renewed the Sicilian offer; Urban IV gave Sicily to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis; Clement IV crowned Charles and helped him to deal the Hohenstaufens the last fatal blows. After the Interregnum, the masterful Nicholas III accepted from Rudolf of Hapsburg an official surrender of imperial claims which for centuries had been stubbornly defended.

In dealing with other sovereigns too, the popes used drastic measures; all in all, excommunications were launched against emperors and kings on more than ten occasions and at least six kings were deposed or threatened. Yet in the midst of all this conflict,

⁷¹ The special appeal which attached to war for the recovery of the Holy Land was diminished by the application of the name and the privileges of "Crusade" to campaigns against heresy and to wars against the pope's political enemies. Moreover, with Europe divided by fierce national rivalries, Christendom came to realize that little could be gained through new military expeditions to the East.

the Church could boast of varied peaceful glories: the new orders of Dominic and Francis; the immortal poetry of Dante; a long procession of scholars—Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Robert Grosseteste; saints such as Anthony of Padua, Edmund Rich, Gertrude the Great, Clare; schools that imparted wisdom and holiness to countless thousands—at Bologna, Paris, Salerno, Padua, Salamanca, Oxford, Cambridge. The Spanish Christians routed the Moslems; missionaries were pressing forward into Russia and Tatar. By the year 1300 the last pagan outposts had been taken; and the continent of Europe was Christian to the boundaries of the old Roman Empire.⁷²

Missionary expansion and the policy of frequent excommunication did not, however, keep sovereigns from growing stronger and bolder in their dealings with the pope—as Boniface VIII discovered. Neither Edward I nor Philip IV would admit the claims he asserted in the *Clericis laicos*; and—although Boniface withheld recognition—Albert I became emperor. Now too, Christendom suffered from Albigensian and Waldensian propaganda, from Inquisitorial excesses (reproved by popes), from Jewish pogroms and Tatar raids. The century closed sadly; for the crusaders, abandoned in their lonely castles, were forced to surrender Acre and evacuate the Holy Land.

⁷² As far as Novgorod, Moscow and the lower Volga. Lithuania should be excepted, as it became Christian only in the following century.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1202-04 The Fourth Crusade</p> <p>1205 <i>Innocent III</i> protests favors to Jews</p> <p>1209-29 Albigensian "crusade"</p> <p>1209 First Franciscans</p> <p>1210 Otto IV excommunicated ⁷³</p> <p>1212 Children's Crusade</p>
<p>c. 1212 The Poor Clares</p>
<p>1214 Waldensians burned in France</p> <p>1215 Twelfth Ecumenical Council (Lateran IV): Transubstantiation formulated</p>
<p>1216 First Dominicans</p> <p>1217 <i>Honorius III</i> organizes Fifth Crusade</p>
<p>1220 St. Anthony of Padua joins Franciscans</p>
<p>1221 Dominicans at Oxford</p>
<p>1224 Franciscans at Oxford</p> <p>1227 <i>Gregory IX</i> excommunicates Frederick II</p> <p>St. Edmund Rich preaches Sixth Crusade</p>
<p>1231 St. Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary d.</p>
<p>1233 <i>Gregory IX</i> erects Inquisition</p> | <p>1200 Islam dominates India</p> <p>c. 1200 University of Oxford</p>
<p>1204 Latin Empire of the East</p>
<p>1210 University of Paris</p> <p>1212 Frederick II crowned king at Mainz</p> <p>John of England excommunicated</p> <p>Jews massacred at Toledo</p> <p>Spanish victory of Tolosa</p>
<p>1213 England a papal fief</p>
<p>1215 Frederick II crowned again at Aachen</p>
<p>c. 1215 Magna Carta</p> <p>University of Cambridge</p>
<p>1218-24 Genghis Khan in Persia, Russia, India</p> <p>1220 Frederick II crowned emperor at Rome</p>
<p>1222 Jews persecuted in Hungary</p> <p>University of Padua</p> <p>1223 Louis VIII legislates against Jews</p> <p>1224 University of Naples</p>
<p>1228 Teutonic Knights in Prussia</p>
<p>1232 Hungary under interdict</p> |
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⁷³ This was one of a long series of excommunications: Alfonso IX of Leon, 1204; Otto IV, 1210; John of England, 1212; Alfonso II of Portugal, 1222; Frederick II, 1227 (again in 1239 and 1245); Sancho II of Portugal, 1245 (also deposed); Conrad IV, 1250; Manfred, 1255; Alfonso III of Portugal, 1279; Michael Paleologus, 1281; Pedro III of Aragon, 1282; James of Sicily, 1286; Eric VIII of Denmark, 1298; Albert I, 1299.

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

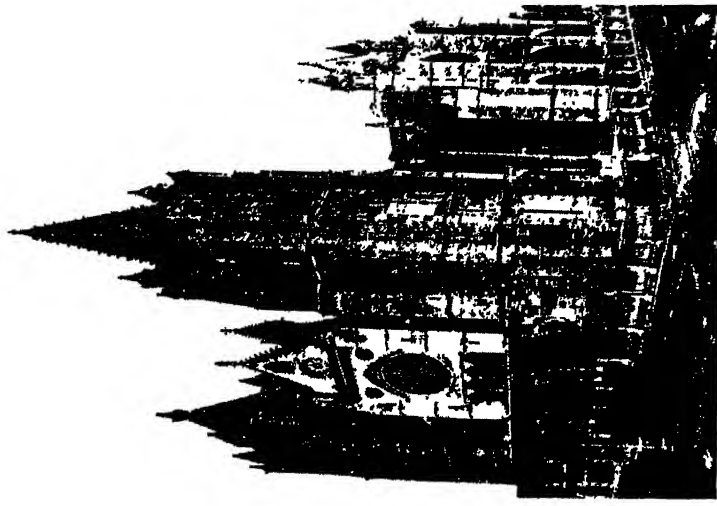
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|---|--|
| <p>1245 St. Albertus Magnus at Paris
Missionaries in Tatar
<i>Innocent IV</i> excommunicates
and deposes Frederick II
Thirteenth Ecumenical Council
(Lyons I) vs. Frederick II</p> <p>1248-54 St. Louis IX on Crusade</p> <p>1250 Robert Grosseteste protests
against Curia</p>
<p>1257 St. Bonaventure, general of
Franciscans</p>
<p>1261 <i>Urban IV</i> forbids Flagellant
processions</p> <p>1266 <i>Clement IV</i> encourages Roger
Bacon</p>
<p>1266-72 St. Thomas Aquinas writes
<i>Summa Theologica</i></p>
<p>1274 <i>St. Gregory X</i> effects temporary
reunion with Greeks at Four-
teenth Ecumenical Council
(Lyons II)</p>
<p>1281 <i>Martin IV</i> excommunicates Mi-
chael Paleologus</p>
<p>1294 <i>St. Celestine V</i> abdicates
Missionaries in China</p> <p>1296 <i>Boniface VIII</i> issues <i>Clericis</i>
<i>laicos</i></p> <p>1298 <i>Boniface VIII</i> lays interdict on
Denmark</p> <p>1299 <i>Boniface VIII</i> excommunicates
Albert</p> <p>1300 Magnificent Jubilee in Rome</p> | <p>1236-48 Spanish take Córdoba, Va-
lencia, Seville</p> <p>1241 Mongols in Silesia, Russia, Po-
land, Hungary</p> <p>1243 St. Ferdinand III charts Uni-
versity of Salamanca</p>
<p>c. 1250 Moors confined to Granada
Reform of Scandinavia</p> <p>1254 Conrad IV d.
France banishes Jews</p> <p>1256-73 The Great Interregnum</p> <p>c. 1257 Spain persecutes Jews</p>
<p>1258 Turks capture Baghdad</p> <p>1261 Latins lose Constantinople to
Greeks</p> <p>1266 Manfred slain
<i>Clement IV</i> gives Sicily to
Charles of Anjou</p>
<p>1268 Conradin beheaded</p> <p>1273 Rudolf elected emperor</p>
<p>1278 Rudolf surrenders "Italian
claims" to <i>Nicholas III</i></p> <p>1279 Edward I's Statute of Mortmain</p>
<p>1290 Edward I banishes Jews
Duns Scotus at Oxford</p> <p>1291 Fall of Acre</p> <p>1292 Dante's <i>Vita Nuova</i></p>
<p>1296 Philip IV of France cuts off pa-
pal revenue</p> <p>1298 Adolf killed and succeeded by
Albert I</p> |
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Courtesy of New York Public Library

COLOGNE CATHEDRAL (13th to 19th century)

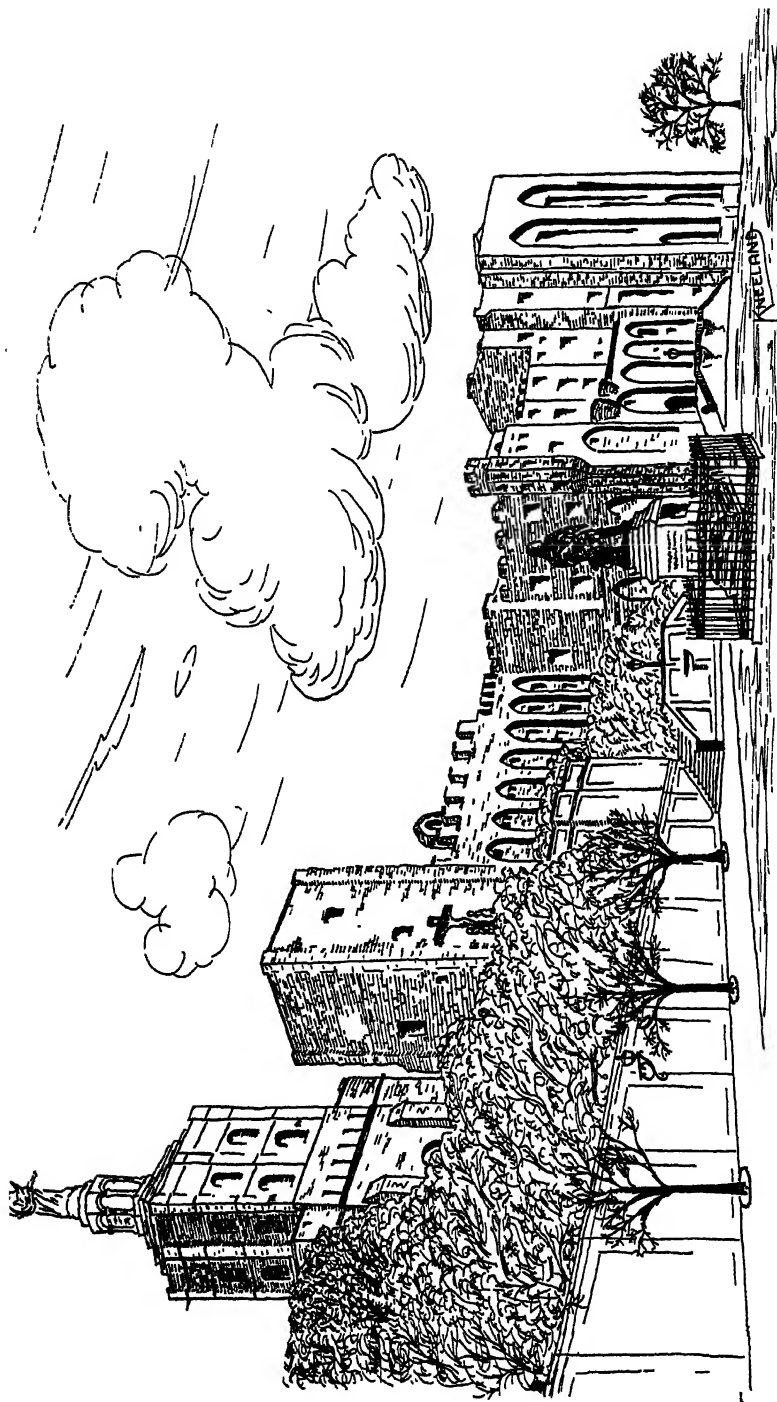
Germany's great Gothic monument



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

CATHEDRAL OF LEON (13th to 19th century)

Replacing an earlier cathedral destroyed by the Moors



AVIGNON: PALACE OF THE POPES (14th century)

The town, bought by Clement VI (1348) was confiscated in the French Revolution (1791); the Palace (residence of 9 popes) became a military barracks

CHAPTER XIV

(The Thirteen Hundreds)

The Decline

PREVIEW

IN many respects this century presented painful contrast with its predecessor. Catholic life declined amazingly. Looking back after the event, one discerns a stirring of forces which later brought about the religious revolution of the sixteenth century; the medieval world was being transformed in respect of political organization, social structure, spiritual outlook.

Papal prestige and influence diminished; the power of excommunication lost its terror. This result was due not merely to the exaggerated claims of the more extreme papalists and to the financial policy pursued by the Avignon court, but also and chiefly to political and social currents swirling through Europe. Some of the ablest writers and teachers of the day were blind to the need of a living authority possessing universal jurisdiction; the new vernacular literature gave widespread circulation to lewd and biting satires on lax clerics, mercenary papal tax-gatherers, and oppressive foreign prelates; speculation ran riot with regard to such fundamental doctrines as the Divinity of Christ, original sin, the efficacy and the necessity of the sacraments, the Real Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist. A grave symptom was the stubborn resistance offered to the authority of the Holy See by three unrelated groups, the Franciscan "Spirituals," the Flagellants, the English Wyclifites. A misfortune complicating and intensifying all others was the Black Death which, in the middle of the century, carried off tens of thousands of the clergy and possibly a quarter of the popula-

tion of Europe. Western Christendom never again regained the position it had occupied before the coming of this fearful plague.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Rarely has the interaction of faith and patriotism been more significant than in this age.

The French king was involved in the attack upon Boniface VIII at Anagni in 1303, in the transfer of the papacy to Avignon six years later, in the burning of the Knights Templars in Paris (1316); and when the papacy returned to Rome in the last quarter of the century, King Charles V encouraged the French cardinals to inaugurate the Great Schism.

While the Avignon popes were under the influence of France, other countries regarded interference in Church affairs as a patriotic duty. The German court became a hotbed of antipapal conspiracies; and the seven electoral "king-makers" struck a blow at the papacy's influence by declaring that their votes, and their votes alone, made imperial elections valid. Italian discontent expressed itself in frequent turmoil. England, engaged in the Hundred Years' War with France, was also erecting legislative barriers against the papal curia.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania

The Empire: Henry VII (1308), who tried to revive imperial control of Italy, was crowned king of the Lombards at Milan in 1311 and emperor at Rome in the following year, but he had achieved small success when he died in 1313.¹ After his death, Frederick of Hapsburg and Lewis of Bavaria disputed the succession. Lewis—having defeated Frederick who then abandoned his claim—was proclaimed emperor (1327); but Pope John

¹ Dante welcomed him in the hope that intervention would end the strife between Guelphs and Ghibellines.

XXII, asserting his right to decide disputed elections, summoned both claimants. When Lewis refused to appear, the pope declared his election invalid as lacking the necessary papal approval; and because Lewis appealed to a general council, the pope excommunicated him and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Lewis then took possession of Rome, appointed Marsilius of Padua vicar, decreed the deposition of John XXII, and elected a Franciscan friar to replace him as pope. In these proceedings Lewis obtained military aid and advice from the Italians; but before long they expelled both him and his antipope.

Upon his return to Germany in 1329 Lewis sought to make peace with the papacy by acknowledging the defect of his claim to the imperial title; but Clement VI required these further concessions—that Lewis should suspend the operation of imperial decrees already made, agreeing also to publish no more decrees without papal approval; that he should remove from office all bishops and abbots whom he had appointed, and that he should renounce his claim to certain Italian territories. The German princes then turned against Lewis.² He had been excommunicated by Pope Clement and replaced as king of Germany by Charles of Luxembourg, when he suddenly died in 1347.³

Charles IV, after his coronation at Rome in 1355, renounced all the imperial claims to Italian territory; nor did any of his successors ever again try to enforce those claims. In 1356 he issued the Golden Bull, "the cornerstone of the German Constitution," which formally established the elective character of the German kingship, recognized the dominant position of the seven imperial electors, and left the German king deprived of nearly all his feudal privileges. In order to prevent further disorders, and also to check the growing independence of the towns, Charles banned all private wars; but peace was not to be had so

² Meanwhile, taking notice of the quarrel over the issue of papal approval, the German Diet in 1338 and 1339 published a Pragmatic Sanction declaring that the imperial dignity comes from God alone, and that the sovereign chosen by the imperial electors needs no approbation of the pope or of any other person. This declaration was reaffirmed by the imperial electors in their meeting at Rhense, near Coblenz, in 1338, at which they claimed to be the successors of the senate of ancient Rome.

³ Charles had the support of five electors: his father, King John of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, and the three archbishops, of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier. The other electors were the rulers of the Rhenish Palatinate and of Brandenburg.

easily. The next emperor, Wenceslaus of Bohemia, got involved in war both with German towns and with German princes; and in 1400 he was deposed by Prince Rupert, the Elector Palatine, who succeeded him.

Bohemia: Henry VII of Luxembourg, made emperor in 1308, conquered Bohemia; and for more than a century the Luxembourg dynasty ruled there. The pope's choice of the Bohemian king, Charles IV, to take the place of Lewis IV as emperor, helped to give new importance to the country, now the leading electorate of the Holy Roman Empire. Bohemia entered upon an era of great prosperity, its "Golden Age"; and the University of Prague developed into the intellectual capital of Central Europe.

In the last decade of the century Wenceslaus IV engaged in continuous struggles with the nobles and with the clergy. In 1393 he undertook to suppress the Abbey of Kladru and when, in defiance of the king's decree, the vicar general, John Nepomucene confirmed the election of a new abbot, the king had John tortured and then drowned.⁴

The wealth of the Church was causing many men to enter the priesthood from worldly motives; and moral conditions were bad.⁵ Conspicuous in the campaign to promote reform, was John Hus, a preacher of Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, supported by Queen Sophia whose confessor he had been. Among the disciples of Hus were some who, like Hus himself, had been influenced by the teaching of Wyclif.

Hungary: In a three-cornered battle which took place after the death of Andrew III in 1301, the pope upheld the claim of Charles Robert of Naples. Crowned in 1310, Charles followed an autocratic policy in Church affairs, nominating bishops, appropriating the revenues of vacant benefices, and imposing taxes on all the prelates he appointed. A complaint from the Hungarian bishops to the Holy See in 1338 brought a letter of ad-

⁴ John of Nepomuk (a small town near Pilsen) was canonized in 1729 as a martyr. According to some accounts he was killed because he refused to betray the confession of the Queen.

⁵ The number of priests far exceeded the needs of the people; nearly two hundred fifty clerics were attached to the Cathedral of Prague.

monition to the king. Charles married a Polish princess, sister of King Casimir the Great; and their son Louis succeeded to an extensive territory which stretched from the Baltic to the Danube, and from the Adriatic to the Dnieper. Louis made Hungary for a while as important in Eastern Europe as France was in the West; and he founded many monasteries and churches, taking care to nominate only competent persons as bishops.⁶

But if Hungary's ascent was swift, her decline was swifter. King Sigismund, in his struggle with Islam, received little aid from the rest of Europe; and in 1396 he suffered a disastrous defeat. After that Hungary never regained her old strength; and during the next three centuries she was engaged in one long fight for life.

Poland: Ladislaus III (1306-1333)⁷ united Great and Little Poland, fought the Teutonic Knights, saved the nation from anarchy, prepared the ground for his son Casimir the Great (1333-1370). Relinquishing the Baltic area to the Teutonic Knights, but extending his territory eastward, Casimir annexed Galicia and established Catholic sees alongside the Orthodox. Poland's Golden Age began. Burghers were represented with the nobility and the clergy in the royal council; the new capital, Cracow, was one of Europe's finest cities; Cracow University, founded in 1364 (later reorganized on the model of Paris, and called "The Jagellon University") became a nursery of distinguished scholars and the academic center of eastern Europe.

Casimir the Great gave scandal by his disreputable mode of life; and, when excommunicated by the bishop of Cracow, he had the priest who brought notice of the censure drowned in the Vistula. By way of atonement, Casimir later undertook various religious and charitable works; he also, to the great displeasure of the nobility, granted many privileges to the clergy, then growing very powerful. Being the last of the Piast Dynasty, Casimir bequeathed the crown of Poland to his nephew, Louis of Hun-

⁶ His attempt to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches provoked the antagonism of his Greek Orthodox subjects in the Balkans; and several minor states in the neighborhood of Serbia and Bulgaria made friendly advances to the Turks.

⁷ Ladislaus is here used as the equivalent of Ladislav, Vladislav, Vladyslav, Wladislaw, and Wratislaw.

gary, who claimed the right of investiture in sees erected by his predecessor. Louis's daughter, Jadwiga, or Hedwig (still venerated as a saint), to save Poland from civil war and to win Lithuania to the faith, gave up her betrothed, William, son of the emperor, and in 1386 married Jagello (Ladislaus), pagan duke of Lithuania, who became a Catholic. The dual state prospered.

Lithuania: Earlier in the century, Lithuania had become three times the size of Poland, by seizing Volhynia and Ukraine in western Russia, defeating the Tatars, extending her territory southward to the Black Sea. Gedymin (1315-1341) brought from Germany and Poland, colonists and Franciscan and Dominican missionaries. Under his son, Olgerd, a number of Franciscans are said to have been killed during a pagan reaction in 1366. Olgerd's son, Jagello, tried to smooth out the racial and religious differences of Catholics, Orthodox, pagans. Meanwhile the law favored Catholics; and, at Jagello's request, Urban VI erected a see in the capital, Vilna, and named the king's candidate as first bishop in 1387.⁸

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

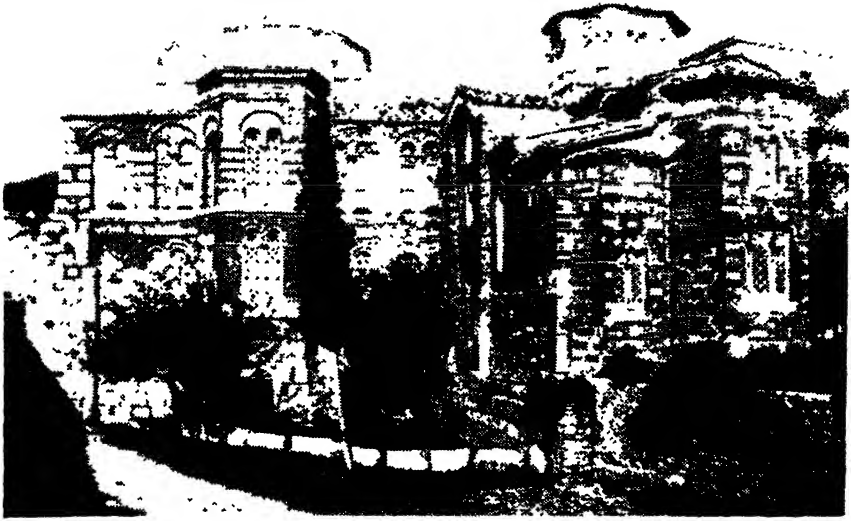
In the Latin countries, generally speaking, this period was marked by wars to acquire or to retain territory, by domestic struggles between crown and nobility, and by constant intrigues either to secure the friendship of the clergy or to weaken their power.

France: Philip IV (1285-1314) having gained popular support in his quarrel with Boniface VIII by convoking the first meeting of the States-General of France,⁹ supplemented his victory by securing the election of a French archbishop to the papacy and persuading Clement V to establish his residence at Avignon.¹⁰ For forty years all the popes and most of the cardinals were French; and the French king was in a position to influence

⁸ Jagello's cousin, Witold, Grand Prince of Lithuania (1392-1430), while tolerating Orthodoxy among his Ruthenian subjects, cooperated with Jagello in promoting Catholicism. Defeated by the Tatars in 1399, he became more dependent upon Polish aid.

⁹ The States-General was composed of the clergy, the nobility, and the bourgeoisie.

¹⁰ Shortly afterwards the king obtained a papal decree dissolving the Knights Templars, and confiscated their property.



University Prints

GREEK MONASTERY CHURCHES (11th century)

In St. Luke's monastery, Stiris, Phocis, Greece



Courtesy of the Polish Review

COURT OF CRACOW UNIVERSITY, (with statue of Copernicus)



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

CATHEDRAL OF ST. VITUS, PRAGUE

Founded by St. Wenceslaus (10th century);
rebuilt by Charles IV



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

FORTRESS CASTLE OF KARLSTEIN, PRAGUE

Built by Charles IV

papal policy to an extent which provoked unfortunate reactions throughout Christendom. Had Philip VI and John II (whose two reigns lasted from 1328 to 1364) not been involved in the Hundred Years' War¹¹ and the disastrous defeats of Crécy and Poitiers, they might have acquired complete control of the papacy.

When the Avignon residence was terminated by the return to Rome of Gregory XI and by the election of an Italian, Urban VI, the French king, Charles V (1364-1380), faced with the prospect of losing his hold on the popes, encouraged a group of thirteen cardinals to declare Urban's election invalid and to set up the French cardinal, Robert of Geneva, as Pope Clement VII. The resulting schism may therefore be looked upon as largely the work of the French king.¹²

Spain: Domestic feuds divided the Spanish Christians; and at one time the Moors were kept from reconquering northern Spain only by the timely arrival of Christian reinforcements from other countries. When the Great Western Schism broke out in 1378, Spain was induced to support the (Avignon) pope, Clement VII, through the influence of the Spanish cardinal, Pedro de Luna, who later became the (Avignon) pope, Benedict XIII. St. Vincent Ferrer and most of the Spanish churchmen supported Benedict XIII until his deposition at the Council of Constance.

Aragon: Most of the kings of Aragon spent too much time and money striving to make good their claim to the crown of the Two Sicilies. **James II** (1291-1327), however, relinquished Sicily for a territorial consideration and also succeeded in enlarging his boundaries at the expense of Castile and of Granada; and his son, **Alfonso IV**, by marrying a Castilian princess, brought Aragon and Castile into alliance against the Moors. But Alfonso's son, **Pedro the Ceremonious**, waged war against **Pedro the Cruel** of Castile during most of the second half of the century—Castile being assisted by an English army under the Black Prince, and Aragon by a French force under Bertrand du Guesclin.

Aragon respected the political traditions of Catalonia; and in the reign of **Pedro the Ceremonious** the ancient organization known as the Catalan "Generalitat" developed into a quasi-cabinet, representing each of the

¹¹ The war began when Edward III laid claim to the French throne as grandson of Philip IV.

¹² See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, I, 126-27.

three estates and presided over by a cleric. During this era the literature and art of Catalonia ranked with the best productions of France and Italy.

Castile: In 1312, at the age of two years, **Alfonso XI** inherited the crown of Castile. During his minority, the pope, acting as arbiter, ended a civil war by dividing the jurisdiction of the kingdom between two claimants for the regency. A few years later the two rivals fell in battle against the Moslems; and in 1350 Alfonso died of the Black Plague during a campaign against the same enemy.

By his oppressive policy **Pedro the Cruel** aroused hostility; and although assisted by the English, he was deposed by his half brother, **Henry II**, who succeeded him in 1369.¹³

Portugal: The prosperity of the country during the reign of **Alfonso IV** (1325-1357) was due in part to the influence of the king's mother, **St. Isabel** (Elizabeth), who after her husband's death retired to the convent of the Poor Clares at Coimbra. **Alfonso** agreed to resume the payment of tribute to the Holy See promised by one of his predecessors, **Alfonso Henríquez**; and he also undertook to punish clerical misconduct. His attempt to restore order by appointing foreign prelates to positions of authority aroused great opposition.

His successor, **Pedro** (1357-1367), although living an evil life himself, continued the official policy of enforcing the laws; and "contumacious" persons, whether clerical or lay, were severely punished. During this reign the clergy were at odds with the court; and they formulated a complaint listing more than thirty grievances. **Ferdinand I** (1367-1385), during the Great Schism, leaned towards the side of the Avignon pope, **Clement VII**; but the Portuguese bishops kept the country on the side of the Roman pope.

After the death of **Ferdinand**, the kingdom was governed by his widow and her favorite, **Andeiro**. The Cortes then gave the crown to **John**, the illegitimate son of **Pedro I**, in an effort to prevent the absorption of Portugal by Castile. **John** was successful in his campaign against the Castilians, and a few years later, although a cleric, he married **Philippa**, daughter of **John of Gaunt**. In 1391 **Boniface IX** legitimized this marriage.

¹³ The association between Castile and England at this time is indicated by the marriage of **Pedro's** two daughters to the brothers of the Black Prince, and by the marriage of **King Henry III** to **Catherine of Lancaster**.

Italy: The imperial attempt to control northern Italy had come to an end even before the popes transferred their residence to Avignon in 1309; and the country was ruled by Italian despots—the Visconti, the Malatesta, and others. Among the more powerful clans was the Scala family of Verona, one of whom, Can Grande (1291–1329)—a noted patron of art and letters, praised by Dante in the *Paradiso*—regarded himself as the imperial vicar of northeastern Italy and extended his territory by force to the Venetian boundary. In 1388 the Scala family lost power and their possessions were divided.

Cola di Rienzi made an abortive attempt to unite Italy under a democratic constitution with Charles IV as ruler. Imprisoned by that emperor but liberated by Innocent VI, who sent him back to Rome to assist Cardinal Albornoz in pacifying the Romans, Rienzi was slain in a popular uprising in 1354.

In the south, the Spanish and the French disputed control; and the two rulers at Naples and at Palermo both called themselves king of Sicily. Joanna of Naples, five times married, supported the French antipope, Clement VII; she was excommunicated and deposed by Pope Urban VI, who crowned the unscrupulous Charles of Durazzo king of Naples in her place (1381). Palermo remained in the possession of the kings of Aragon.

b. England, Ireland, Scotland.

England: The new emphasis laid upon national independence deepened the king's sense of a double grievance—that the remaining clerical immunities and papal privileges restricted the royal freedom; and that the still considerable outflow of ecclesiastical revenue depleted the country's military resources. As the English clergy too—without denying the jurisdiction of the Holy See—favored the barring of foreigners from English benefices, the first quarter century saw the beginning of organized efforts to limit papal activities within the realm.

During Edward III's long reign (1327–1377) the Franco-English war played no small part in uniting the king, the nobles, the clergy and the common people in hostility towards the Avig-

non court, dominated by French influence and deaf to complaints about burdensome Church taxes; and the general disapproval expressed itself in repeated enactments. The Statute of Provisors (1351) nullified papal appointments made without the royal consent; the Statute of Praemunire (1353), prohibited appeals outside the realm;¹⁴ Pope Urban V's threat over non-payment of the annual tribute was answered by Parliament's refusal to pay the tax (then in arrears for thirty-three years) and by a formal repudiation of King John's "illegal" placing of England in vassalage to the pope. A few years later ecclesiastics were made ineligible to serve in certain high offices, including the chancellorship. The agreement entered into by Gregory XI and Edward in 1374 effected no considerable change; and, on several occasions during the remaining years of the century, antipapal decrees were renewed.

The Black Death which overran England in mid-century hastened the breakup of the old order, retarded communication with the Holy See, cut the number of religious and of university students by more than half, and in one way or another, affected the whole social, political, ecclesiastical life of the kingdom. The people were excited by the freezing of wages at the pre-plague level (in the Statute of Laborers of 1351), by the imposition of a higher poll tax, by the subversive theories of Wyclif, by the harangues of the excommunicated priest, John Ball. In the Great Revolt of 1381 one hundred thousand of them stormed London under the leadership of Wat Tyler, and exacted a promise of concessions from King Richard II.¹⁵

Ireland: To tighten control, the crown followed the policy of treating the Anglo-Irish as Englishmen, of classifying Irish chiefs as outlaws, and of barring all friendly relationship between the two. A royal decree (annulled by the Holy See at the urging of the Norman archbishop of Armagh) excluded Irish novices from English religious communities (1310). Against much injustice, the Irish appealed to Pope John XXII in 1317, but without re-

¹⁴ This statute was "annulled" by Pope Boniface IX in 1391.

¹⁵ Archbishop Sudbury of Canterbury was murdered by the rebels; and the bishop of Norwich was among the lords who suppressed the rebellion by force of arms.

sult; and their fight on the side of Bruce, during the Scottish War, ended in a crushing defeat. Archbishop FitzRalph of Armagh, foe of the mendicant friars, has left writings which enlighten us with regard to social and religious conditions in Ireland—picturing the havoc wrought by the Black Death in 1349, lamenting the readiness of Irish and English to rob and kill each other, revealing the concern of Edward III to place his own agents both in the primatial see of Armagh and in Dublin which, by papal ruling, was independent of Armagh.

Edward, who did not extend the benefits of Magna Carta to Ireland, did, however, attempt to appease "the English by blood." As for the pure blooded Irish, the Statutes of Kilkenny (1367) endorsed by the English archbishops and bishops in Ireland, outlawed them entirely. But as time went on, Geraldines, Burkes, Butlers, and other transplanted Norman lords intermarried with the Gaels; became no less Irish than the native chieftains; showed equal intolerance of English control, whether political or ecclesiastical. In the last decade of the century England "cut her losses." Richard II recognized O'Neill, O'Connor, O'Brien, and McCarthy as "princes of the Irish"; and the Irish chiefs, under the leadership of Ormond whom they trusted, made the great submission which marked the beginning of the Gaelic recovery and the period of "limited aristocratic home rule."

Scotland: The Church and the people suffered greatly during the years which saw the execution of Wallace (1304), Pope Clement's excommunication of Robert Bruce for his part in the murder of John Comyn, heir to the Scottish throne (1306), and the deposition of bishops who took part in the armed uprisings against the English. The House of Stuart began to rule in 1371 under Robert II, grandson of Robert Bruce, and the last decade of the century brought a truce with England; but civil war still ravaged the kingdom.

c. Scandinavia

Towards the close of the century, Queen Margaret, daughter of the king of Denmark and wife of the king of Norway, united

the three Scandinavian kingdoms in the Union of Kalmar (1397). She was the real ruler of the whole Scandinavian race until her death (1408); and she placed Danish bishops in Swedish sees—sometimes with unfortunate results.

3. THE EAST

The Byzantine Empire, Bulgaria, Russia

The Byzantine Empire: The recapture of Constantinople by the Paleologi in the previous century had not disturbed the existence of the minor states set up by the Latins—the Principality of Achaia, the Duchies of Athens and the Archipelago, the Venetian and Genoese colonies, the independent states of Epirus and Corfu. But now, among the Turks, among the Greeks and in Central Asia, epochal events took place, affecting all Christendom. The Ottoman Turks seized Adrianople in 1359, crushed the Serbians at Kossovo in 1389, defeated Sigismund at Nicopolis on the Danube in 1396, and the next year were battering at the gates of Constantinople. The Greek emperor, John V, had visited Pope Urban almost thirty years earlier in an effort to secure European aid and stave off approaching disaster; but no assistance came. The Byzantine Empire was doomed.

Bulgaria: The country was united to Serbia in 1330. Then, after the Turks destroyed the Serbian kingdom, the last Bulgarian czar was imprisoned, and the last Bulgarian patriarch was banished. The Turks retained control for the next five centuries; and the Bulgarian Church continued under the ecclesiastical rule of the Greeks.

Russia: Moscow, which had been destroyed by the Tatars, recovered and developed into the most important city of Russia in the first half of the fourteenth century. Simon the Superb, Prince of Moscow (1340–1353), assumed the title of “Grand Prince of all the Russias.” In 1380 his nephew, Demetrius, defeated the Tatars in the great battle of Kulikovo, which proved to be the beginning of Russian independence.

Meanwhile the Church of Russia, still under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, grew steadily. The

Cathedral of the Assumption was erected within the enclosure of the Kremlin. Sergei (d. 1392), the founder of the great monastery of the Most Holy Trinity near Moscow, became a legendary hero; two metropolitans of Kiev were regarded as saints. On the whole however, the moral condition of both clergy and laity was low; and, towards the end of the century, the Strigolniki—an heretical sect which repudiated the doctrine of ecclesiastical hierarchy—gained many adherents.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

It was unfortunate for the papacy that the residence at Avignon under French domination coincided with a period of fast growing nationalism in the several European states. It was doubly unfortunate that at this particular date the popes, unable now to collect revenue from the Papal States in Italy, undertook to reorganize the system of ecclesiastical taxation. Seeing that money industriously collected was sometimes badly used, and also that clerical misconduct was often left uncorrected, some critics became bitter; others denied the validity of spiritual powers exercised by unworthy ministers; and many began to suggest that effective moral reform and relief from oppressive taxation would have to come by way of the civil rulers.

High lights in the clashes between Church and State were: the tragic conclusion of the quarrel between Boniface and Philip; the nullification at the Ecumenical Council of Vienne of papal decrees distasteful to France; the costly victory of Pope John XXII over the Emperor Lewis; the antipapal decrees of the English Parliament; and the calamitous schism of 1378 occasioned partly by the hasty temper of Urban VI and partly by French ambition. These events weakened the power of the popes and involved a serious loss to the classes least able to protect themselves against injustice.¹⁶

¹⁶ "The Papacy was not the sole sufferer in this passing eclipse. There were others: the multitude of the defenceless who for centuries past had had recourse to the Apostolic See for the protection of their rights; queens, repudiated by the passion of kings,

Boniface VIII (1294-1303). The quarrel between Boniface and King Philip grew more serious as the years went on. In 1301 the king's arrest of a French bishop on the charge of treason provoked a papal rebuke of the king in the bull, *Ausculata fili*. Philip's agents then got up a forged bull calculated to arouse antipapal feeling among the French. In a synod held at Rome (1302), Boniface issued the bull,¹⁷ *Unam sanctam*, which emphasized the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. In September 1303, as Boniface was preparing to excommunicate the king, Sciarra Colonna and the French Chancellor, William of Nogaret, attacked the pope in his palace at Anagni and took him prisoner. Boniface died a few days later.

Benedict XI (1303-1304), who had been master general of the Dominicans, defended the policy of Boniface against William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, both of whom he excommunicated. In the interest of peace, he absolved King Philip and also the Colonna cardinals, without, however, restoring their former rights and privileges. He died suddenly; and William of Nogaret was suspected of having poisoned him.

Clement V (1305-1314), Archbishop of Bordeaux, a personal friend of

who had sought and obtained the maintenance and preservation, even against the mightiest monarchs in the world, of the sacred laws of marriage, peoples, oppressed by violence, whose complaints had been heard by Popes who had asserted the cause of justice against Emperors and feudal tyrants; populations, oppressed by wars, who not only heard words of peace from the lips of the Popes but had also seen apostolic Legates travel throughout the world offering their mediation and even imposing it in the name of the common Father of the Faithful, the Vicar of the Prince of Peace. What was it Boniface himself had done to rouse the wrath of Philip and excite such hatred as pursued him down to the grave? Against the king's arbitrary decrees he had invoked imprescriptible rights and liberties which the Holy See asserted and defended, more particularly the right of not being taxed or compelled to labour at the discretion of the sovereign: for it was not only on behalf of the clergy that the Pope claimed the right of consent to taxation: and it was in the common interest that he rebuked the king for debasing the coinage.

The victory of the lawyers, on the other hand, was the triumph of Caesarian absolutism confusing justice with the expression of the Prince's will, just as nowadays only too often our democrats confuse justice with the power of democracy; it was the royal power unbridled, inasmuch as it refused to acknowledge any restraint; it meant the withdrawal of the nations into a suspicious independence, the breaking of the bonds of Christian fraternity in their mutual relations, and in place thereof a triumphant nationalism no longer restrained by consideration of a divine morality invoked by the Holy See, but solely by the equilibrium of opposing forces.

The case against the Templars was to show how, under the influence and with the help of the lawyers, the grandson of St. Louis proposed to dispense justice." Jean Guiraud, "The Later Middle Ages," in Eyre, *op. cit.*, III, 471-72.

¹⁷ Theologians distinguish between two parts of this bull, one of which is the body of the document and the other a definition of faith. The body of the document presented a claim for direct power in the temporal sphere, which was in accord with the personal view of Pope Boniface. The formal definition, however, laid down nothing specific as to the precise nature of the authority of the pope in temporals. A careful reading of the bull of Boniface "creates at least a strong presumption that he deliberately refrained from committing himself to a definite theory of the submission which, in fact, he requires." See Robert Hull, S.J., *Medieval Theories of the Papacy*, p. 72.

Philip the Fair, was elected after the French and Italian factions had deadlocked the conclave for nearly a year. He was crowned pope at Lyons; and he took up his residence at Avignon in 1309, thereby beginning "the Babylonian Captivity."¹⁸ He soon gave evidence of his subservience to the will of the French king. He withdrew the bull of Boniface, *Clericis laicos*; he allowed Philip to appropriate Church revenues; and he agreed to suppress the Order of Knights Templars.¹⁹ The pope's appointment of seven French cardinals caused a suspicion that the papacy was being converted into a French institution. This suspicion was furthered by the fact that the Fifteenth General Council held at Vienne annulled all recent decrees not acceptable to the French king.²⁰ Meanwhile the commission of three cardinals appointed to govern Rome found it impossible to control the feuds of the nobles, to prevent popular outbreaks, or to collect the revenue of the Papal States.

John XXII (1316-1334), a native of Cahors, was elected after a delay of more than two years in a conclave of twenty-three cardinals assembled at Lyons by King Philip V.²¹ John's attempts to nullify the election of Lewis of Bavaria occasioned a bitter controversy; and he was involved in other grave disputes, too. To him goes the responsibility for having established a permanent papal court at Avignon, where his predecessor had lived as a visitor. To John also was due the organizing of a highly centralized administration and the installing of an efficient financial system, which brought immediate results but aroused much hostility. He reserved to the papal treasury for a period of three years the revenues of all minor benefices falling vacant in the Western Church; and he made large use of the rule which allowed the pope to claim the personal property of a deceased bishop.

In a book on the Beatific Vision, written before he became pope, John had stated that the souls of the blessed do not see God until after the last

¹⁸ Avignon—at that time in Arles—belonged to Queen Joanna of Naples, who later sold the city to Clement VI for 80,000 florins. The popes lived there for almost seventy years (1309-1377), and the great Italian banking houses established branches there to facilitate the business of the papal court. Modern scholars have come into possession of much new knowledge concerning the Avignon popes since Leo XIII began the publication of the records of this period preserved in the Vatican. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 61.

¹⁹ Shortly after the election of Clement V, King Philip undertook to destroy the Knights who had aroused envy by reason of their widespread influence and their vast wealth. He persuaded the pope to undertake an investigation of the charges of heresy, idolatry, and immorality made against them; and confessions obtained through torture led to their condemnation. In 1310, after trial at the Provincial Council of Sens, fifty-four Knights were burned at Paris; two years later, at the Council of Vienne, Clement V, after declaring that he had found no sufficient reason for "a formal condemnation of the Order," announced the suppression of the Knights for the common good; and in 1314 the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, having repudiated a forced confession, was condemned as a relapsed heretic, handed over to the civil power, and burned at the stake. Most of the property of the Templars in France came into the possession of King Philip.

²⁰ Traces of the erasure of these decrees may still be seen in the Vatican archives.

²¹ The Electoral College was two-thirds French and one-third Italian.

judgment. His enemies made this the basis of a charge of heresy, and Emperor Lewis urged the cardinals to summon a general council to condemn the pope; but nothing came of it. In 1333 an assembly of theologians of Paris affirmed the opinion opposed to John's teaching and asked John to confirm their view. In the Consistory of 1334 the pope declared he had not intended to define Catholic doctrine; and later he entirely repudiated his former opinion, declaring himself in agreement with the Paris theologians.

Nicholas V (1328-1330)—antipope.

Benedict XII (1334-1342) of Toulouse was elected by accident in a balloting which apparently was intended to "feel out" the strength of other candidates. Disposed to return to Rome and also to effect a reconciliation with Lewis of Bavaria, he let himself be dissuaded from both purposes by King Philip VI; and as a result he had to face the opposition of Lewis and the English king, Edward III, who made common cause against the papacy and France. In 1339 Benedict began the building of the papal palace at Avignon which eventually became "one of the most imposing creations of medieval architecture." Benevolent and pious, although politically weak, Benedict insisted upon strict discipline, punished bribery, avoided nepotism. He protested vigorously against persecution of the Jews.

Clement VI (1342-1352), Benedictine Archbishop of Sens and Rouen who had been chancellor of France, made the papacy still more dependent upon the French king. He purchased the city of Avignon; he multiplied French cardinals; he resumed the quarrel with Lewis. His extravagant administration led to the imposing of provocative taxes and the reserving of more benefices to the pope—steps which helped to bring about the passing of the English statute of Provisors (1351). Clement censured Lewis of Bavaria who had annulled the marriage of the heiress of Tyrol and had married her to his son; and the German electors then elected a new emperor, Charles, the pope's candidate. Clement's crusade against the Turks in 1344 ended in "a barren truce."

Innocent VI (1352-1362), an austere and upright man, began his pontificate by annulling certain acts of Clement VI. He drove courtiers out of the papal palace, put an end to extravagance, made promotion the reward of merit, sent a legate to Germany to reform conditions there, and restored papal authority in Italy. While planning a return to Rome, he died.

Urban V (1362-1370), a Benedictine canonist—elected pope after a deadlock in the Sacred College—asserted his independence of the French king, John; and he refused the king's request for permission to tax the French clergy. He also rejected the king's offer of intervention in the dispute between the pope and Bernabò Visconti, the tyrant of Milan. He returned to Rome, despite the entreaties of the French king, and while

there he restored churches and papal palaces and improved the discipline of the clergy. Unable to maintain his position in Rome, Urban went back to Avignon, where he died.

Gregory XI (1370–1378), made a cardinal deacon at the age of eighteen by his uncle, Pope Clement VI, was ordained priest after his election to the papacy. His reign was full of trouble. He failed in his efforts to reconcile the kings of France and England, to unite the Greek and Latin Churches, to start a crusade, to reform the clergy. He excommunicated Bernabò Visconti of Milan who had seized some of the feudal possessions of the papacy, and when Bernabò defied the pope (compelling the legates to eat the parchment on which the excommunication was written), Gregory sought help from the emperor, the queen of Naples, the king of Hungary, and the English condottiere, John Hawkwood. Bernabò then begged for peace, and obtained favorable terms by bribing some papal councilors.

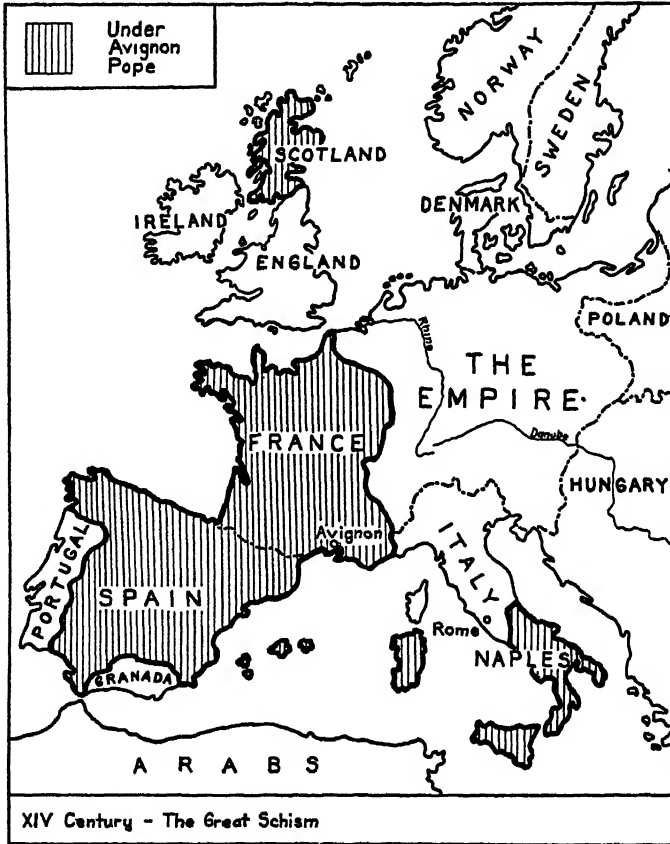
Soon afterwards, with the aid of Florence, Bernabò promoted an insurrection in the Papal States over the appointment of French legates to Italian provinces. Gregory put Florence under an interdict, excommunicating its inhabitants; and the city suffered great financial loss. The Florentines sent St. Catherine of Siena to intercede with the pope in their behalf; but they nullified her efforts by continuing their intrigues against the pope. Urged by St. Catherine, the pope returned to Rome. Riots there drove him to Anagni and he died soon afterwards. He was a virtuous pope, although not wholly free from nepotism.

Urban VI (1378–1389): After the death of Gregory XI, the Roman people demanded the election of a Roman; and the cardinals chose the archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI.²² His election came as a compromise arranged by several factions; he was really the first choice of none. Conscientious and stern, he immediately began to attack the immorality and worldliness of the clergy. He created many enemies and alienated a number of his supporters by several hasty and arbitrary acts, and by public rebukes to prelates and cardinals—despite the warnings of St. Catherine of Siena, who begged him to be more tactful.²³ After he had declared his purpose of creating a majority of Italian cardinals and of never transferring the papal residence back to France, thirteen cardinals,

²² The circumstances of Urban's election provided some ground for the later attack on its validity. During the conclave—composed of four Italian, five French, and seven other cardinals—a crowd of Romans invaded the Vatican, demanding the election of an Italian pope. The frightened cardinals elected the archbishop of Bari; and, while awaiting his arrival, they pacified the people by clothing another cardinal, Tebaldeschi, with the papal robes and presenting him to the people as pope. When Urban arrived, they endeavored to remove all doubt by re-electing him.

²³ Among Urban's mistakes were his insistence on war against Queen Joanna of Naples, and his torture and execution of several cardinals who had planned to place him under restraint.

encouraged by the French king, Charles V, met at Anagni in August 1378, announced that Urban's election had been invalid, and chose Cardinal Robert of Geneva to be pope. Robert took the name of Clement VII. The Great Schism of the West had begun.²⁴



Clement VII (1378-1394)—antipope.

Boniface IX (1389-1404) succeeded the Roman pope, Urban VI. Failing to secure ecclesiastical unity by winning over the Avignon pope, Clement VII, he excommunicated him. Refusing to follow the repeated urging of

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Popes During the Schism

ROME	AVIGNON	PISA
Urban VI (1378-1389)	Clement VII (1378-1394)	
Boniface IX (1389-1404)		
Innocent VII (1404-1406)		
Gregory XII (1406-1415)	Benedict XIII (1394-1417)	Alexander V (1409-1410)
(Resigned. d. 1417)	(Deposed. d. 1424)	John XXIII (1410-1415)
Martin V (1417-1431)		(Deposed. d. 1419)

his friends that he abdicate, Boniface fortified Rome, and having gained control of the chief papal cities, reorganized the Papal Kingdom.

Benedict XIII (1394-1424)—antipope.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The sources of Catholic teaching in the fourteenth century deal for the most part with erroneous doctrines prevalent at that time, some of which misrepresented the Christian ideal of perfection, whereas others concerned the Incarnation, the Church, and the sacraments.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Boniface VIII</i> (1294-1303)		
1300	Jubilee bull	On indulgences.
1302	Bull, <i>Unam sanctam</i>	On the jurisdiction of the Church.
<i>Benedict XI</i> (1303-1304)		
1304	Constitution	On yearly confession.
<i>Clement V</i> (1305-1314)		
1311-12	Council of Vienne (Ecum. XV)	On the Knights Templars; the Beghards and Beguines; Christian perfection.
(?)	Constitutions	On usury; the errors of the Franciscan, Peter Olivi, concerning the Incarnation, the soul, and baptism.
<i>John XXII</i> (1316-1334)		
1317	Constitution	On the errors of the Fraticelli concerning the Church and sacraments.
1321	Constitution	On the obligation of confessing sins.
1323	Constitution	On evangelical poverty.
1327	Constitution	On the errors of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun concerning the power of the pope.
1329	Constitution	On the erroneous mysticism of Eckhart, the Dominican.
<i>Benedict XII</i> (1334-1342)		
1336	Constitution	On the Beatific Vision.
1341	Libellus	On the errors of the Armenians concerning original sin, actual sin, purgatory, and the sacraments.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Clement VI</i> (1342-1352)		
1343	Jubilee bull, <i>Unigenitus</i>	On indulgences.
1348	Condemnation	On the false philosophy of Nicholas of Ultricuria.
1351	Letter to the Armenian Catholics	On the sacrament of confirmation; the primacy of the Roman pontiff.
<i>Urban V</i> (1362-1370)		
1368	Constitution	On the errors of the Franciscan, Dionysius Foullechat (Soulechat) concerning evangelical poverty.
<i>Gregory XI</i> (1370-1378)		
1371	Pronouncements	On errors concerning the Blessed Eucharist.

Councils: The Fifteenth Ecumenical Council (Vienne), opened by Clement V in 1311, had been postponed from the previous year to allow time for an investigation of the order of Knights Templars. The French king, Philip, who came at the head of an army to demand the suppression of the Templars, dominated the assembly; and, although the council urged that the Templars should be allowed an opportunity to defend themselves, the pope decided to suppress the order at once "for the good of the Church."

The council compromised the old issue of King Philip's charges against Boniface VIII, by acquitting the pope and at the same time absolving the king of all responsibility for injuries inflicted upon Boniface. On the strength of Philip's promise to undertake a crusade within the next six years, the council assigned to the king a Church tithe for six years throughout Christendom to support the war. The crusade never took place; and the king used the money for his war in Flanders. The bishops of the council, who numbered about three hundred, passed several decrees on reform, the exact nature of which is unknown as the official Acts of the council have disappeared. Some of the council's decrees—re-enacted later by John XXII in 1317—corrected the exaggerated idea of the Franciscan extremists with regard to poverty.

An important council, which met in Rome in 1302, was attended by four archbishops and thirty-five bishops, although King Philip had prohibited his subjects from attending this council and confiscated the property of those ecclesiastics who disregarded the prohibition. The council discussed the question of the relationship between Church and State. The bull, *Unam sanctam*, issued by Pope Boniface a few weeks later, was probably composed by the archbishop of Bourges, a member of the council.

Toledo was the meeting place of a number of councils which dealt with matters of discipline. The council of 1379 voted to observe neutrality during the Great Western Schism and, for the time being, to recognize neither of the two claimants to the papal throne.

Organization: The Great Jubilee of 1300 proved so popular that Pope Boniface VIII ordered a jubilee to be held every century. Clement VI lessened the interval to half a century; and Urban VI reduced it to every thirty-three years.

Requests made by bishops, abbots, and civil rulers for the publication of new indulgences caused a great increase in the number of these favors and gave rise to objectionable practices, especially when alms-giving was prescribed as a condition of gaining an indulgence. The commercial spirit of some preachers occasioned frequent satirical comments by contemporary writers, as for example, by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*. The popes—notably John XXII and Boniface IX—censured certain religious for having unduly extended the privileges granted by the Holy See.

Marriage: In the first part of the century discussions took place as to the precise nature of the sacrament and its proper minister. In the latter half canonists generally agreed that the pope had power to dissolve the marriage bond before consummation—some of them arguing that, as it is ecclesiastical law which gives to the verbal contract the qualities of a true marriage, the Church can loose the knot which she has tied.

Worship: A devotion which became very popular, especially in Germany and the Netherlands, was worship of the Blessed

Sacrament exposed all day in a transparent monstrance on the altar. Several local councils fixed the canonical obligation of priests to celebrate Holy Mass at a minimum of once a year.²⁵ An outgrowth of devotion to our Lord's Passion was the Way of the Cross—a substitute for an actual pilgrimage to Jerusalem—which was especially favored by Blessed Henry Suso. Franciscans and Dominicans introduced the Feast of St. Joseph into their calendars.²⁶

In 1318 and 1327 John XXII attached an indulgence to the devout recitation of three Hail Marys in the evening—a custom which later developed into the Angelus. The phrase “now and at the hour of our death” is found in a Carthusian breviary of 1350 (although the Hail Mary did not receive its final form until the sixteenth century).

Art: The spirit of faith continued to express itself in various artistic forms—the carved screens of Toledo, the silverwork of Barcelona, the ivory and stained glass of France, the woodcarving and ironwork of Germany; and the Gothic decorations of England, especially in choir stalls and interior woodwork, reached an extraordinary perfection. Noble churches arose in many places—Italian architecture turning away from the earlier Gothic style and English buildings favoring the Perpendicular. The lavish Flamboyant style appeared in France.

Byzantine artists were still busily engaged in Eastern Europe; but the development of religious painting was to be a Western achievement. Italy was vibrant with art. In Venice, Milan, and throughout Umbria, architects, painters, sculptors abounded; Florence, under the Medici, was the greatest center of all. Two celebrated schools arose: the Florentine, embodying the spirit of Giotto and Fra Angelico; and the Sienese, following Duccio and the Lorenzetti. Under the leadership of the Van Eycks, the Flemish school made its influence felt throughout Europe. The minor arts reached their highest level in France, where miniatures unexcelled in Europe were produced at St. Denis and elsewhere.

²⁵ Synod of Ravenna, 1314; Synod of Toledo, 1324.

²⁶ Sixtus IV (1471-1484) fixed the Feast of St. Joseph in the Roman calendar on the nineteenth of March.

Communities: The bad old custom of appointing laymen as commendatory abbots—abolished by the concordat of 1122—was revived in those unhappy years when popes and antipopes were seeking eagerly for lay support; and during the Avignon residence, as well as in the days of the Great Schism, it again became a serious abuse. On the other hand, Benedict XII, himself a Cistercian, made monastic reform one of his chief aims. He revived the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council on monasteries—hardly effective as yet outside of England—with the result that monasteries generally speaking introduced the system which has lasted on into the present day.

The conflict between friars and secular clergy continued. In the preceding century the leader of the fight against the mendicants had been William of St-Amour; now it was Archbishop FitzRalph. He charged the friars with undermining the authority of the parish priests and maintained that the time had come to disband the friars entirely.

About the middle of the century a separation took place in the Franciscan order between the **Observants**, pledged to follow the original rule of strict poverty, and the **Conventuals**, who possessed corporate property and enjoyed various dispensations and exemptions. The Observants—favored by Gregory XI—effected a return to strict observance by many Franciscans of France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

The **Augustinians** were especially active as defenders of the pope in the controversy with Lewis of Bavaria; and in 1347 Clement VI published a bull exempting them from episcopal control in all their convents. Their general chapters gave great encouragement to study, particularly at Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. During the Great Schism the order was divided into two obediences. The **English Austin Friars** entered upon a fruitful chapter of their history in the second half of the century; one of them, William Flete, an Oxford graduate, migrated to Siena in 1359 and there became a devoted disciple of St. Catherine.²⁷

A new association, the **Friends of God**, originating at Basle about 1340, spread rapidly northward, won adherents, both clerical and lay, pursued with zeal the practice of personal piety and contemplation; led by Blessed Henry Suso and John Tauler, this group laid the foundations of a German mystical movement. Another community, the **Brothers of the Common Life**, under the direction of Gerard Groote (1340–1384) and Florent Radewins (1350–1400), did much to revitalize education by combining a thor-

²⁷ Manuscript copies of Flete's letter to Raymond of Capua are still accessible in many libraries; the *Sermo in reverentiam beate Katherine de Senis* attributed to him is spurious.

ough Catholic training with the new classical curriculum. In addition to organizing schools of their own in the Netherlands, they supplied teachers and supervisors for other institutions; but they were too few in number to hold their own for long against the general drift downwards.

The Knights Hospitallers of St. John, who had settled in the Island of Rhodes in 1309, took over some of the possessions of the Templars after that order was dissolved. Dissension among them caused John XXII to issue a decree of reform, but with so little effect that in 1343 Clement VI threatened to suppress them. As a military force, however, they were still effective. From Rhodes as headquarters, they sailed forth to fight the Moslem pirates who preyed upon Christian commerce; they seized merchant vessels; they raided rich ports of the Orient (Smyrna in 1314 and Alexandria in 1365); and they became the scourge of Islam in the Mediterranean.

Saints: In spite of the spiritual decline, several illustrious saints—including St. John Nepomucene, St. Brigid, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Vincent Ferrer—lived in this century; and two of its spiritual writers, Henry Suso and John Ruysbroeck, have been beatified.

Education: At the beginning of the century the law requiring a grammar school to be attached to every cathedral church was fairly well observed; endowments for Masses often bound priests to teach poor boys gratuitously. Educated laymen became more numerous, notably in Italy—although as a rule the sons of nobles received more training in manners and military discipline than in book learning, and little provision was made for the education of girls. Universities increased in number; in addition to Cracow (1364) and Vienna (1365), founded by Urban V, others arose in Italy, France, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary.

Nevertheless, as the century wore on, education sank to a lower level. Among the causes was the Black Death which carried off teachers and pupils, and destroyed schools. Another contributing cause was the intellectual arrogance which led university teachers to assume superiority in all fields of knowledge. In contrast with earlier scholastics, who focussed their efforts on the attempt to systematize human knowledge and to reconcile it with the data of revelation, theological faculties now displayed excessive interest in classical studies and in political contro-

versies. The academic world grew less spiritual; pettiness and provincialism ruled; national groups bickered with one another. Intellectual Christianity was being sapped; despite the multiplication of schools, the way was opened for an approaching collapse.

Writers: Most celebrated among the writers of the fourteenth century are those who attained distinction in their own national literatures—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Wyclif. In the theological field many prominent scholars took the antipapal side during the controversies of the day. The Church was best served by spiritual writers.

Men of Letters: In Italy the pioneers of the literary renaissance—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—were orthodox; although Dante was a Ghibelline in politics and the other two were affected by the humanistic spirit which tended to belittle everything respected by the Middle Ages.

Dante (1265–1321) was an outspoken opponent of the abuses of his time. He vigorously denounced ecclesiastical corruption and in the *Commedia* (1307–1320) pictured celebrated men suffering in hell. In opposition to the canonists, he taught in the *Monarchia* that the emperor's civil authority derives from God and therefore is exercised independently of the pope, so that Charlemagne received no new right from Leo III. This treatise was publicly burned in Bologna by the papal legate.²⁸

By the common judgment of his contemporaries and of posterity, Dante—poet, scholar, theologian, all at once—holds a unique place in literature. Deliberately abandoning Provençal, he gave Italy the Florentine dialect as its national literary language; his deep feeling, religious insight, moral force, and beauty of expression won the admiration of his contemporaries and of posterity; and every page of his has remained a subject of study for centuries.

Petrarch (1304–1374), one of the first to attack the existing philosophical system and educational method, although reverent towards Christianity, despised scholastic theology, assailed the prevailing worship of logic as extravagant, and presented the philosophy of Plato as distinctly superior to that of Aristotle. The popes gave handsome recognition to his genius.

²⁸ "Dante's defense of the Empire was closely connected with the disordered state of Italy, the captivity of the Papacy in France, the disunion of the German kingdoms and the impotence of the popes to restore the unification of Christendom. The chivalrous Henry VII, elected as Emperor, became an ideal in Dante's thought." Luigi Sturzo, *Church and State*, p. 122.

Boccaccio (1313-1375), while not an unbeliever, loved to ridicule clerics, monks, and nuns, to describe them as immoral and hypocritical, and to outrage Christian decency. Critical rather than hostile towards the pope, he received a friendly welcome at the papal court during his three terms as Florentine ambassador. He and Petrarch ended their days piously within a year of each other. Petrarch died at an Augustinian convent near Padua, and his funeral sermon was preached by his friend, Friar Bonaventure. Boccaccio, repentant for the disedification he had given, bequeathed his precious library to the Augustinian friars at Florence and asked to be buried in their convent.

In England, "Langland," Chaucer, and Wyclif were prominent in the newly developing field of English prose.

The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman (first published c. 1362) is at once a eulogy of the simple life and a caustic criticism of Church and State from the viewpoint of the common man. It may be the work of several writers; in fact, some scholars hold that "William Langland," the reputed author, is a mythical figure.²⁹

Chaucer's (1340-1400) *Canterbury Tales*, so important in early English literature, combined damaging sketches of the clergy with other pictures more creditable to religion.

John Wyclif (c. 1320-1384) calling the Bible the sufficient rule of faith, helped to prepare a vernacular translation of it, so that the common people "might discover for themselves the true Christian doctrine"; and published also many tracts, sermons, and theological treatises.³⁰ In 1375-76 he wrote

²⁹ Modern scholarship regards this work as an allegorical and even mystical epic which summarizes the grandeur and significance of the Middle Ages.

³⁰ Some years later the Council of Oxford (1409) condemned Wyclif's translation of the Bible (which omitted certain passages and changed important words) and ordered that no translation of the Bible should be circulated unless approved by a bishop or a provincial council. This has been distorted into a charge that the Church prohibited the reading of the Scriptures by the laity—an exploded myth not now credited by any well-read man. "It is true there had always been vernacular translations of the Bible, in whole or in part . . . the Church of Rome was not at all opposed to the making of translations of Scripture, or of placing them in the hands of the laity under what were deemed proper precautions. It was only judged necessary to see that no unauthorized or corrupt translations got abroad." Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, I, 103-105.

Parts of the Bible were translated into the vernacular in the 7th and 8th centuries and some pre-Wyclifite versions still exist—for example, the so-called Midland Psalter and the Epistles of St. Paul (translated in southern England in the 14th century and edited at Cambridge in 1904). Archbishop Cranmer bears witness to the existence of these earlier translations and St. Thomas More in his *Dialogues* testifies that long before Wyclif's day the whole Bible had been translated into the English tongue and that these pre-Wyclifite Bibles were still in use. More writes, "I myself have seen, and can show you, Bibles, fair and old which have been known and seen by the Bishop of the Diocese, and left in laymen's hands and women's too, such as he knew for good and Catholic folk, that used them with soberness and devotion." What Wyclif really did, was to help translate the Bible into popular English, to promote its circulation and to encourage uneducated people in fashioning their own religion from its pages—a very rash proceeding as events proved.

De Divino Dominio and *De Civili Dominio*, out of which Gregory XI extracted eighteen propositions for condemnation; the next year, in his *De Ecclesia*, he declared that the commands of the pope must be tested by individual interpretation of Scripture; and the following year, in his *De Potestate Papae*, he denied that the pope had any other primacy of jurisdiction than that which is based on virtue. His *De Eucharistia* (1380) contained a denial of the dogma of Transubstantiation. He was condemned at Oxford in 1381, and by a council held in the Dominican convent at Blackfriars in 1382. He then retired to Lutterworth, where he died a few years later.

A determined foe of wealthy churchmen, Wyclif attained considerable influence at Oxford as spokesman of the anticlerical party; but he was an academic rather than a revolutionary character, and took no active part in violent outbreaks. Although he gave publicity to FitzRalph's dangerous principle of ownership and jurisdiction through grace, he suggested at the same time a theoretical—but practically ineffective—antidote to this subversive theory by adding that, in existing circumstances, it would be better to leave the wicked owner in possession and to obey the bad master.

After the great Peasant Revolt of 1381, which almost coincided with his own condemnation, he confined himself to study and writing, and remained unmolested. The implications of his views became more obvious during the Hussite outbreaks in Bohemia; and thirty years after his death the Council of Constance ordered his body to be "disinterred and cast out." It is of interest to note that among the propositions drawn from Wyclif's works and condemned by the Council of Constance was one to this effect: If the country should be devastated by barbarians, it is better to suffer than to resist forcibly. Of his followers, the chief, John Purbey, abjured; Ashton did not; Sir John Oldcastle was executed as a traitor; Repingdon abjured and was later made bishop of Lincoln and cardinal; another, Hereford, after long resistance, finally recanted and became a Carthusian.

Spiritual Writers: A remarkable group of Dominican mystics appeared in the Rhine country; several of the books written at this time still retain much of the popularity which they acquired in their own day. Eckhart, Suso, Tauler, St. Catherine of Siena, Blessed John Ruysbroeck made rich contributions to the literature of Christian mysticism. If, as is now held, Gerard Groote was the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, this precious volume would belong to the fourteenth century.

Gerard Groote (1340–1384), a native of Deventer in Holland and one of the most learned men of his time, ordained a deacon and licensed to

preach, founded at Zwolle the Brethren of the Common Life and left unpublished a number of manuscripts on spiritual subjects. Because of his bold denunciation of vice, he had been deprived of his license to preach shortly before his death. According to one theory, it was because some of his writings were published anonymously that his *Following of Christ* came to be regarded as the work of its later editor, Thomas à Kempis.

Master Eckhart (1260-1327), an original thinker and professor of theology at Cologne, held to the Thomistic tradition in the main, but did not follow the scholastic method in his teaching. He is regarded as the Father of German Mysticism. Although his profound piety and personal loyalty to the Catholic faith were unquestionable, he made use of language which could easily be misunderstood. Having been accused of pantheism, he was cleared by a censor of his own community, the Dominican order; but the archbishop of Cologne undertook another investigation. Eckhart publicly disavowed the unorthodox interpretation which had been attached to his writings and appealed to Rome against the archbishop, repudiating in advance whatever errors might be found in his work. He died before the publication of the judgment in which John XXII condemned twenty-eight propositions drawn from his works—seventeen as heretical, the others as ill-sounding, temerarious, and smacking of heresy.

Blessed Henry Suso (1300-1366), sometimes called "Sweet Suso," a Dominican born at Constance and a disciple of Eckhart, earned the ill-will of Lewis of Bavaria by taking the side of the pope. His mystical writings, particularly the little book, *Eternal Wisdom*, became very popular. It was translated into several languages. He wrote also in defense of Eckhart and against the Beghards. He was beatified by Gregory XVI in 1831.

John Tauler (1300-1361), a Dominican mystic well known for sermons preached in the Rhineland and other parts of Germany about the middle of the century, was a disciple of Eckhart and a friend of Suso. Although sometimes claimed as a precursor of the Reformation, he was in reality a devout Catholic. The only certainly genuine writings of Tauler extant are some of his sermons, which have been published in many languages and are of high literary value.

St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380), the great Italian mystic, gave support to the pope in the midst of struggles caused by disorders among the monks and clergy, and by opposition from princes and writers. Her letters and her *Dialogue* are among the best known spiritual writings of the later Middle Ages.

Among the popular writings of the time was the *Chronicle of Seven Tribulations* (1337) in which **Angelo Clareno** voiced the resentment of the Zelanti, or Spirituals, against the Friars of the Common Obervance, or Conventuals.

Blessed John Ruysbroeck (1293-1381) organized a community of Canons

Regular in 1349 which developed into the Congregation of Groenendael. His writings were among the most popular spiritual books of the time and were circulated later in England. Through Gerard Groote, his disciple, he influenced the monks of Windesheim. Certain passages of his have been criticized as pantheistic in tendency, but there has never been any doubt of his own personal Catholicity and of his obedience to the authority of the Church. He is regarded by some as the greatest teacher of the philosophy of mysticism in the history of Christian literature. He was beatified December 1, 1908.

St. Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419), born at Valencia, perhaps of Scottish origin, entered the Order of St. Dominic, and converted thousands to the faith during his preaching campaigns in Spain, France, and Italy. He was especially active in the conversion of the Jews, and among his converts was the Rabbi Solomon Levi of Burgos. To make his appeal to sinners and unbelievers more impressive, he encouraged processions of flagellants, who scourged themselves as they marched. Besides his *Sermons*, which have been frequently republished, St. Vincent wrote a treatise on the *Spiritual Life*, and also a defense of the Avignon line of popes.

Theological Writers: Later to arrive than the Dominicans and Franciscans, Augustinian scholars now attained high rank. Giles of Rome, founder of the Augustinian school, in his defense of the pope against the emperor, put forth the startling theories that all just authority and ownership come through the Church, and that loss of grace deprives men of natural rights. These teachings—somewhat modified—were repeated by other leading Augustinians, including James of Viterbo, whose *De Regimine Christiano* was the earliest scientific attempt at a formal theological treatise on the Church, and Agostino Trionfo (Augustinus Triumphus), whose *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica* was dedicated to John XXII in 1320.³¹ The theological treatises most widely circulated at the time, however, were written by men out of sympathy with the pope. In addition to Marsilius of Padua and William of Occam, the best known in the first half of the century were John of Jandun, John of Paris, and Peter Dubois;

³¹ "This curious work is the most elaborate effort of any Augustinian writer to state and defend the extreme curialist theories of his school; and Protestant controversialists have constantly gone to it as a quarry from which to dig samples of uncompromising papalist doctrines. None the less, on this vital point as to the relations between things temporal and spiritual, Agostino Trionfo is definitely more moderate than Giles of Rome." Gwynn, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

in the second half, Peter d'Ailly, Chancellor of the University of Paris, was most conspicuous.

Giles of Rome, or Aegidio Colonna (c. 1247–1316), *Doctor Fundatissimus*, the first Augustinian teacher at Paris (1285), became general of his order (1292) and archbishop of Bourges (1295). Although a Hermit of St. Augustine, he took the side of the bishops against the friars in the dispute of 1281; although a former tutor of King Philip IV, he supported Boniface in the pope's quarrel with Philip—and suffered for it. Generally, he followed St. Thomas, his old master; nevertheless, he held many independent views, some of which he was called upon to retract by Bishop Tempier of Paris and by Honorius IV in 1285. The general chapter of the Augustinians in 1287, ordered lecturers and students to follow his teaching, thus making “the Aegidian school” official.

Thomas of Strassburg (d. 1356)—an outstanding figure in the controversy between John XXII and Lewis of Bavaria—wrote lectures on the *Sentences* about the year 1340. He was elected superior general of the Augustinians, apparently at the urging of Clement VI, whom he supported against the emperor—denouncing Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun as dangerous heretics.

Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358)—described as “perhaps the last great constructive thinker of the medieval scholastic tradition”—although an Augustinian, broke away from the Aegidian school and leaned toward some of Occam's views; but he was not, as is sometimes alleged, a forerunner of the Nominalists. In 1345 Clement VI recommended him for a position on the faculty of Paris.

John of Jandun (born c. 1300) was the author of several treatises, anti-Thomistic in spirit and tending toward Determinism and Averroism, sometimes attributed to John of Gand, born about twenty years earlier. The collaboration of John of Jandun with Marsilius of Padua seems to be highly probable, although questioned by E. Emerton, in *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilio of Padua* (Cambridge, 1920).

John of Paris (d. 1306) published a treatise, *De Potestate Regia et Papali*, affirming certain principles which were to regulate the attitude of European states towards the papacy for the next five hundred years. For John, as for Pope Gelasius I, Church and State are two independent powers, both derived from God; in temporal matters, however, the pope's rights spring not from his spiritual office, but from the concessions of secular rulers or other historical events. John ignored the traditional concept of a universal Christian empire, upheld royal absolutism, maintained that a pope who encroaches on the civil jurisdiction may be deposed by a council. In the purely theological field, he taught that the doctrine of

Transubstantiation is not of faith; and the bishop of Paris ordered him to desist from this teaching under pain of excommunication.

Peter Dubois (c. 1300), an antipapal pamphleteer, gave voice to a number of radical views which seemingly encouraged Philip IV in his resistance to Boniface. Taking a French imperialist standpoint, he advised the king to seize the Papal States, to establish a permanent residence in France for the pope, and to create a sufficient number of French cardinals to keep the papacy out of Roman hands.

Peter d'Ailly (1350-1420), Chancellor of the University of Paris in the year 1389, was a philosopher who leaned towards Nominalism and a theologian of great influence during the time of the Western Schism. He helped to originate the so-called "Conciliar" theory, advocated the calling of a general council to end the schism, and maintained the superiority of a council over the pope.

Marsilius of Padua (1270-1342), Rector of the University of Paris, later was appointed a canon of Padua. In company with John of Jandun, he wrote the *Defensor Pacis* (1326) to support the claims of Lewis of Bavaria, and went so far in subordinating the Holy See to the civil power that he is said to have startled even the emperor. He taught that all power comes from the people, who delegate part of it to the sovereign and part to the councils, pope, bishops, and priests. His theory of the relationship between Church and State has been called a crude pagan concept, an "heretical assault on the Church's constitution." Condemned by a papal commission in 1327, he took refuge with the emperor who made him imperial vicar.

William of Occam (c. 1280-1349), a Franciscan who studied at Oxford and Paris, possibly under Duns Scotus, became a teacher at the University of Paris and an outstanding figure among the schoolmen. He was involved in the politico-religious controversies of the day. Summoned to Avignon in 1328, he fled to the court of Lewis of Bavaria and became one of the foremost defenders of the emperor. Among his works was a *Compendium of the Errors of John XXII*. He recognized the spiritual authority of the Church, but denied the plenary power of the pope; and he advocated a relationship between the civil and ecclesiastical powers which seemed to entail state control of the Church. He maintained the right of the emperor to intervene in the government of the Church if a pope should be guilty of heresy; and he even defended the action of Lewis in arranging a bigamous union for his son. As yet no critical edition of his works exists.

Richard FitzRalph (c. 1295-1360), born at Dundalk, chancellor of Oxford in 1323 and archbishop of Armagh in 1346, was renowned for his knowledge of Scripture, his skill in theology, his ability as a preacher, his love of strict discipline, and his enthusiasm for the higher education of

the clergy. Rashdall describes him as "the greatest scholastic luminary of Wycliffe's younger days." Mention is made elsewhere of his works *De Pauperie Salvatoris* and *Defensorium Curatorum*. He published also a valuable controversial treatise in nineteen books, in furtherance of the papal efforts to bring about reunion with the Armenians. Numerous manuscripts of his, including eighty-five sermons, are preserved in the Bodleian and other libraries.³²

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: The struggle between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* now entered a critical phase—both sides making extravagant claims. Against what they regarded as papal encroachments on civil jurisdiction, the French king and the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, took a firm stand; they in turn invaded the jurisdiction of the Church.

Some of the distinguished teachers of the time were openly hostile to even the reasonable traditional claims of the papacy. The antipapal *Defensor Pacis*, translated into several languages, became the most discussed book of the day. John of Paris, a prominent Thomist, flatly contradicted the teaching of *Unam sanctam*. The Franciscan, William of Occam, regarded by some as the greatest intellect of his age, defended the right of appeal from the pope to a general council and held that the constitution of the Church should be adjusted to the spirit of the times, and should therefore become monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic as political changes might require. Peter d'Ailly, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and John Gerson, his pupil and successor, proposed an aristocratic church in which bishops would be the supreme rulers and doctors of theology would define doctrine. Advocates of a democratic system recommended that not only priests, but also lay delegates elected by the people should be recognized as members of the "Teaching Church." The University of Paris, mouthpiece of intellectual Christendom, asserted the final supremacy of the "infallible" general council over the "fallible" pope. Public debates on the relation of Church and State, held at Vincennes in 1329, gave wide popu-

³² See John J. Greaney, "Richard Fitzralph of Armagh and the English Franciscans (1349-1360)," *Catholic Univ. Bulletin*, XI (1905), 68-74, 195-245.

larity to subversive views. Antipapalists found support in royal courts, in theological schools, among the people, among the clergy.

To these theories the popes and their defenders (the "Curialists") opposed bold affirmations. In a tone of almost dogmatic definition, Boniface VIII taught that all political authority is subject to the papacy. Comprehensive claims were formulated in the Clementine Collection of Clement V and in the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. Canonists upheld the pope's dominion over all earthly possessions. In their championship of papal rights, the Augustinian writers already named (Giles of Rome, James of Viterbo, and Agostino Trionfo) were reinforced by two of their own priors-general—Alexander of San Elpidio, who taught that civil power is derived from God through spiritual power, and William of Cremona, who held that all things temporal are subject to the Church. Meanwhile the papal curia at Avignon centralized the administration of the Church to a degree hitherto unknown in history. More and more clearly the contest was becoming an irreconcilable struggle between the absolutism of kings and the absolutism of popes.

Heresies: Christendom was kept in a condition of almost uninterrupted turmoil at this time by revolutionary ideas concerning two fundamental social institutions: property and authority. The highly explosive theory of "lordship through grace"—put forth by Giles of Rome in his defense of the pope, and then adapted by FitzRalph into a form embarrassing to the friars—became in the teaching of Wyclif the inspiration of a movement disruptive of both social and ecclesiastical order. The notion that none but the just may possess property or exact obedience reappears in controversies, schisms, heresies, and violent outbreaks frequently through the century.

The Waldenses: This sect—having survived the campaign which nearly exterminated the Albigenses and having increased its membership, especially in southeastern France and in Piedmont—held public meetings in defiance of the law, attacked the inquisitors, and intimidated the civil authorities. In 1343 a number of heretics were burned at Grenoble. Several popes—John

XXII (1331), Benedict XII (1335), Gregory XI (1370), Clement VII (1381)—sent missionaries on preaching expeditions and also spurred the civil magistrates into activity, with the result that new prisons had to be provided for the multitudes placed under arrest. Nevertheless we find the Waldenses flourishing a century later.

The Fraticelli: The quarrel between the two Franciscan factions already described now took on a more serious aspect. The "Spirituals" gained many lay recruits especially in northern Italy and southern France; and at Béziers all friars unwilling to practice the original rule were driven out of the Franciscan convents. In 1317 John XXII directed the inquisitors of Languedoc to treat as heretics the "Spirituals, Fraticelli, Bizochi, Beguines, or whatever they might be called"; and a few years later a number of Fraticelli were burned at the stake in Narbonne, Béziers, Carcassonne, and Toulouse. Although the Inquisition in 1321 censured as heretical the doctrine (apparently endorsed by Nicholas III in a decretal of 1279) that Christ and the Apostles possessed nothing either individually or in common, yet a general chapter of the Franciscan order came out in favor of it a year later; and, when John XXII condemned the same doctrine as heretical, a number of friars put themselves under the protection of Lewis of Bavaria—the Franciscan, William of Occam, defending their right to appeal from the pope to a future general council. In 1325 the minister-general of the Franciscans, Michael of Cesena, about to be charged with heresy by Pope John, fled from Avignon and took refuge at the imperial court. There, in 1328, a gathering of clerics and laymen under the presidency of the emperor "deposed" John and elected a Franciscan anti-pope, Pietro of Corvara. He took the name, Nicholas V.

The next Franciscan general persuaded most of the order to recognize the authority of John XXII; and the antipope Nicholas—after nominating a number of cardinals—eventually submitted to the pope and remained in prison at Avignon until his death in 1333. The popes were active in demanding the punishment or expulsion of the followers of Michael, who scattered into many countries, gaining favor in some places with the sov-

ereigns and the nobles; but as late as 1372 Gregory XI lamented the fact that in Sicily churches were erected in their honor, and their relics were venerated.

The Lollards: Lollardry ³³—the only native heresy of medieval England—had its roots in popular discontent with the existing order; and, as often happens in a Catholic country, this discontent ran through the scale of anticlerical agitation, defiance of Church authority, repudiation of Catholic doctrine. The movement found a patron in John of Gaunt and a theologian in John Wyclif; but both of these drew away to some extent as it became more violent and more heterodox. "Poor priests," who were mostly laymen, went about the country two by two, denouncing the pope, teaching that the property of any cleric not in the state of grace may lawfully be confiscated, accusing the friars of vicious practices in popular songs, recommending that Church rulers be not obeyed unless their commands accord with individual interpretation of Scripture, and in general helping to spread the unhealthy state of mind that is reflected in the writings of Langland and Chaucer. The teachings of Wyclif, condemned in 1382 as heretical or erroneous, were worked out to a more extreme form in the Lollard "Conclusions" of 1395, which attach the word "feigned" to "the miracle of the sacrament," "the power of absolution," "indulgences." At the end of the century Lollardry was evolving a more definite organization and placing more specific emphasis on the Bible as a substitute for the authority of the Church.

The Inquisition: At the beginning of the fourteenth century the courts of the Inquisition were functioning steadily in the south of France and in other places to which heretics had emigrated; and prisoners suffered cruelly, not only in the course of their examination but even before trial.³⁴ Clement V forbade the inquisitors to employ torture without the consent of the local bishop (if he could be communicated with inside of eight

³³ The name "Lollard," of uncertain origin, was first applied to the Wyclifites by the Cistercian, Crumpe, in 1382. The movement is called Lollardry or Lollardy.

³⁴ In 1330 the archbishop of Toulouse stirred up a quarrel by urging a mitigation of the punishment, "in Pace." In this punishment the prisoner was placed in solitary confinement and barred from the sight of any person; his food was passed to him through a window.

days); but this intervention was for the purpose of preventing extreme and illegal cruelty rather than to abolish torture.³⁵ The Inquisition dealt with cases of witchcraft, when these were supposed to involve suspicion of heresy; if the cases involved superstition or immorality, but not heresy, they were referred to the bishops' court.³⁶

The bitter antagonism aroused by the Inquisition sometimes took the form of physical violence against the inquisitors on the part of persons sympathetic with prisoners or themselves potential victims. We have the record of several such occurrences in southern France, and the account of a particularly notable outburst at Carcassonne which provoked attention from both the pope and the king. To Philip IV this situation seemed to provide a good opportunity to secure control of the Inquisition; and he enlisted as allies several bishops and the well-known Nogaret.³⁷ Clement V gave the king the desired power; and the first use to which he put this terrible weapon was the destruction of the Knights Templars. In the trial of the Knights, the royal commissioners and the inquisitors worked hand in hand, sub-

³⁵ In 1317 Bernard Gui, the inquisitor at Toulouse, complained of Pope Clement's restriction on the use of torture, protesting that the bishops should not be limited in this respect with regard to heretics any more than with regard to other prisoners. The small percentage of death sentences is illustrated by this inquisitor's activities. In the course of seventeen years (1308-1325) he gave sentences involving capital punishment in forty-two cases out of a total of nine hundred thirty. See Vacandard, *op. cit.*, 270.

M. de Caurons, classified as very critical of the Inquisition, makes the comment, "It may be believed that after years of tentative experiment . . . the official abuses still remaining in the Inquisition were but few while the institution itself had grown in the XIVth century into one of the best organized judicial systems the world has ever seen." Quoted in Eyre, *op. cit.*, III, 406.

³⁶ Absurd superstitions abounded and the practice of magic was often associated with fraudulent and obscene activities, but, as a rule, Church officials took the common-sense attitude that there was more foolishness than wickedness in these activities, and the clergy were generally less severe than the civil authorities in dealing with "witches." The popes however, who had undertaken to root out Luciferians and similar groups ordered steps to be taken against all persons suspected of invoking demons, casting spells, or indulging in other magical rites. In the south of France in 1335 more than fifty persons suspected of witchcraft were imprisoned and eight were handed over to the secular arm to be burned. In Ireland an apparently isolated case of execution for witchcraft took place at Kilkenny in 1324, when a woman was burned at the instigation of the bishop of Ossory.

³⁷ Among the bishops was Frérol of Béziers, later a cardinal. It is interesting to note that William of Nogaret, a powerful member of the Royal Council, belonged to a Catharist family of southern France, that his grandfather had been burned as a heretic, and that, but for dispensation, he would have been ineligible to hold the important office which the king bestowed upon him. It was Nogaret who, in company with Sciarra Colonna, attacked Pope Boniface at Anagni in 1303.

jecting the Knights to frightful torture. Ultimately the French Inquisition became a hybrid institution, in appearance canonical and in personnel ecclesiastical, but actually a political department strictly subject to the crown.³⁸

Other Disputes: *The Friars.* Boniface VIII, in his bull *Super cathedram* (1300), attempted to settle the old "religious vs. secular" controversy by modifying the privileges of the mendicants to preach and administer the sacraments without permission of bishop or parish priest. The bull was revoked by Benedict XI as a cause of greater discord. It was soon republished by Clement V, on the ground that Benedict's decision had made things worse; for the diocesan clergy, especially in England, were becoming more actively hostile to the mendicants, complaining of their tendency to come between the people and the parish priesthood, and also of their exemptions—from civil courts as clerics, from ordinary church law as friars.

In 1350 Archbishop FitzRalph, in the name of the English clergy, presented a formal protest against the friars to the Holy See at Avignon; later he published *De Pauperie Salvatoris*, a treatise on poverty; and in 1356, at London, he preached a series of sermons against the friars in the course of which he formulated his celebrated Nine Conclusions.³⁹ Summoned to Avignon on complaint of the Franciscans and Dominicans, he defended himself before the papal court in a treatise, *Defensorium Curatorum*, which contained arguments in support of his Nine Conclusions. In the course of the long dispute the issue seemed to be narrowing down to the question, "Is mendicancy a valid vocation?" FitzRalph contended that it is probably against the teaching of the Gospel; and that, in any event, the mendicants, having outlived their usefulness, should be abolished. He was answered by a number of writers, among whom was the Franciscan, Roger of Conway. Instead of suppressing the friars, Innocent VI, in 1358, appointed a commission to report on the situation, meanwhile

³⁸ This development prepares us for the part played by the Inquisition in the later trial of Joan of Arc (1431).

³⁹ Among these were the assertion that our Lord, though always poor, did not love poverty for its own sake; that He never begged or taught others to beg; that no one can prudently and holily assume the perpetual obligation of begging; that the original Franciscan rule did not include "spontaneous" begging.

forbidding the English bishops to interfere with the privileges of the mendicants.

Monks and friars were among the first to point out the errors in Wyclif's teachings. To be sure, at an earlier date John of Gaunt had found one representative of each of the mendicant orders to defend Wyclif; but Wyclif's denial of Transubstantiation cost him the friendship of the friars; and his *De Apostasia* (c. 1381) contained an attack on their mode of life as contrary to the Gospel.

The Flagellants: The Black Death which devastated Europe between 1346 and 1350, and the Italian earthquakes of 1348, together with the spiritual shock of the Great Schism, stirred men's souls and helped to revive the popularity of the Flagellants. With astonishing rapidity the movement spread through Italy, Switzerland, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, Flanders, and Holland, and even appeared in England, where, however, it attracted few followers. North of the Alps the Flagellants developed into an organized religious body with a ceremonial of their own and a set of heretical doctrines.

At the request of the University of Paris, Clement VI condemned the Flagellants in 1349, sending his decree to all the bishops of France, Germany, Poland, and England. Within a few years the movement dwindled to relatively small proportions, although revivals occurred occasionally during the next one hundred years. Conspicuous among the Flagellants were the group led by Conrad Schmidt in Germany (1360) and also the Bianchi of Provence and Italy (about 1399).

Another, but orthodox, type of penitential pilgrimage developed under the leadership of St. Vincent Ferrer, who aroused multitudes to extraordinary religious fervor by his sermons in Spain, France, and northern Italy.

The Great Schism of the West: The origin of this tragic dispute has already been indicated. It divided the Church along lines which, generally speaking, coincided with the division between friends and enemies of France. The French kings obtained for Clement VII the support of the University of Paris,

of the Spanish crown, and eventually, of all the Latin nations except central and northern Italy and Portugal. On Urban's side were Emperor Charles IV, most of the German princes, and the king of England.

The Moslems: The new Ottoman Empire continued its career of conquest; and the end of the century found Islam on the very point of seizing Constantinople. In Egypt the Mamelukes erected the noted Mosque of Cairo; in Spain the emir of Granada kept up his desperate attempt to defend himself against the Spanish Christians; in southern India Mohammedans encountered stubborn opposition from the Hindus. Then Tamerlane from Samarkand (a descendant of Genghis Khan), who had gained control of Turkestan in 1356, in a series of successful campaigns seized Persia, crushed the Golden Horde, overran India, won a great battle at Delhi in 1398, and marched through China. Later, this Mohammedan conqueror of the east returned to defeat Bajazet, the Mohammedan conqueror of the west, in a great battle at Angora.

The Jews: The fourteenth century was an unhappy period for Jews. In many places persecution was renewed with even greater violence than before, on the strength of the rumor that the Jews had caused the Black Death by poisoning wells and rivers; and Clement VI in 1348 published a bull branding this charge as false. The accusation of ritual murder was repeated over and over again in Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Portugal, and elsewhere.

In Polish cities near the German border some ten thousand Jews perished in massacres instigated by charges that they were responsible for the Black Death. Near the end of the century, under Jagellon, occurred the first official Polish persecution when fifteen Jews of Posen were tortured and burned on the charge of having stolen consecrated Hosts from the Dominican church.⁴⁰

In France, after the anti-Semitic riots of 1321, the Jews dwelt in peace for half a century. Charles V cancelled many of the harsh laws and appointed a Grand Rabbi as head of all the Jewish communities, exempting

⁴⁰ An annual fine payable to the Dominicans, imposed on the Jews at this time, was paid regularly for the next four hundred years.

him and his family from the obligation of wearing the badge. In the reign of Charles VI came a popular demand for the expulsion of the Jews, and the provost of Paris, Aubriot, who attempted to protect them, was charged with being himself a crypto-Jew. So many outrages took place that, in order to restore peace, France banished all Jews in 1394—almost precisely a century after their expulsion from England and almost precisely a century before their expulsion from Spain.

In Spain, where many Jewish families had taken refuge from the persecutions in other countries, the Jews had grown numerous and wealthy; and they stood so high in favor that the government of Castile was referred to as "the Jewish Court." Popular feeling against this "alien minority" rose steadily. The Cortes of Burgos⁴¹ petitioned the king to cease employing Jews as tax collectors, to forbid Jews to bear Christian names or to associate with Christians, and to prohibit Jewesses from wearing jewelry or ornaments. Gonzalo Martínez, Minister of State under Alfonso XI, advocated the expulsion of all Jews from Castile, and the confiscation of their property. The archbishop of Toledo opposed this plan; but the Jews were forced to wear a badge in public, and, thus identified, they were never safe from attack. In 1355 an anti-Semitic riot in Toledo caused the death of thousands; and the closing years of the century witnessed a series of pogroms involving Seville, Toledo, Córdoba, Lerida, and many other places. Most of the Jewish communities were destroyed; multitudes emigrated; and of those who remained in the country a large number submitted to baptism, influenced partly by fear and partly by the missionary campaigns of St. Vincent Ferrer.

4. MISSIONS

Fourteenth-century missionaries carried on successful work in many places. The Teutonic Knights of Marienburg (1309) labored in Prussia and Lithuania. New sees arose in Persia, in Armenia, and in the neighborhood of the Black Sea; but many of these flourishing Christian communities were destroyed by Mongol invaders under Tamerlane in 1387. In India, Franciscans and Dominicans baptized thousands. In eastern China, Franciscan missionaries translated the New Testament into the vernacular, founded schools, and made numerous converts. John of Montecorvino, Patriarch of the Orient, who had seven Franciscan auxiliary bishops, built a cathedral church in Peking and left a Christian community of thirty thousand there at his death

⁴¹ In the years 1301, 1315, and 1345.

in 1328; but the Ming Dynasty persecuted the Christians.⁴²

Missionaries followed the explorers to the west coast of Africa. A Carmelite became first bishop of the Canary Islands in 1351; and some ten years later Urban V ordered the Spanish bishops to send twenty priests and friars to the African missions.

SUMMARY

The formulation of Boniface VIII's claim to world power, in the *Unam sanctam*, was followed within the year by his pitiful death; and Clement V transferred the papacy to Avignon soon afterwards. During the residence at Avignon, symptoms of widespread restlessness multiplied. John XXII met open opposition from Emperor Lewis IV, the jurist Marsilius, the philosopher Occam, the Franciscan general, Cesena; Benedict XII (the pontiff whom Petrarch pilloried for his feebleness) was victimized both by King Philip VI and by Emperor Lewis IV. In defiance of Clement VI, Rienzi set up the Roman Republic. Innocent VI could offer only ineffectual opposition to the Golden Bull. The hopes aroused by the return to Rome of Urban V and of Gregory XI were shattered when the Great Western Schism broke out.

Distinguished names stand out in the literary history of the time—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio among the Italians; Chaucer in England. Interest in the study of Scripture increased after the Council of Vienne decreed that chairs of Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Greek should be established at Rome, Paris, Oxford, London, Salamanca. Scholasticism was on the decline; but the mystical life found favor—notably among the Friends of God, who spread from the lower Rhine to other parts of Germany and into Switzerland and Italy. Gerard Groote and his associate,

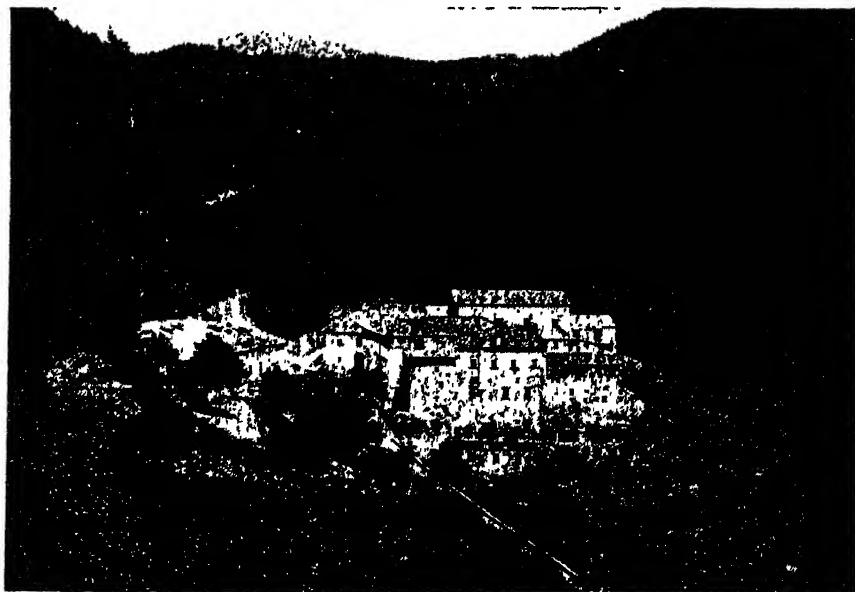
⁴² The Ming Dynasty was established by a Buddhist monk from Tibet, who deposed the Mongol (Tatar) rulers in 1368 and founded his capital at Nanking.

The report made by the missionaries in the east probably suggested the legend of Prester John, the mythological king whose territory was the goal of many an expedition down the centuries.

Florent Radewins, established the Brothers of the Common Life.

Growing national sentiment, which stimulated the development of vernacular literatures, also helped to weaken Christendom's sense of unity. French influence led the popes away from Rome in the beginning of the century, and encouraged schism at its end. Edward III of England abolished immemorial papal rights in the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire. The Imperial Diet and Charles IV's Golden Bull denied the pope's claim to a voice in the naming of emperors.

Europe was thrown into deepening confusion by the Black Death, by Jewish massacres, by the spread of antipapal agitation, by the appearance of Wyclifite agitators in Bohemia, by the seemingly endless war between France and England. At the end of the century, the Turks, having crushed the Serbs at Kossovo, were besieging Constantinople and threatening an immediate invasion of the west; and the supreme government of Christendom was being disputed between the pope in Rome and the pope in Avignon.



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

"THE HOLY HERMITAGE" OF CAMALDOLI (12th century)

One of St. Romuald's foundations

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1302 The <i>Unam sanctam</i> of Boniface VIII</p> <p>1309 Clement V at Avignon</p> <p>1311 Fifteenth Ecumenical Council (Vienne) vs. Templars, Fraticelli, Beghards, Beguines</p> <p>1324 Lewis IV excommunicated</p> <p>1328 John XXII vs. William of Occam and Michael of Cesena</p> <p>Eight bishops in China</p> <p>1329 Eckhart condemned</p> <p>c. 1334 Suso begins preaching</p> <p>1335 Benedict XII plans return to Rome</p> <p>1346 Clement VI deposes Lewis IV</p> <p>c. 1347 Tauler in Strassburg</p> <p>The "Friends of God"</p> <p>1349 Ruysbroeck organizes Canons Regular</p> <p>1351-1353 Edward III limits papal power</p> <p>1356 Innocent VI protests Golden Bull of Charles IV</p> <p>1357 FitzRalph's <i>Defensorium Curatorum</i></p> <p>1367 Urban V returns to Rome</p> <p>c. 1370 St. Catherine of Siena in public life</p> <p>Missions in Africa</p> <p>1377 Gregory XI returns to Rome</p> <p>1378 Urban VI vs. Clement VII—Great Western Schism</p> <p>1380 Brothers of the Common Life</p> <p>1381 Wyclif denies Transubstantiation</p> <p>c. 1383 Gerard Groote banned</p> <p>1386 Lithuania Catholic</p> <p>1393 King Wenceslaus IV kills St. John Nepomucene</p> | <p>1308 Henry VII in Italy</p> <p>1309 Teutonic Knights in Pomerania</p> <p>1311 Dante's (Ghibelline) <i>Monarchia</i></p> <p>1321 Dante d.</p> <p>1326 <i>Defensor Pacis</i> of Marsilius</p> <p>1328 Moscow chief city of Russia</p> <p>1337-1453 Hundred Years' War</p> <p>1341 Petrarch, Poet Laureate</p> <p>1345 University of Prague</p> <p>1347 The Black Death</p> <p>c. 1350 Boccaccio's <i>Decameron</i></p> <p>1354 Rienzi slain</p> <p>1355 Anti-Semitism in Spain</p> <p>1359 Turks seize Adrianople</p> <p>1362 <i>Piers the Plowman</i></p> <p>1364 University of Cracow</p> <p>1365 University of Vienna</p> <p>1381 Wat Tyler's Revolt in England</p> <p>1387 Chaucer begins <i>Canterbury Tales</i></p> <p>1389 Turks' victory at Kossovo</p> <p>1390 Anti-Semitism in Poland</p> <p>1391 Anti-Semitism in Spain</p> <p>1394 Anti-Semitism in France</p> <p>1397 Turks besiege Constantinople.</p> |
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CHAPTER XV

(The Fourteen Hundreds)

Nationalism and Disunion

PREVIEW

THE century opened in a welter of confusion, with three rival "popes" and three rival "emperors" (1409). The Great Western Schism—an insoluble problem for almost forty years—placed a heavy strain on the Catholic conscience; and the hopes of peace which came with its settlement soon evaporated. Kings and princes still sought to encroach upon the ecclesiastical domain; local rulers, secular and religious, obstinately blocked attempts at reform; the supremacy of the Holy See was challenged by advocates of a conciliar type of government; the harmonious relationship of Church and State was made impossible by the readiness of sovereigns to ignore the Catholic tradition. As time went on, omens of approaching revolution multiplied; hostile political theorists argued over the comparative merits of theocratic monarchy and of parliamentary democracy; in religion many men turned towards a sort of primitive "protestant" individualism.

To some persons the fifteenth century seems to be adequately described when they call it "The Renaissance" and sum up its trends in the word "Humanism." But the student should exercise particular care to avoid the temptation to oversimplify this unique chapter in the history of Christian civilization. Radical changes occurred in numerous fields—political, social, intellectual, artistic, even geographical. Contact with the Orient during the Crusades had profoundly affected Western habits of life. Greek scholars and Greek libraries—especially after the

fall of Constantinople—helped to intensify interest in classical culture. A curious mental reaction—essentially pagan—secured toleration for the practice of bestowing ecclesiastical posts on unbelievers.

The printing press, which contributed so much to the extension of culture, also helped to diffuse anticlericalism; irreverence and disloyalty were spread abroad by widely circulated satires on the moral infirmities of prelates, priests, and monks—close enough to the truth to be doubly dangerous. As a whole, Europe was possessed by the spirit of disunion to a greater degree than ever before; the West remained almost apathetic while the Moslems were seizing Constantinople and moving along the Danube at a threatening rate.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Some historians regard the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494 as the last episode of the Middle Ages. At any rate, by the end of the fifteenth century Europe was undergoing general transformation. The Western emperor had followed his Eastern rival into a position of comparative unimportance, retaining only his Hapsburg estates, germ of the future Austria; and new centralized monarchies were developing in Spain, Portugal, France, and England—though the evolution of Germany and Italy was still retarded. The consciousness of national differences was quickening; capitalistic organization and overseas commerce were assuming immense importance; craft guilds were losing power; the founding of colonial empires was already under way.

The urge of separatism infiltrated through all Europe. German princes claimed independence of one another, of the emperor, of the pope. Intrigues over succession to the thrones of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland were complicated by shifts of allegiance during the Hussite religious war. The kings of

England and France increasingly restricted papal jurisdiction. The Spanish crown emphasized its demand for control over the appointment of bishops by threatening to break with Rome. Italy was in chaos.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Greeks became subjects of the sultan, Mohammed II. For a while they seemed ready to accept reunion with Rome; but Ivan the Great, founder of the Russian Empire, came forward as heir of the Paleologi and champion of the Orthodox Church, and the papal plan to win back the East ended in disappointment.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland

The imperial authority had become so weak that in some parts of Germany the laws were enforced by a system of secret tribunals called Vehmgericht. That weakness took on a special significance during the Hussite Wars which were due to a coincidence of various elements: the flaming up of Czech-German antagonism; the sense of badly needed religious reform; the importation of Wyclifite anticlericalism; papal loss of prestige during the Great Schism and the Conciliar Movement; the pressure of the Turks against the eastern boundaries of Europe; the political isolation of the emperor. After the Hussites had been temporarily checked, the Concordat of Vienna (1448) placed ecclesiastical affairs on a basis similar to that proposed at the Council of Constance, making concessions on one side to the pope, and on the other side to the local rulers. Like most political compromises, it proved to be a poor substitute for a policy of intelligent coöperation. The German sovereigns manifested a tendency to restrict appointments to the nobility and to monopolize benefices; ¹ and the Holy See sometimes made nominations without sufficient attention to the particular circumstances.

¹ Dietrich, Duke of Westphalia, for example, who was archbishop of Cologne, acquired also two other sees (Paderborn and Osnabrück) for himself, and the sees of Munster and Utrecht for his brothers. He was deposed as a heretic in 1446.

Germany: Sigismund,² embarrassed by the necessity of holding Europe's first line of defense against the Turks in Hungary, found it difficult to check the Hussite rebellion in Bohemia, where his share in the death of John Hus was not forgotten. The ancient imperial prerogative he had revived in convoking the Council of Constance was never again to be exercised.

In 1438 the imperial electors attempted to attach conditions to the crown when they bestowed it on **Albert of Hapsburg**.³ Albert, however, kept a free hand; and, in the course of the later dispute between the pope and the Council of Basle, he was strong enough to veto the antipapal laws enacted by the Imperial Diet. For all that, he found it no easy task to rule as emperor, while also defending his rights as king of Hungary and of Bohemia.

During the long reign of the easy-going **Frederick III** (1440-1493), the imperial power was reduced to a shadow, and territorial disintegration advanced to a serious stage. The Teutonic Knights were driven out of West Prussia by the Poles; the Confederate Swiss Cantons secured imperial confirmation of their liberties; Hungary was in part hostile and in part taken over by the Turks; Bohemia became almost independent. Frederick (last of the emperors to be crowned in Rome) had to make such large concessions to the German princes that he could exercise no real authority outside of his hereditary Hapsburg estates. The meetings of the diet were frequently deadlocked by the grouping of individual states in private agreements. The Suabian League, which included some thirty towns, consistently opposed the Northern League led by the Elector of Brandenburg.

Frederick's son, **Maximilian**, king of the Germans in 1480, became emperor at his father's death in 1493; but he took only the title of "Emperor Elect" at that time, as the opposition of Venice kept him from being crowned. His marriage with the daughter of Charles the Bold brought Burgundy and the Netherlands under the control of the Hapsburgs; and thereafter Maximilian devoted himself chiefly to the advancement of the family possessions, neglecting the empire. He had to deal with a united group of restless German princes; and, although he planned a crusade against the Turks, he never carried it out. He was the real founder of the Hapsburg greatness.

Bohemia: With the deposition of Wenceslaus as emperor (not as king) in 1400, Prague ceased to be the imperial residence; and

² King of Hungary in 1387, Emperor in 1411, and King of Bohemia in 1419.

³ The Hapsburgs began their four-century reign with him.

the country lost its former prestige. In the controversy between the pope and the schismatical Council of Pisa, King Wenceslaus (1376-1419) supported the antipapal party. Wishing to bring the university over to the side of the council, he decreed that the Bohemian (Czech) student body should have three votes, whereas the Germans and other nations should share one vote. By way of protest thousands of German students and professors moved to Leipzig, Erfurt, and other universities.

About this time the rectorship of Prague was given to the Czech leader, John Hus. Already a conspicuous advocate of moral reform, Hus soon began to show the influence of Wyclif's doctrines; and his criticism of several Catholic dogmas, including the doctrine of the Real Presence, brought upon him the censure of the archbishop. In the quarrel which followed, King Wenceslaus intervened by forbidding any communication between the Church of Bohemia and the Holy See. The archbishop then placed Prague under interdict and ordered Wyclif's writings to be burned. Hus preached against this measure and was thereupon excommunicated, both by the archbishop and by the pope. Summoned to the Council of Constance, Hus was tried for heresy, convicted, and burned at the stake in 1415.⁴

Meanwhile, Bohemian nobles had petitioned for his release declaring that the charges against him were an insult to the Czech nation. The council replied with a threat to punish everyone who supported Hus; and five hundred nobles of Bohemia and Moravia then appealed from the decision of the bishops to the University of Prague. Shortly afterwards, under the leadership of Zizka, the Hussites organized a revolution. In 1419 they refused to recognize the right of Emperor Sigismund to succeed his brother Wenceslaus on the throne of Bohemia; and in 1421 they invaded German territory inflicting serious losses upon the imperial armies. It took Sigismund seventeen years to obtain recognition as king of Bo-

⁴ John Hus, a native of southern Bohemia, went to Prague as a youth and earned his living by singing and serving in the sanctuary. Having received the degree of Master of Arts from the university, he was ordained priest in 1400. At Bethlehem Chapel where he spoke vigorously against the evil conduct of priests, bishops, and popes, his sermons attracted wide attention; and the archbishop of Prague bestowed marked signs of favor upon him. When Hus was summoned to the Council of Constance the Emperor Sigismund offered him a letter guaranteeing his free and safe return if he should not wish to submit to the judgment of the council. Against the warning of his friends, Hus accepted the safe conduct, apparently either on the ground that he could successfully defend himself or because he was ready, if necessary, to die for his opinions. After his arrest Sigismund attempted to secure his release; but the council refused to surrender its right to judge and punish a heretic. The followers of Hus, regarding Sigismund as their chief enemy, bitterly opposed his claim to the Bohemian throne.

hemia. The chief effects of the war were to stimulate Czech nationalism, to deepen anti-German sentiment in Bohemia, and to enrich Bohemian nobles with property confiscated from the Church.

George Podiebrad, elected king in 1458, came into conflict with the Holy See over the Compact of Prague;⁵ and he was about to be summoned to trial for heresy when Pius II died. Later Bohemia became the scene of a civil war between rival claimants for the throne—**Matthias** of Hungary and **Ladislaus** of Poland. In 1478 they agreed to divide Bohemia between them; and after the death of Matthias (twelve years later) **Ladislaus** ruled as sole king of Bohemia and Hungary.

Hungary: Here too, national feeling was strong. In 1410 **Sigismund** claimed the right to bestow ecclesiastical benefices, and forbade the publication of papal bulls without the royal endorsement. A little later he requested from Pope John XXIII the right to appoint bishops, and John, while not conceding it, settled the issue for the moment by confirming all of **Sigismund's** appointments. Eventually the king obtained from the Council of Constance the formal right of nominating bishops; and he exercised it during the rest of his reign.

Sigismund had to fight strenuously to hold the Serbian fortresses against the advancing Turks. He suffered several defeats and, in 1428, he barely escaped with his life. Hussite invaders in northern Hungary also beat his armies several times and won many of the inhabitants over to their heresy.

Ladislaus Posthumus, infant grandson of **Sigismund**, was crowned six weeks after his birth in 1440; and a civil war followed between the Hungarian nobles (who had offered the crown to King **Ladislaus Jagello** of Poland) and the queen regent, who was backed by the Hussites and the Emperor **Frederick III**. The queen kept control of northern and western Hungary; but the war lasted until the Polish claimant fell in battle against the Turks at the disastrous defeat of **Varna**.

Janos Hunyadi (governor of Hungary during the king's minority), with the help of the Franciscan preacher, **John Capistran**, gathered an army strong enough to hold the Turks at bay. While in power he exercised the right of appointing men of his own choosing to ecclesiastical positions. After he died a group of Hungarian nobles, hostile to his family, put his eldest son to death; and subsequent claims to the throne of Hungary oc-

⁵ This compact, authorized by the Council of Basle in 1431, granted Communion under both forms to the laity; but as the stipulations of the compact were not observed, the Holy See annulled it. The king ignored the annulment and imprisoned the papal nuncio.

casioned political and religious disputes during the rest of the century.⁶

King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), defiant towards the Holy See, on one occasion even threatened to join the Greek Church; and he disposed of ecclesiastical property as if he owned it. An extremely able general, he organized an army composed of Czech mercenaries and of picked Hungarians and Croatians to oppose the Turks in the south, the Hussites in the north, and the emperor in the west. Despite lack of cooperation from other Catholic princes, he held the Turks outside his boundaries by building fortresses at strategic points on the Danube, the Save, and the Theiss. He kept a firm hand on the nobles and he codified the Hungarian laws.

Ladislaus (1490–1516), son of Casimir IV of Poland, and successor of Matthias, had already been king of Bohemia for nineteen years. The diet of 1498 passed decrees to correct abuses; but the king did little to enforce these laws. Ignorance and immorality continued to spread; and Hungary fell again under the control of nobles who placed their own kinsmen in benefices and often nominated minors to ecclesiastical offices—a fruitful cause of evil. Many Hungarian prelates were powerful princes, with vast estates, splendid courts, numerous men-at-arms.

Poland: The Dual-Kingdom, re-federated in 1413, was the largest—and politically the most advanced—state in Europe.

This century—second of Poland's three greatest—saw two long-term rulers, **Ladislaus II Jagellon** (d. 1434) and **Casimir IV** (1447–1492). The short-lived **Ladislaus III**, who fought the Turks (not in violation of his oath, say modern historians), died at Varna in 1444. **Jan Albrecht** (1492–1501) had to make large concessions to the nobles. Facing enemies in the west, in the east, in the south, Polish kings defeated the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg in 1410 and secured West Prussia by the treaty of Thorn in 1466, letting the Order keep East Prussia in fief. But Russia seized part of Lithuania; and the Turks, victorious at Varna, took Constantinople in 1453, invaded Moldavia, began their four-century rule of the Balkans.

Stronger than the crown, the nobles sought also to dominate the clergy who were now giving evidence of moral decline. Some prelates were enormously wealthy; some lacked zeal. Yet Poland had also many spiritual leaders: two men later canonized—a king's son, the saintly young **Casimir** (d. 1484) and **John Cantius** (d. 1473), professor at Cracow; three men later beatified—**Archbishop Jacob Strepa** of Halicz (d. 1409), the Franciscan preacher, **Simon of Lipnica** (d. 1482), and his confrere, **John of Dukla** (d. 1484). **Zbigniew Olesnicki** (d. 1455), bishop of Cracow, first Polish

⁶ When **Ladislaus Posthumus** died in 1457 he was succeeded in Hungary by **Matthias Corvinus**, son of **Janos Hunyadi**, and in Bohemia by **George Podiebrad**. Both these rulers were succeeded by **Ladislaus** (son of **Casimir** of Poland) who, despite papal opposition, became king of Bohemia in 1471 and king of Hungary in 1490. He died in 1516.

cardinal, a distinguished humanist, next in power to the king and legate to Basle, was a vigorous anti-Hussite, pro-conciliar and cool to the pope. His secretary, John Dlugosz (d. 1480), scholar, diplomat, tutor of St. Casimir, named archbishop of Lwow just before his death, was Poland's earliest historian. The Polish Parliament appears definitely organized in 1493. By 1450 the Hussites, despite aid from the nobility, had been suppressed.⁷

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

Two points merit attention: first, that several states, while advancing in material prosperity, attempted to curtail ecclesiastical jurisdiction; secondly, that a change in the relative strength of France and Spain entailed a political re-alignment which had a serious effect on later religious history.

France: The Burgundians, in alliance with the English, almost prevented Charles VII from reaching the throne; but he was finally crowned through the efforts of Joan of Arc.⁸ Civil independence suggested ecclesiastical freedom. In 1438 the national council assembled at Bourges forbade appeals to Rome, prohibited the payment of "annates"⁹ to the pope, and limited the rights of the Holy See in the nomination of candidates to French benefices. The edict of the council affirming these "Gallican Liberties" was classified as a "Pragmatic Sanction"—a name sometimes given to important formal decrees.

During the Basle controversy,¹⁰ the antipapal party, led by Duke Louis of Savoy, son of the antipope Felix, sought French support; and King

⁷ Lithuania, which was united to Poland in 1401, was ruled by a governor, Witold, cousin of Ladislaus Jagello. Many of the Lithuanian aristocracy became members of the Polish nobility and an attempt was made to secure religious unity by bringing Catholics and Orthodox together. Witold made the Lithuanian Orthodox Church independent of the patriarch of Moscow and sent an embassy to the Council of Constance with an offer of reunion on a basis of mutual concessions—a recognition of the papal supremacy in exchange for a Slavonic liturgy. The offer was not accepted.

⁸ "The Maid," having been captured by the Burgundians, was handed over to the English and burned as a witch in 1431—to the lasting shame of King Charles, her English captors, their tool, Bishop Cauchon of Beauvais, and the thirty-seven judges who unanimously condemned her as a relapsed heretic. Within a quarter of a century the Court of Appeal appointed by the pope annulled the sentence passed upon Joan; the cause of her beatification was introduced in 1869, and in 1919 she was canonized.

⁹ The annates were taxes on new appointees amounting to one year's income.

¹⁰ Discussed below, under Councils.

Charles summoned a congress to discuss the question of recognizing Nicholas V. It met first at Bourges in 1447 and then at Lyons, and decided that the antipope Felix should resign and that Pope Nicholas, after having made certain concessions to the schismatics of Basle, should summon a general council to be held in a city of France. The plan was rejected both by Nicholas and by Felix.

Louis XI increased his dominions by the addition of Normandy, Anjou, Provence, and Burgundy;¹¹ and partly for the sake of reducing the power of the feudal prelates, he revoked the Pragmatic Sanction, thus equivalently surrendering the "Gallican Liberties." He restored the substance of the Sanction in 1463 to show his displeasure at the pope's Neapolitan policy; but the concordat of 1472 foreshadowed a regime in which the French king and the Holy See would govern the Church of France without consulting bishops or clergy.¹²

After the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII to support the Angevin claim to Naples both nations were entangled in the wars which divided the Italian states. In order to be free to marry Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII, Louis XII, having obtained from Pope Alexander VI an annulment of the marriage contract he had been forced to make with Jane of Valois in his youth, supported the pope against his enemies, captured Milan, and carried Lodovico Sforza a prisoner to France; but this alliance between France and the Holy See so annoyed the Spanish that it almost provoked a schism.

Spain: The history of Spain in this century leads up to the three great events of 1492: the fall of Granada, which involved the political unification of the whole country and the final expulsion of the Moors;¹³ the royal decree ordering all Jews to submit to baptism or leave Spain; the epoch-making discovery

¹¹ In 1419 Philip the Good married Isabella of Portugal and ruled as sovereign over Burgundy and the Netherlands. To win one faction of the nobility to his side, he established the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1429. His son, Charles the Bold, having acquired new territory, tried to establish a great kingdom, but failed. Part of Burgundy was annexed by Louis XI; and the rest of the proposed kingdom passed to Emperor Maximilian who had married the daughter of Charles.

¹² Louis left a reputation for shrewdness and meanness, but there is little historical evidence for the tale of Cardinal Ballou's confinement in an iron cage and other stories of cruelty.

¹³ The expulsion of the Moors has been the subject of romantic treatment at the hands of writers who exalt Mohammedan Spain and belittle the Christian tradition. "The overthrow of Spanish Islam was written down as a definite calamity, and one from which unhappy Spain has never recovered. The anarchy which was continually breaking out even in the heyday of Omayyad power, and the ferocity which marked the rule of the various Arab dynasties, were glossed over or altogether ignored, and a picture was painted which bore but a scanty resemblance to the truth." Charles Petrie, Introduction to Bertrand, *History of Spain*, p. xiv.

of America—which at the time attracted comparatively little notice.

During the first half of the century Spain was agitated by domestic feuds, and also troubled by the anti-Roman policy of King Alfonso of Aragon. Because Martin V had supported Louis of Anjou instead of Alfonso in the struggle for the kingdom of Naples, the king forbade his subjects to communicate with Rome, secured the coronation of the antipope Clement VIII, and threatened to behead Martin's legate if he should enter Spain. The restlessness of the Spanish people made Alfonso fear the effect of a possible excommunication and interdict, and in 1429 he brought about the resignation of the antipope Clement.

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella united Aragon and Castile (1469); the capture of Granada put an end to the Moorish kingdom (1492); and finally, the annexation of Navarre made all Spain a single state. Strengthened by matrimonial alliances with the emperor and with the reigning dynasties of Portugal and England, the Spanish rulers converted the Castilian Holy Brotherhood (*Santa Hermandad*) into a national standing army and police force; placed men of the middle class in positions of trust, thus checking the overbearing nobles; restored law and order; reformed the currency; promoted education and trade. Colonial expansion in America and Africa helped to make Spain for a while the leading power of Europe. But the national strength was based on foundations too hastily constructed; provincial antagonisms remained acute; and, in the long run, Spain proved to be no match for France or England.

Several matters should be noted for the understanding of Spain's subsequent history:

1. The land won back from the Moors was bestowed upon the Spanish *grandees*; and much of the country, especially Andalusia, became a region of vast estates, cultivated by peasants whose inheritance of hard labor and permanent poverty built up a tradition of deep antagonism to the rich landowners.

2. Systematic efforts to convert the Jews—notably the preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer—had brought tens of thousands of them into the Church; and Ferdinand and Isabella, as soon as they completed the political unification of the country, undertook to secure religious unity by banishing all

the remaining Jews. The secret attachment to Judaism of some who had been forced into external conformity, and the deep resentment of others who had accepted banishment, played no inconsiderable part in the later complications of Spanish history.

3. The Catholic sovereigns obtained from the Holy See the necessary authorization to establish the Spanish Inquisition;¹⁴ and this tribunal, functioning as a semi-political machine, undertook to ferret out crypto-Jews (*Maranos*) and every sort of secret heretic—sometimes with disastrous results.

4. Towards the end of the century Cardinal Ximenes, Franciscan Archbishop of Toledo, began with papal approval to reform the Spanish Church. As Grand Inquisitor, he visited convents and monasteries, annulled special privileges, confiscated superfluous property for the benefit of needy churches, schools, and hospitals, and deported incorrigible monks to Morocco. The result of his activities and of a similar policy pursued by other Spanish bishops was a vast improvement in the moral condition of the country. The Protestant reformers of the following century could get no foothold in Spain.

5. The closing years of the century saw the beginnings of the vast colonial empire overseas, which was to play so large a role in later Spanish history. Christopher Columbus (c. 1450–1506)—having been ignored by Portugal and having obtained a commission from Spain for his voyage of exploration through the aid of Spanish monks and prelates—sailed from Palos in August, 1492, discovered the New World in October, and reached Palos again in the following March. Word of the discovery was promptly sent to Pope Alexander VI, who issued documents giving Spain possession of all lands already discovered or in future to be discovered by Columbus, on the condition that they were not already occupied by a Christian power and that the Christian faith should be propagated in them. The pope also defined the areas to be controlled by Spain and Portugal respectively. On his second voyage in 1493, Columbus founded several settlements; on his third in 1498, he visited the mainland near the mouth of the Orinoco; on his fourth in 1502, he coasted along Panama and Central America. In comparison with the good fortune of the Portuguese in the Indies, the achievement of Columbus seemed negligible, and he died in poverty, a disappointed man. Among the priests who accompanied him on his second voyage were Bernard Boyl, first vicar apostolic in the New World, and the

¹⁴ It had jurisdiction over the Jewish converts (called *Conversos*, or Neo-Christians) and also over the Moorish converts (*Moriscos*). The Spanish crown obtained other notable privileges from the Holy See about this time—in 1482 Pope Sixtus agreed to name no bishop to a Spanish see without the approval of the king; two years later Innocent VIII gave the king the right of nomination to all benefices in regions that had been, or would in future be, taken from the Moors.

Dominican, Las Casas, who later, in his *Brevísima Relacion*, accused the Spaniards of frightful cruelty towards the Indians.

Portugal: During the long reign of King John (1395-1433), the nobles (including the bishops) possessed privileges that made them virtually independent of the crown. Many prelates neglected their people; some never resided in their sees; monasteries grew lax; and the Church became unhealthy. Clerical education was so neglected that Innocent VIII prohibited the ordination of anyone unable to read Latin.

Voyages organized by Prince Henry the Navigator inaugurated a period of great material prosperity. In 1482 Diogo Cam discovered the mouth of the Congo; ¹⁵ six years later Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, thus opening a sea route to India; Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in 1498; Cabral discovered Brazil in 1500.¹⁶ Enormous wealth flowed into the country as a result of these discoveries and of the lucrative slave trade.

When King Emmanuel married the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1496, they required him to banish all unconverted Jews and Moslems from the kingdom. Against the advice of his counselors, he kept this promise and, as a result, many Jews and Moors made external profession of Christianity and intermarried with Christians, while secretly retaining their former faith. More zealous than just, Emmanuel ruled that all Jewish children between the ages of four and twenty should be taken from their parents and brought up as Christians at the royal expense. Many compassionate Christians concealed Jewish children at their own peril. The Portuguese bishops and Alexander VI persuaded him to deal less harshly with the Jews; and in 1497 he enacted more considerate legislation.

¹⁵ He left there an inscribed stone which was discovered in the year 1887.

¹⁶ Brazil became a Portuguese colony almost by accident. In 1451 Portugal obtained from Pope Nicholas V the exclusive right to exploration on the road to the Indies, meaning of course, the road east from Europe to Asia. After Spain had learned that there was also a western road, the two nations applied to Pope Alexander to draw a line of demarcation; and in 1492 the pope fixed upon a line running north and south 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, to divide the Portuguese field of exploration on the east from the Spanish field on the west. The Portuguese protested against the decision; and by common consent, the line was shifted to a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and made to correspond to the 50th degree of longitude west of Greenwich. This line cut the continent of South America at the mouth of the Amazon and thus predetermined the loss of Brazil to the Spanish crown when that country was discovered.

Italy: Largely through foreign trade, immense wealth had come to the chief Italian states—Naples, Florence, Venice, Genoa, Milan. But their lack of unity kept the whole peninsula almost constantly disturbed; and, as no one state could make headway against a hostile combination of the others, the temptation came to seek outside aid. In the north, Milan and Genoa looked to the French; whereas Naples sought help from Spain. During most of the century foreign armies were fighting as allies of one or other of the Italian states.

The Papal States: During the Great Schism papal rule in Italy had lapsed and the states of the Church were a No-Man's Land. Martin V, combining tact with determination, made the papal kingdom a reality again; and his successors built up its strength. The papal government cherished two chief policies: first, to centralize authority over the several separate regions under its jurisdiction by dominating the powerful and semi-independent noble families (particularly the Orsini and the Colonna); and secondly, to prevent or break up any hostile combination of neighboring states to the north and south. The latter aim explains the particular interest of the pope in the struggle which went on for the crown of Naples and reveals the motive which made him, as a rule, readier to side with the Spanish than with the French contender.

Naples: Beginning with the year 1436 when Joanna II died, the struggle over Naples occasioned almost constant quarrels between the claimants favored by the House of Aragon and the claimants favored by France—with the other Italian states aiding sometimes one and sometimes the other side. After the death of Alfonso V of Aragon in 1458, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was divided between his son Ferdinand (Ferrante) I of Naples and his brother, John II of Aragon and Sicily. Ferrante abandoned Florence and Milan and fought as an ally of Sixtus in 1478, but displeased Sixtus by making a separate peace. He was at war with the next pope, Innocent VIII, who supported the Angevin claims to Naples; then he made peace in 1487 and his son, Luigi of Aragon, married Innocent's granddaughter.

Florence, which suffered greatly from internal feuds and feared encroachments by Venice or by the pope, leaned towards an alliance with Naples or Milan. Lorenzo de' Medici, during his long rule (1469–1492), pursued a policy of peace and became the political pivot of the whole peninsula; although his refusal to recognize his enemy, Salviati, as archbishop led to a quarrel with Sixtus IV, an interdict on the city, and a war in which he was defeated by the armies of the pope and the king of Naples.

Venice and Genoa: These two great rival seaports on the eastern and

western coasts almost exhausted each other by war. Several times Genoa appealed to foreign rulers for help and then broke with them; and meanwhile she lost her colonies in the Levant. Venice gained territory during the Italian wars which took place between 1405 and 1430; but the fall of Constantinople ended her supremacy in the East. The Peace of Lodi (1454) seemed to promise the Italian states domestic harmony and a united front against foreign foes; but Venice pursued a policy which entailed other contests. She attacked Ferrara in 1480 and found all the other states united against her. Later, Sixtus IV joined her foes. The quarrel between Venice and the pope became so serious that Venice was laid under interdict in 1483. Isolated in Italy, Venice dispatched a message to the French king, Charles VIII, inviting him to take possession both of Naples and of Milan.

Milan—gateway or barrier, according to her own choice, to any enemies from the north—was too weakened by domestic feuds to retain her republican form of government and lay under the despotic rule, first of the Visconti and then of the Sforza. Milanese forces coöperating with the Colonna and supporting the contumacious Council of Basle, made Eugene IV flee for refuge to Florence in 1432. The usurper, Lodovico (il Moro) Sforza, set up a despotism in 1479 and established a splendid court (which provided a fit setting for Leonardo's art); but Isabel of Aragon (the ambitious wife of his nephew, Gian Galeazzo) caused her relatives in Naples to menace Lodovico who, not foreseeing the fateful consequence of his action, called on Charles VIII of France. Three years earlier the French had not responded to the invitation given by Venice. This time they came.

During all these years of fighting, the unhappy inhabitants of Italy were suffering not only from the depredations of armies large and small, and from the raiding bands of condottieri, but also from other evils: the weakening of faith caused by pagan humanists; the bad example of noble families and ducal courts and vicious clerics; the demoralizing influence of practices imported from or promoted by the East—commercialized vice, perversion, slavery.¹⁷

Everyone knows that side by side with these things there existed glories that make the *Quattrocento* immensely important in the history of art, letters, politics, and religion; but comparatively few are aware of another aspect of Italian life, commonly omitted in modern accounts—which as a rule are based upon descriptions written by "paganizing humanists." Contemporary letters, diaries, and spiritual books reveal much simple faith,

¹⁷ From about the year 1350 slaves of both sexes taken captive in the East were numerous in the larger Italian cities. The moral danger involved in this practice was most serious. "It is safe to say that in any house where there were female slaves, the morals of the male members of the family were sure to be far from exemplary. . . . In Siena, in the beginning of the 15th century, the State found it necessary to take measures against the increasing prevalence of celibacy." Decrees to the same effect were passed in other places. See Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 127 and n.

fervent piety, reverence for family life, scrupulous care for the training of children. Confraternities and guilds, religious in spirit and edifying in practice; poetry and drama inspired by a fine sense of ethical values; institutions of mercy and charity giving devoted and intelligent service to the under-privileged—all contributed to the spread of true spiritual culture. The practice of venerating the Blessed Sacrament and the custom of family prayer existed among multitudes of the laity who were led and guided by scholars of the type of Vittorino da Feltre and instructed by teachers as practical as Dominici and Antoninus.¹⁸

b. England, Ireland, Scotland

England: The British monarchs were not behind their continental neighbors in putting to practical account the political opportunities offered by the Great Schism.¹⁹ They played off one papal claimant against another, boldly appropriated Church property, ignored ecclesiastical rights; and, to the complaint that clerical immunities were being violated, they retorted that clerical privileges had been grossly abused. At the same time the government enacted severe laws against the Lollards, suspected of disloyalty both to Church and to State. In 1401 Parliament authorized the bishops to imprison persons propagating unorthodox doctrines and provided that those who refused to abjure should be burned. The fact that the duty of arresting and trying these heretics was placed on the bishops "marks the beginning of a new era in ecclesiastical and civil history."²⁰

Social disturbances were complicated by the return of soldiers from France after the Hundred Years' War, and by the Wars of the Roses which destroyed many of the nobility. Henry VII (1485-1509) restored public order, strengthened the monarchy,

¹⁸ Pastor goes over all this ground, citing the writers mentioned above and giving an impressive list of charitable institutions which existed in the different regions of Italy. The high standard to which these conformed will surprise persons unfamiliar with the practical way in which fifteenth-century Italy carried out the Christian precept of brotherly love. The work done by the hospitals received enthusiastic praise from Martin Luther when he visited Rome in 1511. *Op. cit.*, V, 65-67.

¹⁹ For example, Henry IV, having been excommunicated by Innocent VII for the murder of Archbishop Scrope in 1405, induced the next pope, Gregory XII, to nullify the sentence.

²⁰ Even before the passing of the Act, *De comburendo heretico*, the king and council had issued a writ for the burning of the priest, William Sawtré—the first heretic burned since the death of the deacon sent to the stake for having become a Jew two centuries earlier. See Gairdner, *op. cit.*, I, 47.

and founded the despotic court of the Star Chamber—an organized expression of the king's will, which forecast the lengths to which the Tudor dynasty would later go in dealing with opponents, whether peasants, or nobles, or monks, or prelates, or popes.

Ireland: In these years of "Gaelic recovery," two-thirds of the island came under the rule of native chieftains; the great earls of the south built up the foundation of aristocratic home rule; English control was limited to a dwindling area around Dublin.²¹ Even after the accession of the Tudors, Henry VII was content to assert his sovereignty and to leave Garret More, Earl of Kildare, as deputy; and this prince, "nearer to being the accepted king of Ireland than any man since the Conquest," ruled the country until his death, with all the highest offices of Church and State in his giving.²²

In religious affairs relations between English and Irish were still strained. Generally speaking, standards of discipline, zeal, and clerical education were lower than desirable. One cause of demoralization was lay interference; and generous gifts made by kings and nobles proved to be a questionable blessing when the givers appointed incompetent bishops and office holders. Franciscans of the Strict Observance were introduced in 1460; and each of the four mendicant orders was represented in Ireland by several houses. The activities of the friars promoted peace and spiritual unity. The drift away from England involved closer relationship with the papacy, the only power strong enough to withstand the English king. These facts were to become doubly significant in the following century.

Scotland: During the minority of James I, the duke of Albany, a dictatorial regent, made himself obnoxious to the ecclesiastical authorities in various ways; but the king (after his accession in 1424) corrected abuses, suppressed Lollardy and

²¹ The region in and around Dublin, called "the Pale," varied in extent as the English control of Ireland widened or narrowed.

²² "It was in fact the activity, the importance, and the riches of Ireland that drew to it the attention of commercial England under the Tudor kings." (Alice Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing*, p. 4.) This volume's picture of Ireland contrasts vividly with the description of "unrelieved barbarism" painted by Tudor statesmen and Protestant propagandists and kept in circulation by ill-informed writers.

proved to be one of the best monarchs that ever occupied the Scottish throne. Neither he nor his successors, however, could control the restless, ambitious nobles; and the century was filled with disorder and bloodshed.

Subject immediately to the Holy See since 1188, when it was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of York, the Scottish Church was reorganized in 1472, with St. Andrews as the sole metropolitan see; and, as that arrangement caused dissatisfaction, Glasgow also was made a metropolitan with four suffragan sees in 1492.

In the numerous religious establishments—despite several attempts at reform—some grave abuses existed; and unfortunately the wealth of the Church made benefices desirable prizes for kings and nobles to give away. James IV²⁸ for example, bestowed the see of St. Andrews on his brother, aged 21, and later gave it to his own illegitimate son, aged 9.

c. Scandinavia

As the power of the monarch waned, the nobles acquired control of political and ecclesiastical appointments, to the great detriment of religion. From the time of Queen Margaret (d. 1408), Danish nobles dominated all three countries, naming their own kinsmen as bishops, not only in Denmark, but also in Sweden and Norway—without even consulting the Holy See. This practice led to a vigorous protest, particularly from the Norwegians, who began to place their hopes of national revival in a religious revolution. As the century wore on, the prosperity of the merchant class gradually increased; and the nobles were crowded into second place.

3. THE EAST

The Byzantine Empire, Russia

The Byzantine Empire: In the middle of the century the Greek empire disappeared. John VIII, in a vain effort to avoid the ap-

²⁸ James IV (1473-1513) by his marriage to Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, put the Stuarts in line for the throne of England.

proaching doom, came to an understanding with Rome at the Council of Florence; and a brief reunion of eastern and western Christendom was effected in 1439. But the alliance brought little help; the pope was unable to interest the European powers in a new crusade. In 1453 Constantinople, center of Oriental Christianity for more than a thousand years, fell; and Mohammed II bestowed the patriarchate upon Gennadius Scholarius, an irreconcilable enemy of union with Rome.

Russia: The development of the Grand Principality of Moscow brought new life to the Orthodox Church. In 1462 Ivan the Great, a Muscovite prince, began to build an empire on the ruins of the old Tatar state.²⁴ The Slavs gradually assimilated the Mongols; and Moscow attained economic and political supremacy over all the surrounding region, absorbing Novgorod and extending its territory to the shores of the Arctic at Archangel, where the Muscovites came in contact with English explorers seeking a passage to India. After the fall of Constantinople, many Greeks took refuge in Moscow, bringing with them Greek manuscripts and introducing Greek culture. Ivan, who looked upon himself as heir of the Byzantine emperor, established Greek customs in his court, added the two-headed Byzantine eagle to the Muscovite coat-of-arms, and made the Orthodox Church official in the new Russian empire.

The Russian Church at this time was organized under two metropolitan sees: Moscow, head of the region known as Great Russia, intensely Russian and Orthodox; and Kiev, more vigorous intellectually, closer to western culture, leaning towards reunion with Rome. Despite Kiev's attitude, all efforts to reunite eastern and western Christendom came to naught.

In 1439 Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev, with five other Russian bishops, attended the Council of Florence, signed an agreement of reunion with Rome. Isidore received from Eugene IV an appointment as papal delegate. Upon his return to Russia however, he was censured for his action and imprisoned by the government, which repudiated the agreement. He resigned his see in 1458. His successor, the Bulgarian Gregory II, supported reunion; so did the next three metropolitans.

²⁴ Namely, the thirteenth-century khanates, founded by the Golden Horde in western Russia, and the White Horde in eastern Russia.

To promote reunion, Sixtus IV (1471–1484) negotiated a marriage between the Greek princess, **Zoe** of the House of Paleologus, then living in Rome, and the Russian Czar, **Ivan III**. But Zoe, after her marriage to Ivan, joined the Orthodox Church, and her husband, on the basis of the marriage, claimed the throne of Byzantium. Moscow thus took the place of Constantinople as ecclesiastical rival of Rome.

Later in the century the Russian Church began to manifest a new spirit of independence towards the Church of Constantinople; and, by the year 1500, Greeks were excluded from the possession of Russian sees.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

The opening years of the century saw two rival claimants for the papacy, each with his own court, one in Rome and one in Avignon; and before long a third claimant reigned in Pisa. This disastrous condition, the source of many grave evils, lasted until the Conciliar Movement brought about the election of Martin V (1417). The ending of the Great Schism occasioned universal rejoicing; but the Conciliar party, having established the principle of "frequent councils,"²⁵ also undertook to place the pope in a subordinate position—in other words, to alter the monarchical constitution of the Church. The result was another schism and the election of an antipope in 1440. After that date the organized schismatical opposition dwindled away. Nevertheless, serious obstacles still barred religious reform; clergy and laity seemed paralyzed; adequate revenue was lacking; concordats negotiated between popes and civil rulers remained largely ineffective.

Re-domiciled in Rome, the popes undertook to restore the city's ancient magnificence, fostering art and promoting scholarship, but paying too little regard to spiritual interests. Breathing the poisonous atmosphere of the Renaissance with its immoderate luxury and heathen vice, they scandalized Europe by their readiness to honor men whose conduct and writings were indescribably filthy. Powerful cardinals, each supported by a

²⁵ By the decree "*Frequens*."

friendly state, fought for their own election to the papacy. Papal armies were actively engaged in the various civil strifes which rent the Italian peninsula. Nicholas V, in many respects great, was at least incautious in his tolerance of paganism at the Vatican; Sixtus IV was certainly remiss; and the closing years of the century brought to the papal throne a man who recalled Rome's darkest days, Alexander VI, vigorous and able indeed, but so wicked "as to shock the public opinion of a profoundly corrupt age to a degree hitherto unexampled." Scandals accumulated until many persons believed that the devils were in possession of the principal parts of Rome.²⁶

DURING THE SCHISM

(Roman Popes)

Innocent VII (1404-1406), renowned for piety, learning and financial ability, failed in his attempt to end the Western Schism, largely because disturbances in Rome prevented the meeting of the council which he summoned. When King Ladislaus of Naples aided the Roman rebels, the pope, by a threat of excommunication, forced Ladislaus to withdraw his troops from Rome.

Gregory XII (1406-1415) was chosen chiefly because of the hope that he would end the schism. As pope, he renewed the oath he had taken as cardinal, to abdicate if Benedict XIII would resign.²⁷ But, under pressure brought to bear upon him by his relatives and King Ladislaus and contrary to his promise in the conclave, he created ten new cardinals and pronounced Benedict XIII and Alexander V schismatics and perjurers. After the Council of Constance assembled (1415), Gregory resigned and became bishop of Porto. He died in 1417 after having recognized Martin V as pope.

(Pisan Popes)

Alexander V (1409-1410), a Franciscan and cardinal of Milan, took an active part at the Council of Pisa which, after pronouncing Gregory and Benedict heretics and schismatics, chose him as pope. Alexander reigned only ten months.

John XXIII (1410-1415), elected to succeed Alexander V, was more politician than churchman. After King Ladislaus took Rome (1413), John fled to Florence. When Sigismund arranged for a council to meet at Constance, John, powerless to resist, signed the bull which convened the meeting.

²⁶ See Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 522.

²⁷ At Avignon Clement VII had been succeeded by Benedict XIII in 1394.

During the council, fearing judicial action, he fled to Schaffhausen; and the assembly continued to function without his presence. Two months after his flight he was arrested and deposed. He too, acknowledged Martin V as pope.

AFTER THE SCHISM

Martin V (1417-1431), elected at the Council of Constance, received immediate recognition as a promising leader of the reform movement; and the able cardinals he appointed helped to end the schism. In accord with the decrees enacted at Constance, Martin negotiated concordats with Germany, England, France, and Spain, covering the questions of appeal to Rome, the proclamation of indulgences, and the right to annates; and anti-papal laws were abolished both in France and England. Alarmed at the spread of the Hussite heresy in Bohemia, Martin also published a bull calling for a crusade against heretics; but it evoked little response, except from Emperor Sigismund.

As the Conciliar Movement still had many adherents, Martin hesitated to convoke another assembly which might undertake to modify the constitution of the Church. Nevertheless, because of the decree of Constance calling for frequent councils, he finally agreed to summon a council to meet at Pavia in 1423. But England and France were at war, Germany was engaged with the Hussite rebellion, Spain was fighting the Moors; and few bishops assembled. Transferred to Siena because of the plague in Pavia, the council soon manifested its antagonism to the monarchical constitution of the Church; and, in March 1424, the pope made the small number of bishops present an excuse for dissolving the assembly.

Unfortunately, Martin failed to carry out the reforms announced in his bull of 1425; and various abuses continued in Rome. The list of disreputable persons on the ecclesiastical payroll included Poggio, the papal secretary, whose writings mocked both Church dignitaries and the Church itself.²⁸ Another council soon became due; and, under pressure, Martin appointed Cardinal Cesarini to preside over a council in Basle in 1431. The pope died before it assembled. His reorganization of the Papal States, although skillfully and successfully accomplished, was to a great extent nullified in subsequent pontificates.

Clement VIII (1424-1429)—antipope.²⁹

Benedict XIV (1424)—antipope.

²⁸ "The Humanists who, during the time of the Schism, had made their way into the Papal Court, formed a distinct, and in many ways incongruous, element in a body of ecclesiastics." Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 256.

²⁹ Just before dying at Pensicola (Spain) in 1424, the antipope Benedict XIII appointed four cardinals, three of whom chose as successors to Benedict a canon of Barcelona who took the name of Clement VIII. The fourth cardinal, on his own authority, elected another pope who took the name of Benedict XIV. "Both of these elections were ridiculous rather than dangerous." *Ibid.*, 274.

Eugene IV ⁸⁰ (1431-1447) passed his pontificate in strife with the Council of Basle which he "dissolved" in December 1431, five months after its opening. Some of his advisers were aghast at this hasty step which had been prompted by the pope's distrust of the council; the council refused to adjourn; and the Catholic world was divided into supporters of the council and supporters of the pope. France acknowledged Eugene as the lawful head of the Church, but in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) affirmed the supremacy of the council and practically nullified papal jurisdiction over the French church. In Germany, where the electors adopted a "neutral" position which was in fact antipapal and schismatical, rival papal and conciliar bishops disputed the possession of certain sees.⁸¹ The Visconti of Milan, aided by the Colonna, invaded the Papal States in 1434 ⁸² and Eugene took refuge in Florence, the home of the Renaissance. Many humanists—some of them not even Christian in belief or conduct—entered the papal service there; and the pope found them useful assistants in his dealings with the Greeks. Although he condemned Beccadelli (the Panormite) and disciplined Valla, he was responsible for a great increase of humanistic influence in the Roman Curia.

At the Council of Ferrara (1438) Eugene negotiated a brief reunion of the Greeks; ⁸³ and he also met with some success in his attempt to reunite the Armenians and the Syrian Jacobites. The crusade announced in 1442 ended in disaster, with a truce which yielded Bulgaria to the Turks. Eugene returned to Rome in 1443 and employed Fra Angelico and other artists to beautify the Vatican and St. Peter's. He died in 1447, shortly after having made certain concessions to the German princes in a series of four bulls—restricting these concessions, however, in the so-called *Bulla Salva-*

⁸⁰ At the conclave which followed the death of Martin V the cardinals subscribed to a document limiting the pope's plenitude of power; but this agreement was nullified by the new pope as uncanonical. Similar agreements or capitulations imposing conditions on the pope had been made in previous conclaves, notably in that of 1352. Some affirm that the project of thus limiting the pope's power originated at the Council of Constance. "Canonists hold that the observance of such Capitulations, which have been only forbidden since the time of Innocent XII . . . (1692), must necessarily rest with the conscience of the Pope." *Ibid.*, I, 283, n.

⁸¹ It was not until 1448 that a concordat between the pope and Frederick III settled the controversy in favor of the pope.

⁸² The short-lived Roman Republic, established in 1434, was suppressed by the pope's military representative, Cardinal Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, a cruel but able commander who destroyed the castles of the Colonna, the Gaetani, the Savelli, the Orsini, and other great nobles hostile to the pope. Made patriarch of Alexandria, archbishop of Florence, and cardinal in recognition of his military services, he ruled as a despot until his death in the Castle of Sant' Angelo, at the hands of unknown enemies.

⁸³ The decree was published in 1439; and the reunion of Constantinople and Rome was proclaimed officially in St. Sophia by Cardinal Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev in 1452. Although official rather than popular, and temporary instead of permanent, this reunion attached to the Holy See the last two emperors and the last three patriarchs of the old Greek empire, and also gave birth to "Uniat" churches which, however small in numbers, have served as enduring symbols of the ideal.

toria which disclaimed his intention to do anything contrary to the rights and authority of the Holy See.

Felix V (1439-1449), elected by the Cardinals of Basle, submitted to Nicholas V in 1449 and received the title of Cardinal of Santa Sabina. Since then there has been no other papal schism.

Nicholas V (1447-1455), elected as a compromise candidate after the conclave had been deadlocked by the Colonna and the Orsini, found Italy divided by feuds; France and England at war; Bohemia largely Hussite; the German emperor, Frederick III, unstable on his throne; the Conciliar Movement still strong in Germany; many of the Greeks hostile to the Union of Florence; and Islam advancing steadily. He has been described as the first humanist to wear the papal tiara. A man of talent, although not a profound scholar, an enthusiastic collector of books, a generous patron of the arts and of literature, he so enriched the Vatican Library that he is regarded as its founder; he also welcomed humanists to the Vatican, appointed many of them to be apostolic secretaries, and set them at work discovering and translating manuscripts.⁸⁴ He greatly heightened the prestige of the papacy by exercising much care in the appointment of cardinals, avoiding nepotism, using tactful methods, and employing such well chosen assistants as Bessarion, Nicholas of Cusa, St. John Capistran, Cardinal Carvajal, a diplomatic genius, and Torquemada, able champion of papal rights. Nicholas skillfully arranged the resignation of the antipope Felix V and the formal adjournment of the moribund Council of Basle; and in 1448 he signed with Frederick III the Concordat of Vienna.⁸⁵

In the Papal States Nicholas adopted a policy of bloodless pacification, granting a generous measure of freedom to local units within his own borders, and sometimes also fostering misunderstandings among his neighbors. He was partly successful in the suppression of heresy in Bosnia and Greece, then overrun by the Patarines and the Fraticelli. He was less successful in his attempt to launch a crusade; Constantinople fell in 1453, and the Turks used their power to discourage reunion by keeping the schismatical spirit alive.

Upon the advice of Alberti that old St. Peter's was unsafe, Nicholas un-

⁸⁴ Possibly it was through fear of the growing power of humanism and in pursuit of a deliberate policy of appeasement that Nicholas showed such marked favor and allowed so large a liberty to the classical scholars who abused his generosity—Poggio, Filelfo, Valla, Porcaro. The last named, in 1453, organized a conspiracy to overthrow the papal government and was hanged. Concerning Poggio there seems to be no doubt that his point of view "was more heathen than Christian." Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 29.

⁸⁵ The concordat protected papal rights to some extent, but did not correct the evil conditions of clerical ignorance and misconduct, and lay control of benefices. Cardinal Cusa, sent into the Tyrol to introduce reform, was imprisoned by Duke Sigismund; and the duke's appeal "from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed" received the support of a majority of the Tyrolean clergy. Among those who still advocated the setting up of an ecclesiastical parliament as a hopeful instrument of reform was the celebrated Carthusian Jüterbog, who addressed a memorial to Pope Nicholas.

dertook the building of a new colossal structure—a gigantic project barely initiated when he died.³⁶

Callistus III (1455–1458), Alonzo Borja (Borgia) from Valencia, elected at the age of seventy-seven to tide over the situation created by the embattled Colonna and Orsini, showed little interest in the Renaissance and devoted his pontificate to the rousing of Europe against the Turks. He even sold some of the Vatican manuscripts to help finance the crusade; and it was due to him that Hunjadi at Belgrade and Skanderbeg in Albania defeated the Turkish forces. But the days of the great crusades were over; nations were divided from one another by suspicion or engaged in war; the clergy showed little zeal for the collecting of the necessary revenue; and the German prelates were more concerned to escape the crusade tithes imposed by the Holy See than to coöperate in the defense of Christendom. Representatives of five electors and of the cathedral chapters of Mainz, Trier, Cologne (together with the bishops of Salzburg and Bremen) agreed to refuse to pay the tithe and urged the negotiating of a pragmatic sanction with the Holy See similar to that of the French; and the pope's plan to convoke a congress of European rulers in 1457 failed. It was not surprising that in these circumstances Callistus resorted to nepotism and strengthened himself against the strangers and enemies around him by favoring his Spanish fellow countrymen and his own relatives, among them his nephew, Rodrigo, the future Alexander VI.

Callistus died shortly after having published a bull which by its claim to Sicily as a papal fief, seemed to entail war with Ferrante (illegitimate son of Alfonso of Naples), named heir to the kingdom by his father's will.

Pius II (1458–1464). At the conclave the Italians struggled hard to prevent the choosing of a French pope; and after Cardinal d'Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen, had come within one vote of winning, Cardinals Colonna and Borgia settled the election in favor of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.³⁷ Contrary to expectations, Pius II did practically nothing for his old associates, the humanists, partly perhaps because of his limited income. In any event, he was more prudent than his predecessor Nicholas, and ex-

³⁶ The construction of St. Peter's was carried on intermittently during parts of three centuries (1450–1626). Julius II in 1503 selected Bramante's design and the foundation stone was laid in 1506. A succession of architects, including Sangallo, Raphael, and the younger Sangallo, was followed by Michelangelo, who continued to work on the structure until his death in 1564. The dome, built from his models and drawings, was finished in 1590. In the following century Maderna altered the plan and completed the structure. It was dedicated in 1626 by Urban VIII.

³⁷ Piccolomini, a talented humanist, immoral and dissolute in his youth, had changed his allegiance several times to follow whatever leader promised him the greatest personal advantage. Secretary of the antipope at the Council of Basle, he later became poet laureate at the court of Frederick III. At the age of forty he abandoned his worldly habit of life, received holy orders, and served Pope Eugene IV loyally, giving abundant proof both of personal piety and of unusual ability. Pius II loved to travel, and his description of the places he visited still interests the reader of his memoirs. Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, 36.

cluded from the Curia several objectionable persons, including Filelfo. He cannot be cleared of the charge of nepotism, for he bestowed numerous favors upon his relatives and upon his fellow citizens of Siena.³⁸ In the contest between the House of Anjou and the House of Aragon for the possession of Naples, Pius sided with the latter and negotiated a marriage between his own nephew, Antonio, and the daughter of King Ferrante of Naples. To win the pope over to the other side, Louis XI of France abolished the odious Pragmatic Sanction in 1461; then, finding this move futile, he issued new decrees which substantially renewed the Sanction.

In furtherance of the chief aim of his pontificate, Pius soon after his election, summoned a congress at Mantua to organize a crusade;³⁹ but his efforts were nullified by the opposition of the cardinals, the indifference of the princes, and the reluctance of the Italian states, especially Venice, to endanger their commercial interests. Bessarion, sent to Germany to raise funds for the crusade, encountered stubborn resistance; and Diether of Isenberg, Archbishop of Mainz, was supported by the Count Palatine and the elector of Brandenburg in his defiance of a sentence of excommunication. Unable to arouse the rulers, Pius in 1463 announced his intention of leading a crusade in person and set out for the East, calling on the cardinals to follow him; but he died on the way at Ancona.

Paul II (1464-1471). The conclave which followed the death of Pius II was dominated by the elder cardinals. They framed a capitulation which seriously limited the papal power and chose as their candidate a nephew of Eugene IV, less than fifty years of age, who had almost been elected six years before. Paul II asserted himself almost immediately by requiring the cardinals to endorse a bull which practically nullified the capitulation. Deeply interested in reform, he appointed worthy men to office, insisted upon strict discipline in the Curia, denounced simony vigorously, insisted upon better education of the clergy, and reorganized a number of monasteries both in Italy and in Germany. Finding that the Fraticelli were spreading heresy and immorality, he had them severely punished; and he drove the humanists out of Rome after the discovery that they had converted the Roman Academy into a sort of secret society which met at the house of Pomponio Leto and, under the leadership of Platina, was planning to overthrow the papal government.⁴⁰ Paul was eager to arouse Europe against the Turks, but he could send only financial aid; and in 1468, after the death of the Albanian leader, Skanderbeg, the Turkish threat

³⁸ "Those who surrounded the Pope were almost all Sienese, and of these Sienese, the majority were Piccolomini." *Ibid.*, III, 124.

³⁹ He suggested that a tax to carry on the war should be imposed—the clergy contributing one-tenth, the laity one-thirtieth, and the Jews one-twentieth part of their incomes.

⁴⁰ The humanists then took refuge with Lorenzo de' Medici, "that finished product of the Renaissance."

became more serious than ever. Paul did much for the city of Rome, suppressing crime, instituting popular festivities, and constructing useful public works. When George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, refused to stand trial for heresy and spoliation of churches, the pope deposed him (1466) and absolved his subjects from their allegiance.

Paul created no less than fourteen cardinals, of whom ten were Italians (including three of his own kinsmen). A certain rivalry existed between those nominated by Paul and those nominated by his predecessor (the "Paulischi" and the "Piischi"); but there was no longer any doubt of Italian domination. At the next conclave only three of the eighteen electors were non-Italians—the French cardinal, d'Estouteville, the aging Bessarion, and the youthful Rodrigo Borgia (soon to become Alexander VI).

Sixtus IV (1471–1484), Francesco della Rovere, general of the Franciscans, when elected pope, undertook to make the papacy as powerful as the leading Italian states (Florence, Milan, Venice, Naples); and, with this end in view, he pursued a policy of systematic nepotism and of matrimonial alliances.⁴¹ He was successful in detaching Naples from Florence and Milan, and he was able to defeat Lorenzo de' Medici. Then, most unwisely—after Lorenzo had refused to allow the papal appointee, Salviati, to enter Pisa as archbishop—Sixtus made himself party to a conspiracy which effected not a revolution, as the pope intended, but the assassination of Lorenzo's brother. There is no evidence, however, to show that the pope knew of the intended murder.

Sixtus had many problems to solve. The Spanish sovereigns extorted from him the right of nominating bishops by a threat to convoke a council. Having authorized the same sovereigns to establish the Spanish Inquisition, he later had to admonish them concerning the alleged cruelty and injustice of their tribunal. When the papal fleet expelled the Turks from the important Italian port of Otranto, he could not persuade the other powers to follow up this victory. Contrary to his hopes and plans, Zoe, niece of the last Byzantine emperor, who married the Grand Duke of Moscow, became a schismatic herself, instead of winning her husband to the Catholic faith.

Personally religious and wholly undeserving of the accusations made against his moral conduct,⁴² Sixtus nevertheless lacked the wisdom, energy, and vigilance demanded by the difficult circumstances of his pontificate. He outlined a reform of the Church, but effected little. He restored and beautified Rome, built the Sistine Chapel, reorganized the Vatican Library, attracted to his service a group of brilliant scholars; but his aides

⁴¹ The King of Naples, Duke Sforza, and the Duke of Urbino gave their daughters in marriage to three of the pope's nephews.

⁴² Chiefly by Infessura.

gave much scandal by their paganism and indecency. His policy of controlling the College of Cardinals by means of numerous appointments was not unreasonable; yet his nominees made that body much more worldly than before, and two of the five nephews that he named cardinals involved the papacy in serious embarrassment.⁴³

Largely through the machinations of Girolamo Riario, his general, Sixtus was drawn into an alliance with Venice which ended in so serious a quarrel that the pope laid Venice under interdict in 1483. Sixtus was involved in another complication by Riario's disastrous war against the Colonna—terminated at Bagnolo on conditions most vexatious to the pope, because Lodovico il Moro deserted. Before the close of this pontificate papal finances had been so mismanaged and taxes imposed so recklessly that discontent was rising to the danger point.

Innocent VIII (1484–1492) was elected in a conclave which ranks as one of "the most deplorable in the annals of Church history." Rome was in disorder; the mob was shouting for the election of Cardinal Colonna; Girolamo Riario, favorite nephew of the late pope, arrived at the head of an army; the possibility of a schism was openly discussed.⁴⁴ Within a short time, however, through the diplomatic tactics of Cardinal Barbo, order was restored, the conclave opened, and the twenty-five cardinals present signed an election capitulation the effect of which would be to transform the Church into an oligarchy. In the voting Rodrigo Borgia, an active competitor for the tiara, shifted from the Colonna to the Orsini party; but neither he nor his chief opponent, Cardinal della Rovere, could obtain the requisite two-thirds. Della Rovere solved the problem by using persuasion and bribery to secure the election of his protégé, Cardinal Cibo. The new pope—a widower with three children⁴⁵—had neither the spiritual vision nor the courage to discharge the duties of his high office; and he followed the guidance of Cardinal della Rovere. To replenish the empty papal treasury, he created new offices and sold them. To end the isolation in which he found himself, he negotiated political marriages. For a variety of motives, he nominated unfit men as cardinals—including the thirteen-year-old son of Lorenzo de' Medici. The majority of the cardinals at this time were worldly and a number of them were openly dissolute, notably Rodrigo Borgia, richest and boldest of them all. One of the most corrupt and wicked men in the whole city of Rome was the pope's own son, Fran-

⁴³ Three of these nephews were appointed cardinals on the same day—one of them a youth of seventeen. The Sistine cardinals formed a majority of the conclave which elected Alexander VI in 1492.

⁴⁴ The dukes, Alfonso of Calabria and Lodovico Sforza, sent a peremptory message with regard to the choice of a pope which arrived after the election. On this occasion, we find put in writing for the first time the Roman proverb, "He who enters the conclave a pope leaves it a cardinal."

⁴⁵ One legitimate and two illegitimate. Cibo's reputation had been clear of stain from the time of his ordination.

ceschetto Cibò, who was allowed to marry the young daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1487.⁴⁶

A peaceful man at heart, Innocent was entangled in numerous quarrels—a dispute with the duke of Calabria over his claim to Benevento (1484); war with Naples, Milan, and Florence (1486); a rebellion headed by the condottiere Guzzoni (1486); disturbances in the Romagna (1488); German resistance to the tax for a crusade (1486). He had to defend Church rights against encroachments by Venice, Florence, and Bologna, and by the king of Hungary who had appointed a young boy to the archbishopric of Gran. In France Innocent faced defiance from the Parlement and the universities. In Portugal he had trouble with King John II. He made the mistake of yielding to pressure and granting the Spanish sovereigns a concession which would frequently cause grave friction in the future, namely the patronage of all churches and convents in lands conquered or to be conquered from the Moors. He was zealous in the effort to suppress the numerous heresies of the time, notably the Waldensian and the Hussite sects; but he attained only limited success.

Innocent gave encouragement to scholars and continued the restoration of Rome, although on the whole his contribution to literature and art was comparatively insignificant. He punished a number of individual clerical transgressors; but he did almost nothing in the field of general ecclesiastical reform—hardly surprising if we consider the difficulties which surrounded him.⁴⁷

Alexander VI (1492-1503). Even before the death of Innocent VIII the ambitious cardinals, the Roman nobles, the representatives of Italian states and of foreign governments were carrying on election intrigues. Cardinal della Rovere (the future Julius II) was favored by Naples and by France but not by Milan, Florence, or Venice; the Spanish cardinal, Rodrigo Borgia, was reported to be distributing lavish bribes. In a body of electors nearly all Italian, Borgia secured the requisite two-thirds by winning to his side Cardinals Orsini, Colonna, and Sforza and finally Gherardo the Venetian (a ninety-six year old Camaldolese who was attending his first conclave).⁴⁸ A handsome man of imposing figure, mentally alert, a cardinal deacon since his twenty-fifth year, and matured by diplomatic experience in Spain and in Italy, Borgia might have seemed eminently fitted for the

⁴⁶ This marriage was the first occasion on which "the son of a pope had been publicly recognized, and, as it were, introduced on the political stage." (Pastor, citing Reumont, Vol. V, p. 270.) In the next year the pope married his granddaughter, Peretta, to a Genoese merchant, in the Vatican, and caused considerable excitement by attending the marriage banquet in person. Peretta's sister, Battistina, was married to King Alfonso's son, Luigi of Aragon.

⁴⁷ The attacks on the character of Innocent made by Infessura, secretary of the Roman Senate, a writer with a grievance, are quite unsupported by evidence.

⁴⁸ Excepting Adrian VI (1522-1523), Alexander was the last non-Italian cardinal to be made pope up to the present time.

papal throne, had it not been that his moral disqualifications were grave and notorious and that he had continued his evil life after receiving a rebuke from Pius II in 1460 and even after his ordination to the priesthood in 1468.⁴⁹

As pope, Alexander found himself stationed at the center of a political maelstrom and vexed by problems practically insoluble; for disunited Italy, in spite of its large population, was no more than a prize sought by other nations. Circumstances dictated most of his administrative acts—the conflict with his antagonist Cardinal della Rovere; the excommunicating of Savonarola, who had defied papal authority and appealed to the French king; the nominating of many Spanish cardinals; the creating and sale of new offices; the placing of relatives and friends in lucrative positions; the negotiating of noble matrimonial alliances for his children; the approval of the partition of Naples by France and Spain; the elaborating of reforms never to be executed. Some of his activities, whether expedient or not, reflect discredit upon his moral character—notably his condoning of Caesar's crimes and his share in the dissolution of two marriages.⁵⁰ As his enemies well knew, Alexander lived in a chronic state of alarm over the possibility of a conciliar investigation of the charge that his election had been simoniacal and therefore invalid and the threat to summon a council became a stock maneuver, resorted to by Charles VIII, by Savonarola, by Portugal, by Spain, by Germany. Another recurrent sting came from the satirical poems and venomous epigrams which lampooned the Borgias.⁵¹

In what may be called the field of ordinary administration, Alexander confirmed the bull of Sixtus IV on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and renewed the custom of ringing the Angelus; he encouraged the growth of the religious orders; he showed zeal for the defense of ecclesiastical rights, particularly in the Netherlands, and for the punish-

⁴⁹ Cardinal Borgia had vast wealth. His income included revenues from nearly twenty bishoprics in Italy and in Spain and from abbeys and other benefices. Of his six children, four (Juan, Caesar, Jofré, and Lucrezia) were born of the celebrated Vannozza (diminutive of "Giovanna") de' Catanei, who lived in a magnificent Roman dwelling known in modern times as the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini. Alexander bought the Duchy of Gandia for Juan, who married the cousin of the king of Spain and became the grandfather of St. Francis Borgia. Caesar, a blood-stained, unprincipled tyrant (subdeacon, but never priest), who swept his enemies from the field with papal soldiers or had them murdered by private assassins, crushed the power of the Roman nobles and with the help of France won back large areas, notably Urbino, to the pope's control; and his father made him cardinal and gave him the archbishopric of Valencia as a benefice. Jofré married Sancia, illegitimate daughter of Alfonso of Calabria. Lucrezia (who became Duchess of Ferrara and passed the last years of her life as a grand lady doing good deeds), although not beyond reproach for her earlier conduct, has been acquitted by history of the worst crimes charged against her.

⁵⁰ The marriage of Lucrezia and the marriage of Louis XII—which were annulled on grounds technically correct but on questionable testimony and were to Alexander's political advantage.

⁵¹ The type of literature classified in the following century as "pasquinades."

ment of immoral sects, especially in Bohemia; he suppressed scandalous and unorthodox books; he had crypto-Jews in Italy searched out and punished; he organized the Grand Jubilee of 1500 which brought a vast number of pilgrims to Rome.⁵²

On the whole, Alexander was a shrewd and vigorous executive. As patron of art and literature he did much for the beauty and dignity of Rome. Resisting the pressure of Spain, he remained tolerant towards the Jews in Italy. In the history of the transatlantic world he appears as the pontiff who decided the "Line of Demarcation" and who sent the first missionaries to America. Judged severely by his contemporaries and pictured in the mind of subsequent generations as an inhuman monster, he has fared better at the hands of critical historians. Some modern writers have even gone so far as to undertake to vindicate him of every serious moral charge; and it is true that the gravest accusations are based on flimsy testimony. Yet, when the evidence pro and con is summed up, it seems reasonable to conclude with Pastor that "the rehabilitation of Alexander VI is a hopeless task."⁵³

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: These pronouncements deal with the false doctrines of Wyclif and Hus, with the troublesome Conciliar Movement, and with other erroneous theological tendencies.

⁵² In connection with this celebration two points are worth noting: first that Caesar Borgia appropriated much of the Jubilee money to pay the cost of his military activities; and secondly that an enormous proportion of pilgrims died in Rome—more than 30,000 in the first half year. This number of deaths is striking, even taking into account the high mortality rate of Europe in the fifteenth century traceable to the epidemics which, under the general name of "plague," broke out again and again "like an unextinguishable fire, sometimes burning low, but perpetually flaring out afresh." Systematic attempts were made to check the plague by means of quarantines, isolation hospitals, and the appointment of special doctors and health commissioners; the lack of improvement was due perhaps to the wars which brought frequent battles and long sieges and interference with sanitation. Other contributing causes may have been unrestricted communication with the Orient and occasional huge disasters, such as the famine of the year 1496 and the flood of the year 1500.

⁵³ It must be acknowledged however, that Alexander's pontificate helped to establish a certain measure of peace, order and prosperity in Italy. See F. X. Kraus, "Medicean Rome" in *Cambridge Modern History*, II, p. 1. Recent attempts to clear Alexander's reputation entirely have been far from convincing; see, for example, Peter De Roo's *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI, His Relatives and His Time* (Universal Knowledge Foundation: New York, 1925), and Orestes Ferrara's *The Borgia Pope* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1940), which have undertaken the task. The best that can be said on this subject may be summed up in the words of Richard Garnett: "Alexander's character has undoubtedly gained by the scrutiny of modern historians. . . . As a ruler, careful of the material weal of his people, he ranks among the best of his age; as a practical statesman he was the equal of any contemporary. . . . The general tendency of investigation, while utterly shattering all idle attempts to represent him as a model Pope, has been to relieve him of the most odious imputations against his character." "Rome and the Temporal Power," *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 241-242.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Martin V</i> (1417-1431)		
1414-18	Council of Constance (Ecum. XVI)	On forty-five errors of Wyclif; Holy Communion; thirty errors of John Hus.
1415	Condemnation	On tyrannicide.
1418	Bulls	On thirty-nine test questions for Wyclifites and Hussites.
<i>Eugene IV</i> (1431-1447)		
1438-45	Council of Florence (Ecum. XVII)	On conditions for the reunion of Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Chaldeans and Maronites.
<i>Callistus III</i> (1455-1458)		
1455	Constitution	On usury, contract, and just price.
<i>Pius II</i> (1458-1464)		
1459	Bull	On the abuse of appeals from the pope to a general council.
1459	Condemnation	On the errors of Zaninus.
1464	Bull	On the Precious Blood of our Lord.
<i>Sixtus IV</i> (1471-1484)		
1474	Bull	On the truth of the Scriptures.
1476	Bull	On the application of indulgences to the souls in purgatory.
1479	Bull	On confession and indulgences.
1476 1483	} Constitutions	On the Immaculate Conception.

Councils: The Conciliar Movement brought about the convocation of a number of councils during the first half of the fifteenth century, including Pisa, Constance, Basle, and Ferrara-Florence.⁵⁴

Pisa: In the year 1409 a group of cardinals assembled at Pisa without canonical authority and announced their meeting as a council of the Church. They then proceeded to decree the deposition of the two existing rival popes, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, and to elect a third, Alexander V—thus creating a schism

⁵⁴ Another national council, convoked at Bourges in 1438—a significant landmark in ecclesiastical history—declared itself neutral in the dispute between the pope and the Council of Basle, but in a royal decree ("the Pragmatic Sanction"), King Charles VII affirmed the superiority of ecumenical councils to popes and also authorized secular courts to decide ecclesiastical affairs.

within a schism. On Alexander's death, the same cardinals elected as his successor John XXIII, a political-minded ecclesiastic. The Council of Pisa thus made a bad situation worse.

Constance: After a conference with John XXIII the Emperor Sigismund, responding to a widespread desire for a general council, announced that a council would meet in November 1414, and that he would attend in person. The published purpose of the council was: (1) to terminate the schism; (2) to reform the Church; (3) to repress heresy. The sessions, forty-five in number, lasted from November 1414 to April 1418; and the largest number in attendance at any given session was about two hundred bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, one hundred abbots and religious generals, and three hundred theologians and canons. Approximately five thousand monks and friars were present. Present also were several German rulers, envoys representing the kings of France, England, Scotland, Spain, Denmark, Poland, and Naples, and—at the later sessions—the Greek emperor with nineteen Greek bishops. As the Italians—who supported John XXIII—were numerically preponderant, the German, French, and English bishops decided to depart from traditional procedure and vote by nations, thus breaking the Italian control.

Although the civil rulers, especially the emperor, played important roles, the real leaders were scholars, representative of the new learning; for the universities were assuming an almost decisive part in ecclesiastical affairs. It was the share of the universities in the formulating of the Conciliar Theory which gave that theory its widespread popularity and attracted the support of so many learned and religious men.

John XXIII presided over the first session held November 19, 1414. The following January messengers arrived from Benedict XIII with an offer to meet the emperor at Nice. Shortly afterwards Gregory XII announced his readiness to resign, if the other two popes would resign also. In March John XXIII promised to resign and then, in the disguise of a hostler, fled from Constance, leaving the council without a head. Thereupon, in the fifth session (April 5, 1415), the council drew up the Five Articles of Constance, the first two of which proclaimed the supremacy of every general council over every pope.⁵⁵ In its twelfth session the council decreed the

⁵⁵ The council's affirmation of its own supremacy came as the development of a series of events which began more than a century before with the declaration of Gallican liberties, during the quarrel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII.

deposition of John XXIII; in its fourteenth session it persuaded Gregory XII to give his recognition to Constance as the Sixteenth Ecumenical Council and then to resign the papacy. Benedict XIII, who refused to abdicate, was deposed.

After condemning John Hus to be burned at the stake, the council undertook the discussion of reform. The laymen, the lower clergy, and the monastic orders present soon displayed a spirit of extreme hostility towards the higher ecclesiastics; and at one session the suggestion was made that no cardinal should be admitted to the deliberations on the question of Church reform. Factional disagreements almost brought the council to a standstill; but at last an agreement was reached on the basis of a compromise proposed by the bishop of Winchester, uncle of the king of England. In the thirty-ninth general session (1417) the council published decrees of reform including the celebrated decree *Frequens*, which required the holding of a general council within five years, another seven years later, and councils at regular ten-year intervals thereafter.

The council then decreed that for the election of a new pope, thirty delegates—six from each of the five nations—were to be added to the cardinals present at Constance. A conclave assembled on this basis in November 1417 elected Cardinal Colonna, who took the name of Pope Martin V.

Martin V never expressed any opinion about the acts of the council as a whole; but in its last session (1418) he gave his approval to all that had been decided in matters of faith in proper canonical form (*conciliariter*). The decrees of the earlier sessions, therefore, are not regarded as the official teaching of the Church.

Basle: Martin V, in accord with the decree of Constance, summoned a council to meet at Pavia in 1423. It was transferred to Siena because of an epidemic and the pope then adjourned it. But its members, on their own responsibility, voted to re-assemble at Basle. Afraid to resist openly, the pope named Cesarini president, with the right to adjourn or dissolve the council.

Martin V was dead when the Council of Basle met in 1431; and the papal throne was occupied by his successor, Eugene IV. In view of the fact that only fourteen prelates attended the first session (because of the Hussite war and other obstacles) Eugene decreed its adjournment; but the council refused to adjourn, and summoned Eugene to appear within three months threatening that otherwise the council would provide for the needs of the Church. Under pressure Eugene, in 1433, acknowledged the council as ecumenical and approved its three principal aims: the suppression of heresy; the establishment of peace in Christendom; the reform of the

Church. But he did not commit himself on the council's claim that an ecumenical council is superior to the pope.⁵⁶

The council chamber soon became a battleground of contending factions. A revolution in Rome, aided by the Visconti and abetted by the council, established a Roman Republic, took the pope prisoner, and sent delegates to Basle where they at once received official status. Antipapalists from France and elsewhere, under the leadership of the French cardinal of Arles, made up the majority of the assembly. Instead of devoting themselves to the reform of abuses, they undertook to define the limits of papal authority and to amend the monarchical character of the Church. Their hostility to the Holy See was so pronounced that Cesarini, the president, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, and other prelates abandoned the council; and the pope appealed to the European powers.

In 1437 the council became divided over a request from the Greeks to fix a meeting-place for the discussion of reunion in another city which the Orientals could more easily reach. Eugene took the side of the minority and ordered the council to be transferred to Ferrara, where it opened under the presidency of the papal legate, Albergati, in 1438.

Ferrara-Florence: The pope himself presided over the Council of Ferrara, which was attended by seven hundred Greeks, including the emperor, the patriarch of Constantinople, Bessarion of Nicaea,⁵⁷ and several other distinguished Greek scholars. Rejecting the method of voting by nations employed at Constance, the Council of Ferrara divided the members into three estates: first, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops; second, abbots and prelates; third, theologians and other members. The vote of each estate was determined by a two-thirds majority of its members. After much discussion on the question of reunion between the Latins and the Greeks, it became evident that the Greeks, despite the pressure exerted on them by the emperor, John Paleologus, would not consent to the insertion of the "Filioque" in the Creed. In the sixteenth session, after many had died of the plague then ravaging Ferrara, the pope trans-

⁵⁶ Whether or not Basle was truly an ecumenical council has been long debated. Bishop Hefele held that it was ecumenical until the pope transferred it to Ferrara in 1437, and that thereafter the council at Basle was a schismatical assembly.

⁵⁷ Bessarion, who assisted in drawing up the Act of Union, joined the Roman obedience in 1439, became a cardinal of the Roman Church and promoted humanism. He translated Greek authors into Latin, defended Plato against an Aristotelian attack, and made his palace a meeting place for scholars. He founded a valuable library in Venice, where it was accessible to both East and West.

ferred the council to Florence for nine other sessions (1439-1443). After another transfer to Rome, the council adjourned in 1445.

At Florence an Act of Reunion between the Eastern and Western Churches was signed by the Greeks and the Latins on July 6, 1439, mainly through the efforts of Cardinal Bessarion and Isidore, Archbishop of Kiev. The Act included the acceptance by the Greeks of the Latin teaching on the "Filioque,"⁵⁸ on the primacy of the pope, and on purgatory.⁵⁹ The Latins remained to negotiate a reunion with the other Eastern Churches—Armenian, Jacobite, Chaldean, and Maronite; the Greeks went home. On their return to the East, they met with bitter reproaches and determined opposition from the Byzantine clergy and people. Before the official acceptance of the decree of union could be secured, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks in 1453; and at once the new patriarch, Gennadius, appointed by the sultan, repudiated the agreement. Isidore of Kiev, who had undertaken to negotiate the adherence of the Russian Church to the decree of union, was imprisoned; after his escape, he fled to Italy. The nominal reunion between East and West, therefore, was of short duration; but it did serve to strengthen the pope's position and to check the incipient schism at Basle.

For the Council of Basle had refused to dissolve. In 1439, at a session attended by only a few bishops under the leadership of the cardinal of Arles, the council voted to depose the pope as a heretic; and Duke Amadeus of Savoy was elected antipope by the votes of one cardinal and eleven bishops. This last of the antipopes took the name of Felix V; but even the French and Germans who had accepted the decrees of Basle, refused to recognize him, and he never attained any great importance. The Council of Basle gradually dwindled away; and in 1443 its last supporter, King Alfonso of Aragon, came to an understanding with Pope Eugene IV and recalled all his subjects from Basle.

Organization: Special jubilees with extraordinary indulgences were proclaimed at the election of each new pope and on other momentous occasions; and Paul II (1464-1471) decreed that a jubilee should be held every twenty-five years—a custom which became permanent.

The publication of indulgences in order to gain revenue for the war against the Turks and for building projects became common; and, with the multiplication of indulgences, abuses also multiplied. Martin V reprimanded the archbishop of Can-

⁵⁸ The doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and the Son*.

⁵⁹ The original document is still preserved in the Laurentian Library in Florence.

terbury in 1420 for "presumption and sacrilegious audacity in daring to issue a plenary indulgence in the same form as that of the Roman Jubilee." Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, at the Council of Magdeburg in 1450, condemned the error that indulgences remit the guilt of sin; and Sixtus IV in 1478 took measures to check various abuses.

It is well to note that as the medieval age was closing, the consciousness of sharing a universal faith and an immemorial tradition still permeated all countries and all classes; that religious observance was still an integral part of the European way of life; and that the social unit closest to the people was the parish, functioning as a center of many activities not strictly ecclesiastical, which might be grouped under the general heading of humanitarian.⁶⁰

Marriage: In the discussions over reunion with the Oriental bishops at Florence, the pope drew attention to the laxity of the Greeks in the matter of divorce, but went no further—owing apparently to the intervention of the emperor and to the fact that since the doctrine of the Church had not been defined, the Greek practice (although against the law of Christ) could not be described as a rejection of the Church's formal teaching. The pope therefore classified it as an abuse, deferring, however, the attempt to correct it.⁶¹

Worship: A devotion which became very popular was the Rosary, propagated with great success by Alan de Rupe (1428–1475), a Dominican preacher, in northern France and Flanders. The rapid spread of the devotion was chiefly due to the Dominicans; and the belief that the Rosary had been revealed to St. Dominic was based largely on Alan de Rupe's report of a vision of his own. The Holy See attached numerous indulgences to the recitation of the Rosary.

Art: This century, "the Quattrocento," was enriched with the work of many masters rarely equaled in the ability to portray spiritual qualities; and the frescoes of Fra Angelico in the Dominican monastery of San Marco, Florence, stand out as perhaps

⁶⁰ See Francis Aidan Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*.

⁶¹ See Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 387, and Vacant-Mangenot, *op. cit.* s.v. Marriage, IX, col. 2324.

the highest expression of mystical art. In Rome the popes began the restoration of the Leonine City. Martin V rebuilt and decorated churches, awarding the Golden Rose annually to worthy artists on Laetare Sunday; Eugene IV brought Fra Angelico to the Vatican to decorate the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament; Nicholas V, "the Great Humanist," inaugurated a vast building program; Sixtus IV engaged the services of Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Melozzo da Forlì, and other artists.

Communities: Religious life was badly in need of renewal. In some places communities had dwindled to such small proportions that observance of the rule became practically impossible. In other cases abuses crept in through relaxation of the rule of poverty and the acceptance of benefices and posts of honor. The custom of electing a superior for life was also sometimes a cause of stagnation. Several of the fifteenth-century popes interested themselves in the reform of religious orders. Nicholas V (d. 1455) appointed Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa as legate to recall communities to the observance of their rule; but, although considerable improvement was made, the results on the whole were disappointing.

To what extent moral decay had affected religious houses at this time, is a much argued question—perhaps never to be finally answered because of the destruction of records in the following centuries. In the particular case of England (where the point has been hotly debated and where the monasteries became a major religious issue under Henry VIII), we have good reason to believe that a general spirit of piety prevailed, and that despite some scandals, there was no great moral disintegration.⁶²

⁶² "That the monasteries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were all that could be desired in discipline and vigour would be maintained by no one who has studied the subject. The circumstances of the troubled times in many instances no doubt exerted a baneful influence on the interior spirit of the cloister, as it did on the Church at large." Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, p. XXI. Yet as Father Thurston reminds us, we find no evidence of a general wave of moral indignation at ecclesiastical corruption or of any widespread resentment of Roman authority among the people until many years after the outbreak of Lutheranism in Germany. On the situation which caused Archbishop Morton to secure from Innocent VIII authorization to investigate the Abbey of St. Albans in 1489, see Gairdner, *op. cit.*, I, 269 ff.; also articles by the same author in *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1909, and by Gasquet in *The Tablet* (London), Oct. 17, 1908 and Jan. 23, 1909 (cited in *Cath. Encyc.*, V, 444).

The attempt to reform the **Franciscan** order was especially interesting. With increasing wealth, the spiritual quality of the community had deteriorated; and the quarrels that occurred during the Great Schism affected religious discipline so seriously that in 1430 Pope Martin V ordered a general chapter of the whole order to be held, in the hope of effecting reunion between the two parties, Observants and Conventuals, one of whom advocated, while the other opposed, a return to primitive Franciscan austerity. Reunion proving impossible, the order was formally divided into two branches; and in 1446 Eugene IV published the Bull of Separation, which made the vicar general of the Observants a permanent official, independent of the minister general of the order. St. Bernardine of Siena, the first vicar general of the Italian Observants, was succeeded by St. John Capistran, who, with the help of Nicholas of Cusa, brought about a rapid growth of his community in Germany.

In Italy the **Benedictine** monasteries were reorganized, under the presidency of the abbot of Monte Cassino. In Germany the Benedictine abbey of Bursfeld near Göttingen led a reform movement which soon included more than one hundred abbeys. In Saxony and Thuringia, and along the Rhine and the Moselle, the reform promoted by Nicholas of Cusa affected one hundred forty convents of men and nearly fifty convents of women.

A restoration of strict discipline was also effected in the **Augustinian** monasteries—including the convent of Erfurt in Saxony, where Luther entered as a monk early in the following century. The Augustinian monastery of Windesheim in Holland became an important factor in the reformation of monks, clerics, and lay persons; and, before the end of the century, this congregation possessed more than one hundred houses, including sixteen convents of nuns in Flanders and Germany. Protestant writers have sometimes linked the Windesheim movement with the Protestant Reformation; but, as a matter of fact, Windesheim remained perfectly loyal to the Holy See and busied itself with the improvement of discipline and morality, not with the questioning of Catholic dogma.

The reform of the **Carmelites**, begun in Italy about 1413, progressed under their general, John Soreth, but declined under his successors. Different congregations of **Hieronymites** scattered through Spain and Italy were also reorganized. The **Brothers of the Common Life**, founded by Gerard Groote in the previous century, did not escape criticism at the Council of Constance; but they were defended by d'Ailly and Gerson of Paris. Gerard's other foundation, the **Sisters of the Common Life**, developed rapidly also. Before the end of the century the Brothers of the Common Life had numerous schools in the Netherlands, France and Germany.

In England where monasteries were powerful enough to arouse envy and wealthy enough to excite cupidity, abbots formed an important group in Parliament; and the Benedictines (including the Black monks, the Cis-

tericans, and other groups) had the right of electing the bishops of a number of important sees, including Canterbury, Durham, and Winchester.

In addition to the correction of existing abuses, efforts were made to revive religious life by the formation of several new communities. Among these were: the **Oblates of St. Benedict**, a community of women founded by St. Frances of Rome, who followed the Benedictine rule but took no vows; the **Hermits of St. Francis**, later called **Minims**, founded by St. Francis of Paula, who grew rapidly in Italy, Spain, and Germany; the **Carmelite Sisters**, formed by the amalgamation of several communities of Beguines (1452), who became especially numerous in Spain.

Saints: Among the saints of the fifteenth century we find Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), renowned for his theological writings; two religious founders already mentioned, Frances of Rome (d. 1440) and Francis of Paula (1416-1507); two noted Franciscan missionaries, Bernardine of Siena⁶³ (d. 1444) and John Capistran (d. 1459); two Catherines—Catherine of Bologna (1413-1463), the Poor Clare, and Catherine of Genoa (1447-1510), a widow; and Joan of Arc.

Education: Advance in this field may be crudely measured by the fact that more than thirty universities were founded during the century—ten in Germany, seventeen in the Latin countries, six in the north. New schools were built or old ones improved in almost every German city; the general enthusiasm for study embraced not only the classics, but science, history, and pedagogical methods.⁶⁴ Especially notable was the solicitude for religious training which characterized most of the educational leaders, many of whom occupy an honorable place in history. The Church's encouragement of learning is shown by the records of numerous schools established and conducted under ecclesiastical direction, and by the fact that popes and bishops consistently assisted scholars.

Education was profoundly affected by the "humanistic" movement which emphasized the importance of classical standards in

⁶³ An eloquent and fearless preacher, Bernardine traveled throughout Italy denouncing vice, converting sinners, reconciling enemies; and he is credited with having effected extraordinary improvement—although he encountered much opposition, notably from the Dominican, Manfred of Vercelli. He ranks as the chief missionary of his time and even today he is among the most popular saints of his native country.

⁶⁴ About the year 1500 "Catholic Europe presented the aspect of a vast commonwealth of scholars." Professor Hartfelder, cited by Robert Schwickerath, *Cath. Encyc.*, IV, 109.

letters and art.⁶⁵ Inaugurated in the preceding centuries by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the revival now made rapid progress. Latin classics were collected; precious manuscripts were brought from Greece to Italy; ⁶⁶ experts undertook a critical study of ancient texts with a view to producing authoritative editions. Like the men of letters, the artists too, adjusted themselves to Greco-Roman standards; and, under the inspiration of ancient models, produced buildings, carvings, paintings, which still rank among the greatest of human masterpieces.

The movement brought forward many men of high scholarship and some men possessed of genius; and it also aroused a number of fanatics, who displayed ominous characteristics—extravagantly narrow devotion to classical antiquity, eagerness to repudiate Christian traditions, unrestrained license of thought and speech. Humanists carried on a propaganda of heathen ideals, circulated obscene writings, and organized a group in the Roman Academy which used every available literary weapon—caricature, satire, downright falsehood—to discredit the Christian tradition of self-denial and even the faith itself.⁶⁷ Paul II, in 1468, forbade teachers to make use of classical texts which were morally objectionable and then—finding the prohibition ineffective—arrested the leaders of the Academy. Platina took revenge by describing Paul as an “ignoramus,” and some years later wrote a history of the popes in which he ridiculed and calumniated Paul and other pontiffs.

Meanwhile the schools had become the scene of disputes over

⁶⁵ The name “Humanism,” adopted as a contrast to “Scholasticism,” was reminiscent of Terence’s motto, “Nil humani alienum.” In its exaggerated form it set up classical standards for every department of life. The literary and artistic revival proved to be only the first phase of a larger complex movement which developed into a world-transforming revolution.

⁶⁶ Gibbon and other historians have drawn attention to the fact that the Greek emperors who journeyed to Europe seeking help for Constantinople before its fall, brought in their retinue distinguished scholars who imparted momentum to the classical revival. The systematic cultivation of Greek literature in Italy dates from the arrival there of one such scholar, Manuel Chrysoloras, who also visited England in 1408.

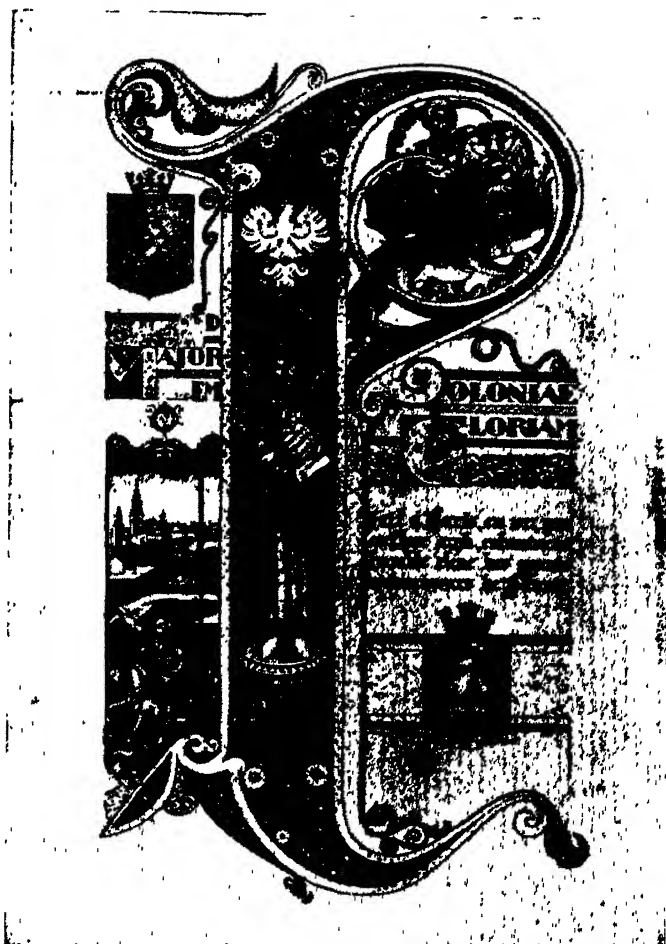
⁶⁷ “The adherents of the false Renaissance, with scarcely an exception, were, during life, indifferent to religion. They looked on their classical studies, their ancient philosophy, and the faith of the Church as two distinct worlds, which had no point of contact. From considerations of worldly prudence or convenience they still professed themselves Catholics, while in their hearts they were more or less alienated from the Church.” Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 28.

the content of the curriculum and over the best method of co-ordinating the physical, mental, and religious elements of training—with a profound antagonism dividing conservatives, who insisted on keeping old methods unchanged, from innovators who wished to enrich and vivify them. At first nothing more than a difference between two points of view, the quarrel became more serious when some teachers—under the influence of Occam's principles—assumed an attitude of habitual resistance to authority and tradition, whereas their opponents, in the name of orthodoxy voiced a general denunciation of new ideas and methods. Scholars began to be classified according to their divergent views of ecclesiastical authority.

The record of this confusion has led some to the inference that the Renaissance encountered ecclesiastical disapproval.⁶⁸ On the contrary, several popes and cardinals took an active part in the movement to revive—or more accurately, to place stronger emphasis upon—the study of the classics and to restore ancient standards in art and letters. In the Roman University (established by Boniface VIII, then closed, then reopened), Innocent VII introduced a Greek teacher of literature in 1406. Eugene IV and Nicholas V befriended professors and students generously. A complete list of Catholic humanists would include the chief educators of Italy, Germany, and France and nearly all the noted writers of the day. Of the English scholars who gathered around Greek masters, the best known is Linacre.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ In the following (16th) century the term "the new learning" came to be applied to Protestant doctrinal innovations, to which, of course, the Church was opposed. This occasioned a mistaken notion that the ecclesiastical authorities were hostile to the classical revival.

⁶⁹ "Grocyn and Linacre are usually regarded as the pioneers of the revival of letters. But, as already pointed out, the first to cross the Alps from England in search for the new light, to convey it back to England, and to hand it on to Grocyn and Linacre, were William Selling, and his companion, William Hadley. Thus, the real pioneers in the English renaissance were the two monks of Christchurch, and, some years after, the two ecclesiastics, Grocyn and Linacre. . . . Beginning with Selling, the movement continued to progress down to the very eve of the religious disputes. . . . The main fact, moreover, cannot be gainsaid, namely, that the chief ecclesiastics of the day, Wolsey, Warham, Fisher, Tunstall, Langton, Stokesley, Fox, Selling, Grocyn, Whitford, Linacre, Colet, Pace, William Latimer, and Thomas Lupset, to name only the most distinguished, were not only ardent humanists, but thorough and practical churchmen. Of the laymen, whether foreigners or Englishmen, whose names are associated with the renaissance of letters in this country, such as, for example, the distinguished scholar Ludovico Vives, the Lillys, Sir Thomas More, John Clement, and other members of More's family, there can be no



Courtesy of the Polish Review

TITLE PAGE OF STATUTE OF KALISZ

Poland's Jewish Bill of Rights; issued by Boleslaus I, 1264; confirmed by Casimir III, 1334, and by Casimir IV, 1447 and 1467

¶ Die bebt sich an. Genesis Das erst buch der
fünff bucher moysi. ¶ Was erst Capitel ist vō
der schöpffung der werlt vnd aller creaturen.
vnd von den wercken der sechs tag.

¶ In dem anfang
hat got beschaf
fen hymel vnd
erden. aber dyē erde was
eytel vnd lere. vnd die vinf
sternus warn auff dē ant
fitz des abgrundes. vnd der
geist gots wehet oder ward getragen auff dē
wasser. ¶ In got der sprach. Es werde dā liecht.
¶ In das liecht ist worden. ¶ In got sahe dā liecht.
¶ Das es gutt was. vnd er teylet das liecht vō der
vinsternus. vnd das liecht hieß er den tag. vnd
die vinsternus die nacht. ¶ In es ward abent vñ

morgen eyn tag. ¶ Und got der sprach. Es wer
de das firmament in dem mittel der wasser. ¶ In
taghe die wasser vō dē wassern. ¶ In got machet
das firmament. vnd teylet die wasser. ¶ In so wa
ren vnder dem firmament. von dē dy so waren
ob dem firmament. vnd es ist also geseheßen
vnd got hieß das firmament den hymel vnd es
ist dar abent vñ der morgē der ander tag worde
vñ got sprach aber. Es fülle gesamelt werde dy
wasser. die vnder dem hymel seynd. an eyn statt.
¶ In erschein die durze. vnd es ist also gesehe
¶ In got hieß die Sūre dā ertreich. ¶ In dy sam
nungen der wasser. hieß er die mere. vnd got sa
he das es was gut. vnd sprach. Die erde gepere
grunendt fravt. das so bringe den samen. vnd
dy öpfelbaum. dā holtz. dā so bringe dy frucht
nach seyn geselecht. ¶ Des same sey in ym selbs
auff der erde. vnd es ist also geseheßen. vnd die
erd bracht grunendt fravt. vnd bringenden sa

Writers: The invention of movable type, which occurred about 1450, led to the production, first of scattered documents, a little later of a Latin grammar, and in 1456 of an edition of the Latin Vulgate.⁷⁰ In 1466 the first printing-press in Italy was in use at Subiaco near Rome; by the end of the century numerous presses were operating in Germany, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. William Caxton published the first book printed in English in 1474 and set up a press close to Westminster Abbey a few years later. The rapid multiplication of books occasioned more vigilant censorship on the part of the authorities; Pope Sixtus IV, in a message to the University of Cologne, and Innocent VIII, in an instruction to all bishops, urged watchfulness to prevent the printing and selling of undesirable books.

The following pages describe scholars who were conspicuous in the humanist movement, and also patrons who encouraged them.

Churchmen: Humanism owed much to its patrons in the College of Cardinals among whom were: **Giuliano Cesarini**, virtuous priest, talented diplomat, well versed in pagan and Christian classics, who was killed in the battle of Varna in 1444; his pupil, **Nicholas of Cusa** ⁷¹ (d. 1464), educated at Heidelberg, Padua, and Cologne, expert in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, discoverer of ancient manuscripts, enthusiastic patron of scholars; **Blessed Giovanni Dominici**, Dominican Archbishop of Ragusa, friend of Gregory XII, ambassador to Hungary in 1408, author of a valuable book

shadow of doubt about their dispositions towards the ancient ecclesiastical regime." Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 30, 35 ff.

⁷⁰ Printed at Mainz by Gutenberg and Fust, it is sometimes known as the Mazarin Bible, because the first copy to attract attention in modern times belonged to the library of Cardinal Mazarin. At least forty copies of this Bible are extant, all of them in public libraries, including one purchased for the Library of Congress at Washington a few years ago for the sum of \$300,000. The Gutenberg Bible is also known as the 42-line Bible. In addition to the Vulgate, vernacular translations of the Bible were printed in Germany and France—at least twenty editions before the date of Luther's so-called "discovery." In 1470 there appeared at Strassburg the first printed scriptural concordance, the work of Rabbi Nathan.

⁷¹ Nicholas, who represented the Germans at the Council of Basle and persuaded the Greeks to attend the Council of Florence, labored loyally in the service of Eugene IV and Nicholas V to reform conditions in different regions. His attempt to enforce discipline in the monasteries of the Poor Clares and the Benedictine nuns caused him to be imprisoned by Sigismund, Duke of Tirol, in 1460. Nicholas discovered manuscripts of St. Basil and of St. John Damascene in Constantinople. He wrote on astronomy and mathematics as well as on theology, philosophy, and law, and put forward a theory of relative motion to explain the difference between the nature of the celestial bodies and their appearance.

on education; **Blessed Niccolo Albergati** (d. 1443), Carthusian prior, vigorous reformer, theological author, commonly regarded as a saint, who reluctantly accepted the bishopric of Bologna and promoted humanistic studies; **Johannes Bessarion** (d. 1472), Archbishop of Nicaea, who came with the Greek emperor to Florence to urge reunion, solid and well balanced leader of philosophical thought and owner of a noted collection of Greek manuscripts, familiar with the teachings of Aristotle and Plato, who was admitted to the Latin rite, named cardinal, and almost elected pope, and as papal governor of Bologna, restored the university there; **Domenico Capranica** (d. 1458), high-minded prelate, who founded Rome's first college for needy scholars, the institution that still bears his name; **Francisco Ximenes**, Archbishop of Toledo, reformer of Spain's worst abuses, who encouraged learning and developed the University of Alcalá in 1499; **John Fisher** (d. 1535), Bishop of Rochester, friend of Erasmus, who was responsible for the study of Greek at Cambridge.

Greek Exiles: Of the Greeks distinguished for their scholarship and for their success in the discovery of ancient manuscripts, the most noted (after Bessarion) were: **George of Trebizond**⁷² a visitor to Italy in 1440, lecturer at Paris, Venice, and Vicenza, apostolic secretary and professor at the Roman University under Eugene IV, employed by Nicholas V on the translation of important works, who quarreled with several of his fellow humanists and made his home for a while at the court of Sultan Mohammed II; **Constantine Lascaris**, who brought valuable manuscripts to Italy and published a Grammar which was the first book printed in Greek (1476); **John Lascaris**, from Asia Minor, who was helped by Bessarion and Lorenzo de' Medici, discovered valuable manuscripts, acted as French ambassador at Venice, and published several books in the last decade of the century; **George Plethon** (d. 1450), native of Constantinople, who abandoned Christianity for a combination of neo-Platonism and Persian mysticism, acted as a representative of the Greek church at the Council of Florence in 1438, persuaded Cosimo de' Medici to establish a Platonic academy, and wrote commentaries on Aristotle, a treatise on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, a eulogy of Platonism as contrasted with Aristotelianism, and a work named *Laws* (after Plato's *Laws*) which was censured by Gennadios, Patriarch of Constantinople; **Gregory Tiferno**, who was at Paris in 1456 and later taught grammar at Mantua; **Hieronymus of Sparta**, who arrived at Paris in 1476 and during thirty years taught a number of distinguished pupils, including John Reuchlin and William Budé, founder of the College of France.

Italians: Humanists stood high in favor at the courts of Milan, Venice,

⁷² He was an arrogant and quarrelsome person and generally disliked; his attack on Plato drew a reply from Bessarion, who pointed out more than two hundred fifty mistakes in George's translation of Plato's *Laws*.

Naples, and above all, at Florence, under Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici. The humanists at the Vatican lost their standing because of the Porcaro conspiracy; but most of them regained it. Devotion to classical studies was shared by prelates, by devout laymen, by men of questionable morals and little or no faith. In all these groups, sparks of genius flashed from time to time.

Among the most objectionable humanists were: **Poggio Bracciolini** (1380-1459), profligate author of an obscene joke-book, who served as apostolic secretary under several popes, and unearthed literary treasures from the libraries of France and Germany; **Antonio Beccadelli**, the Panormite⁷³ (1394-1471), teacher at Pavia, who wrote filthy poems and flattered the king of Naples; **Lorenzo Valla**, teacher at Pavia, Milan, Naples, Rome, apostolic secretary in 1448, who showed his critical ability by correcting the defective text of the Vulgate and proving the mythical character of the Donation of Constantine,⁷⁴ ridiculed scholastic philosophy and the religious life, argued against the temporal power of the pope, attacked Christian faith, advocated in his book, *On Pleasure*, the indulgence of every human appetite, and lived up to his own vicious theory.

Hardly less incongruous as members of the Vatican staff were: **Stefano Porcaro**, favored by Martin V and Eugene IV, but a persistent conspirator against the papacy, who was hanged in 1453, after he had nearly brought about the pope's death; **Bartolomeo Platina**, first a member of the College of Abbreviators and then Librarian of the Vatican, imprisoned by Paul II once for insolence, and again for conspiracy and heresy, who took his revenge in 1469 by assailing Paul and other pontiffs in the earliest manual of papal history (written at the suggestion of Sixtus IV); **Francesco Filelfo** (1398-1481), punished for immorality at the age of eighteen, teacher of Greek at Bologna in 1428, lecturer at Milan, court poet at Naples, apostolic secretary (under Nicholas V), who brought precious manuscripts from Greece, and wrote Latin and Greek with equal ease; **Stefano Infessura** (1435-1500), professor of Law at the Roman University, who plotted with Porcaro and wrote a gossipy Diary of the City of Rome, source book of scandalous, unprovable charges against Sixtus.

Contrasting in some respects, with the humanists just named were: **Pomponio Leto**, pupil of Valla, a gifted Latinist, who refused to study Greek, published critical editions of Virgil and Pliny, and having been expelled with Platina from the Roman Academy in 1468, was admitted again when Sixtus IV reopened it; **Marsilio Ficino**, who, opposing his master, Plethon, undertook to harmonize Platonism and Christianity and was ordained priest in 1475 at the age of forty-two; **Pico della Mirandola**, master of Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, an erratic scholar, who in 1486 out-

⁷³ So called from Palermo, his birthplace.

⁷⁴ Nicholas of Cusa had anticipated him in drawing this conclusion.

lined a reconciliation of humanism and Christian teaching in nine hundred theses which Innocent VIII suppressed.⁷⁵

Strongly Christian in spirit were: **Guarino da Verona** (1370-1460), reputed to be the best Greek scholar of Italy, who brought back fifty manuscripts from Constantinople to Venice, became professor of rhetoric at Ferrara, instructed his pupils both in the new learning and in Catholic faith, and drew students from all over Europe; **Vittorino da Feltre** (1379-1446), pupil of da Verona and graduate of Padua, "the first modern school master," who introduced a combination of humanistic and Christian instruction in his schools at Padua, Venice, and Mantua, and developed an educational system which gave proper attention to physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs; ⁷⁶ **Maffeo Vegio** (1406-1458), Augustinian monk, enthusiastic humanist, teacher of poetry at Padua, secretary of papal briefs under Eugene IV, who wrote several works in prose and poetry, including an essay on the training of children which treats particularly of the education of girls; ⁷⁷ **Leon Battista Alberti** (1404-1472), canon of Florence, and abbot of a monastery in Pisa, who wrote on architecture and constructed a number of notable buildings in Florence.

Germans: Cologne was already known as "the German Rome"; Heidelberg, Vienna, Erfurt, and Leipzig had long since been highly rated; and the universities of Basle and Freiburg (1460), of Ingolstadt (1472), Tübingen and Mainz (1477) soon gained a reputation for fine scholarship; Gerard Groote's community of teachers, the Brothers of the Common Life, spread from the Netherlands along the Rhine to Suabia and as far east as the Vistula.

The pioneer of German humanism was **Rudolf Agricola** (1442-1485), a native of Holland who studied at the young University of Louvain, made the acquaintance of the Italian humanists, lectured at Heidelberg. About 1482 he began to translate the Psalms from the Hebrew.

Alexander Hegius (1433-1498), a pupil of Agricola, ordained comparatively late in life, became director of the Deventer School in 1474. A noted Greek and Latin scholar, he acquired further fame by eliminating out-moded textbooks and introducing a simplified method of teaching.

Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528), educated at Freiburg, Erfurt and Heidelberg, Cathedral preacher at Speyer and later professor at Heidelberg, led an educational reform, broadening the curriculum, insisting upon the

⁷⁵ Alexander VI acquitted Pico of blame a few years later.

⁷⁶ The schools of da Verona and da Feltre were used as models in several countries. Among da Feltre's distinguished pupils was Cecilia Gonzaga, one of the most highly cultured women of her age. ". . . the attainment of distinction in scientific pursuits by such women as Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Cecilia Gonzaga, Cassandra Fedele, may be claimed for this period as something hitherto unknown and entirely new." Pastor, *op. cit.*, V, 38.

⁷⁷ It was republished several times in the 19th century.

high value of the practical sciences. A friend of Luther's at first, later he submitted to the ecclesiastical authorities. **Johann Wild** (1495-1554), a Suabian Franciscan, wrote many works on Scripture for the purpose of refuting the Lutherans; but most of his writings were placed on the Index

John Reuchlin (1455-1522) of Baden, well trained in philology at Freiburg, Paris, Basle, introduced the study of Hebrew into Germany. A friend of the Jewish scholars of Rome, he clashed with the Dominicans at Cologne over the destruction of the Talmudic books by the Inquisitors. He remained a faithful Catholic until the end of his life.

Other scholars of note were **Geiler von Kaiserberg**, who with Wimpfeling as collaborator, edited the works of John Gerson and gave an impulse to the writing of the first general German history; **John Eck**, at once conservative and progressive, who became rector of Ingolstadt at the age of twenty-four, and published a valuable work in two volumes on Aristotle; **Johann Müller**—favored by Bessarion and by Pope Sixtus IV—who built the earliest complete observatory in Europe, calculated the size, distance, and orbits of the comets for the first time in the Western world, perfected the Astrolabe, which did such good service on the voyages of Columbus and other explorers, and established a factory at Nuremberg for the manufacture of sea-compasses and other nautical and astronomical instruments; **Peuerbach** who collaborated with Müller in the writing of astronomical treatises and in the founding of modern mathematical geography, published a book which remained an authoritative work for almost a century and influenced Copernicus; **Heynlin** of Basle, a profound scholar, rector of the University of Paris, who gave up his post in 1487 and passed the remaining years of his life at a Carthusian monastery, praying, editing the works of Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome, commenting upon Cicero and Aristotle, and writing a book on the Mass which went through twenty editions within twelve years.

Still other distinguished teachers were: **Rudolf von Langen**, who organized the school system of Westphalia and gave it the leading place in Germany; **Johann Potken**, who wrote the first book printed in Europe in Ethiopian characters; **Dalberg**, curator of Heidelberg and bishop of Worms, who helped establish the earliest professorship of Greek in his university and collected a fine library of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew volumes; **Trithemius**, the encyclopedic Benedictine abbot, who drew scholars from all over Europe to consult his rare collection of books in twelve languages at Sponheim; **Zasius** of Freiburg, who according to Erasmus, deserved "immortality" as a jurist; **Sebastian Brant**, professor of law at Basle, who labored on a Biblical Concordance, and a six-volume Bible, and wrote a celebrated poem, *The Ship of Fools*; **Rolewink** and **Reisch**—both Carthusian friars, and both noted for their learning.

*French:*⁷⁸ In addition to John Gerson, the leading scholars were: **William Fichet**, rector of the University of Paris in 1467; **Robert Gaguin**, dean of the faculty of Law, who became general of the Trinitarians in 1473; **Jacques Lefèvre**, a native of Picardy, who caused a great stir by questioning the traditional voyage of Mary Magdalene to France. Some of Lefèvre's biblical writings were condemned by the Sorbonne.⁷⁹

English: Progress was slower in England than in France, but two laymen and three clerics won honorable rank in the history of education. **Thomas Linacre** (1460-1524), educated at the monastery school of Christ Church, Canterbury, and then at Oxford, studied at Florence (where he met the future pope, Leo X) and acquired a knowledge of Latin and Greek which made him one of the best classical scholars in England. After his return to England Linacre developed an intimate friendship with Thomas More, Erasmus, and Dean Colet. At the age of sixty he resigned his post as physician to the king, became a priest, and gave his fortune to establish the Royal College of Physicians, the oldest of its kind in the world. Its constitution, written by Linacre, is still in force. **Thomas More** (c. 1477-1535), educated at St. Anthony's School, London, and at Oxford (where he mastered Latin and Greek), became a student of law and then a lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. **John Fisher** (1459-1535), Bishop of Rochester, named above, was, like More, a scholar and martyr.⁸⁰ **John Colet** (1467-1519), founder of St. Paul's School, London, studied first at London and then at Oxford, was ordained priest in 1497 and later was made Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. One of the best scholars of the day, he introduced Greek into Oxford and established a new and more critical method of teaching Scripture. In 1498 he formed a friendship with Erasmus over whom he exercised a great influence.

John Capgrave (1393-1464), an Augustinian, who was considered the most learned Englishman of his day, wrote a *Chronicle of England* and a number of other works, including a revision of the first considerable collection of Lives of the English Saints originally compiled by a Benedictine monk of Tynemouth—*Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

Theological and Ascetical Writers: **Thomas à Kempis** (1380-1471), a pupil in the school of the Brothers of the Common Life at Deventer, influenced by the religious revival which centered around the "Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life," entered a community of Canons Regular of Windesheim, near Zwolle, and wrote several spiritual treatises, including part of the *Imitation of Christ*, issued anonymously in 1418. A manuscript

⁷⁸ France had ten times as many printing plants as England in the year 1500. See Jean Guiraud in Eyre, *op. cit.*, III, 662.

⁷⁹ A strong advocate of ecclesiastical reform, he included Calvin's associate, Farel, among his pupils and Marguerite of Navarre among his friends; but he did not separate from the Church.

⁸⁰ More and Fisher are described in chap. XVI.

dated in the year 1441, signed by Thomas, exists in the Royal Library of Brussels and contains four books of the *Imitation* and nine other treatises. Disputes still occur as to the respective shares of Thomas and Groote in the writing of this book, best known of all except the Bible.

Denis the Carthusian (1402-1471), sometimes called the last of the schoolmen, was born near Saint-Trond in Belgium and was trained at the school of Zwolle and at the University of Cologne. He was a tireless student of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, and so prolific a writer that his works fill twenty-five folio volumes. More a compiler than an original writer, he leans towards the Christian Platonism of St. Augustine and the Franciscans rather than the Aristotelianism of the Thomists. Some of his writings on reform throw light on the abuses of contemporary ecclesiastical life.

St. Catherine of Bologna (1413-1463), educated at the court of the Marquis of Ferrara in company with Princess Margarita, became a member of the third order of St. Augustine at Ferrara, which at her suggestion adopted the rule of St. Clare, and was affiliated with the second order of St. Francis in 1432. She wrote *The Seven Spiritual Weapons*, a treatise on the religious life.

St. Catherine of Genoa (1447-1510), married at sixteen to a man of weak character, after ten years of unhappiness was led by a series of extraordinary spiritual experiences to devote herself to the care of the sick in a Genoese hospital. She later accomplished the conversion of her husband and after his death continued with two friends her life of hospital service. Catherine, never a religious or even a tertiary, had unusual mystical gifts, as revealed by her *Treatise on Purgatory* and a *Dialogue of the Soul and the Body* which established her reputation as a spiritual writer.

John Gerson (1363-1429), a pupil of Peter d'Ailly, succeeded his teacher as Chancellor of Paris a few years before the beginning of the century. Both men opposed the violent policy of the members of the university and labored until the close of the schism in the interests of peace and union, maintaining a respectful attitude towards the pope of Rome and the pope of Avignon.

In discussing the relation between the pope and the council at Constance, Gerson put forward erroneous theories, unduly limiting the jurisdiction of the pope, which were later condemned. Re-echoing the views of William of Occam, whose works he had studied carefully, he maintained that pastors should have a vote in the election of the pope, that the laity should be admitted to general councils, and that doctors of canon law should have a voice in conciliar deliberations. He was an enemy of Pope John XXIII, and he favored the four decrees of Constance which contained the fundamental principles of Gallicanism.

Gerson, one of the most distinguished orators of his time and a master of

mystical theology, promoted devotion to the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph, and he affirmed the supernatural vocation of Joan of Arc. He has sometimes been erroneously described as the author of the *Imitation of Christ*.

St. Antoninus (1389-1459), Dominican Archbishop of Florence, like his brother Dominicans, supported Gregory XII, took part in the great reform movement of Blessed Giovanni Dominici, and attended the Council of Florence in 1438. He wrote a *Rule of Christian Life* and (probably) an instruction on the Christian family (for women of the de' Medici house) entitled *Opera a Ben Vivere*. His principal work, a Moral Theology in four volumes, went through fifteen editions in a half century. His history of the world, although not critical, is useful for its discussion of contemporary events.⁸¹

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: Out of the general tumult there now emerged a group of sovereign states presenting an unmistakable contrast to the Europe of medieval times; no longer could ecclesiastical and civil government be regarded as two activities of a single whole. In these circumstances the papacy attempted to stabilize its relationship with the individual states in the family of nations by a system of concordats. As a rule the concordats limited the right of papal intervention within the state, and also restricted the right of appeal to Rome; they further fixed the pope's share in nomination to benefices. Generally speaking, the results were unsatisfactory. Disputes continued. More and more the territorial sovereign strove to be within his own dominions what the pope had been in medieval times, "a permanent and seldom sleeping partner in every act or thought, public or private, temporal or spiritual."⁸²

⁸¹ The attempt to trace the origin of the anti-witch outbreak of the late fifteenth century to his writings was conclusively refuted in 1903.

⁸² The concordats negotiated by Martin V coincided with a critical phase in the relationship between Church and State. Earlier "concordats"—those of the twelfth century, for example—had been agreements about the details of an existing feudal relationship. These new contracts were negotiated by two independent sovereign powers, civil and ecclesiastical. They constituted a breach with the past and a recognition of new conditions. "The relations of Church and State which in high medieval theory had been inextricably interwoven were now confined to certain points, and could be defined by special legislation. The instruments of this special legislation were found in concordats. . . . Canon law now ceased to be general and universal, which it most distinctly had been, and became through concordats the conceded machinery for regulating the religious life of particular States." John Armstrong, in *Church and State*, pp. 96 and 98.

Heresies: *The Hussites*. The Hussites were known also as Utraquists,⁸⁸ because they held that Holy Communion should be given both under the form of wine and under the form of bread. A more radical wing—named Taborites from their headquarters at Tabor—adopted the doctrines of Wyclif and denied the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. A third group, in 1457, organized the Church of the Brotherhood (later called the United Brethren, or the Moravian Church) which is identified as the earliest independent Protestant body; and the leader of this group, Stephen, received episcopal consecration from an Oriental bishop. Reconciliation with the Church was made more difficult by the fact that one group of Hussites would repudiate the conditions accepted by another.

The Waldenses: This sect, introduced into southern France from Lombardy, spread gradually as far west as the Atlantic. Missionary efforts of St. Vincent Ferrer to convert them were no more successful than the repressive steps taken by the Inquisition and by the civil power. Tolerated in France as orthodox, in virtue of a decree of Louis XI in 1478, they grew bold enough to carry on their propaganda under threat of death. Then in 1487 Innocent VIII coöperated with the king of France in a "crusade" which almost eliminated them from southeastern France. In later times most of the Waldenses amalgamated with the Hussites or with the new sects organized by the Protestant reformers.

About the beginning of the century occurred a widespread agitation against witchcraft—often called *Vauderie*, because of its association with the Waldenses (*Vaudois*). Many "witches" were prosecuted in the civil courts of Berne, Switzerland; the civil authorities in the canton of Valais killed some two hundred about 1430; a little later one hundred fifty were executed at Briançon; others suffered death at Heidelberg and in Savoy. These facts exculpate Innocent VIII from the charge that his bull in 1484 caused the witchcraft epidemic of the fifteenth century. But the bull—which ratified the appointment of two in-

⁸⁸ From *uterque*, "both."

quisitors to deal with all forms of crime, including heresy and witchcraft—drew attention to the particular practices attributed to witches, and it did help to spread belief in the alleged phenomena. Two years later, *Malleus Maleficarum*, a book published in 1486 by the two inquisitors, Henry Insistoris and James Sprenger, which claimed the endorsement of the University of Cologne, carried hatred of witches far and wide.

The Lollards: Employing Wyclif's method of interpreting Scripture privately, the Lollards showed their antagonism to Church authority more openly; and in 1410 a group of Oxford censors took notice of the origin of current disturbances by condemning 267 propositions extracted from Wyclif's writings. In 1414 Lollards rose in revolt under Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), who was executed three years later. For a little while the heresy seemed to be gaining ground; but, after 1430, it found almost no support among the clergy and by mid-century it had diminished greatly among the laity. England had introduced the continental practice of burning heretics; and at least eleven persons suffered death at the stake before 1485. Lollardry seems to have disappeared by the end of the century; but it had helped to keep many of Wyclif's ideas in circulation for some fifty years at least.

Meanwhile Thomas Netter (Walden) (c. 1375–1430) a learned Carmelite of Oxford, confessor of Henry V and tutor of Henry VI, played a leading part in prosecuting the Lollards; and he passed the last years of his life refuting them in a huge treatise, *Doctrinale Antiquitatum* (summarized by Gairdner), which shows how rife in England at this time was the spirit of resistance to authority. Reginald Pecock (c. 1395–c. 1460), Bishop of Chichester, also published a refutation of Lollardry, commonly called *The Repressor* (c. 1455); but his rash criticism of bishops and friars, and his readiness to exalt reason above Scripture and authority exposed him to attack. He was forced to abjure and to resign his see.

The Inquisition: At the request of Ferdinand and Isabella, Pope Sixtus IV in 1476 authorized the establishment of the In-

quisition to deal with special conditions then existing in Spain.⁸⁴ Introduced first at Seville, it was soon extended to Córdoba and other cities; and a number of *Maranos* were tried, convicted, and turned over to the secular power to be burned at the stake. Complaint was made to Rome that the inquisitors were guilty of cruel and illegal practices, and in 1482 the pope issued a brief threatening severe penalties for violation of canonical procedure. The following year he appointed the Dominican prior, Torquemada, Grand Inquisitor, and a few years later (1486-1487) Innocent VIII gave Torquemada jurisdiction over Castile, Leon, Aragon, and other places. Finding that the Inquisition, despite its unjustifiable cruelty, had been practically ineffective, Torquemada set about its reorganization. As it had no jurisdiction over those who openly professed Judaism, Torquemada demanded the enactment of the law of 1492, giving them the choice of becoming Christians or of leaving Spain.⁸⁵

Estimates of the number of Jews exiled from Spain vary from one-quarter to three-quarters of a million. The exiles, who were forbidden to take any money with them, suffered great hardships. Many took refuge in the new Turkish empire; others sought shelter in Africa, still others in Rome where they were welcomed by Alexander VI; some died on their travels; some returned to Spain to receive baptism.

The number of *Maranos* in Spain was increased by some fifty thousand newly baptized at the time of the expulsion. They re-established contact with relatives in other lands; and later many of them emigrated to the Spanish possessions in the East and West Indies. Thus there was formed a sort of alliance which embraced the Jews of Spain, Italy, Holland, England, America, and the Far East. Jewish authorities affirm that this alliance was

⁸⁴ The precise nature of the Spanish Inquisition is still a matter of controversy among scholars. Some writers view it as a purely state institution. Pastor regards it "as a mixed, but primarily ecclesiastical institution," and quotes Hefele to show that the Jews were devoting their wealth to the gradual subjugation of the Spaniards and the undermining of their faith. Secret Jews had insinuated themselves into ecclesiastical positions and some had become bishops; "The very existence of Christian Spain was at stake" and the Inquisition was created as a remedy. The council of the Inquisition instituted by Torquemada derived civil jurisdiction from the king and ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the papal delegate. See Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 398 ff.

⁸⁵ A tradition states that Ferdinand was offered a bribe of 30,000 ducats by rich Jews and that he was about to refuse his signature to the edict of expulsion when Torquemada visited him, and placing a Crucifix on the table, said, "Judas Iscariot sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver; and your Majesty is about to sell Him for 30,000 ducats. Here He is; take Him and sell Him."

utilized to the detriment of Spain's commerce in time of peace, and to her disadvantage in time of war.⁸⁶

The Inquisition continued its attempt to ferret out the crypto-Jews. By the end of the century tribunals had been set up in a dozen different cities; about two thousand persons had been burned alive; many others had been imprisoned. In Catalonia, where the Inquisition had been introduced despite popular opposition and riots, the number of victims was small; in Castile it was large.⁸⁷

Some writers have charged Torquemada with needless and savage cruelty; others have called him the savior of Christian Spain. To arrive at a fair estimate of the man and his methods one must keep in mind the criminal procedure and penal code commonly accepted in his day.

Other Disputes: *The Conciliar Movement.* The movement to subordinate the pope to a general council had attained considerable importance in the previous century, chiefly because of the Great Schism and two resounding quarrels (one between King Philip and Pope Boniface, and the other between Lewis of Bavaria and Pope John XXII). A majority of the ten thousand replies to a questionnaire on the best method of restoring unity, circulated by the University of Paris in 1404, favored the convoking of a general council to settle the dispute among the three claimants to the papacy. This idea, which quickly attained popularity, led to the assembling of a council at Pisa without authorization either of pope or emperor. Then the Council of Constance—with the help of Peter d'Ailly and John Gerson of the University of Paris—formulated its five celebrated Articles.⁸⁸ The disorder of the subsequent years, and particularly the confusion created by the Council of Basle, alienated support from the theory put forth at Constance; and, as men more clearly perceived the danger to religious unity in the method of governing by means of frequent general councils, the conciliar movement lost influence and eventually disappeared.

⁸⁶ S.v. "Spain," *Jewish Encyc.*, XI, 501.

⁸⁷ The number of the victims has been grossly exaggerated, especially by Llorente, whose *History of the Inquisition* has been discredited in this respect by several scholars.

⁸⁸ The first two of these affirm (1) That the Council is a General Council possessing its authority immediately from God and that every Christian, even the Pope, is bound to obey it in all that pertains to faith, the extirpation of the Schism, and the reform of the Church. (2) That all, even the Pope, who refuse to obey this Council or any legitimate General Council are subject to ecclesiastical and civil penalties.

Tyrannicide: Another controversy concerned the morality of tyrannicide. In 1408 the Franciscan, Jean Petit, undertook to defend the duke of Burgundy who had assumed responsibility for the assassination of the duke of Orleans. Gerson, after having had the University of Paris condemn several propositions of Jean Petit as erroneous and scandalous, repeatedly denounced these same propositions to the Council of Constance; and he finally persuaded the Fathers to condemn tyrannicide in general terms. Gerson tried to have the council also condemn the duke of Burgundy; and in consequence of this he narrowly escaped assassination.

A little later, during the struggle of Prussia and the Teutonic Knights against Poland and Lithuania, the Dominican theologian, John Falkenberg, a native of Pomerania, proclaimed that it would be lawful to kill the king of Poland and his allies; and he wrote in defense of Petit against the arguments brought forward by Gerson and the Sorbonne. But he was taken into custody by the archbishop of Gnesen; his book was burned; and the Dominican chapter of 1417 sentenced him to imprisonment for life. The Poles attempted to secure his condemnation by Martin V; but the pope refused, took Falkenberg to Rome, and kept him in protective custody there for several years—possibly until his death.

The Immaculate Conception: A controversy with regard to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was carried on during the century—the Franciscans favoring the dogmatic definition of the doctrine, and a number of Dominicans, including St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (d. 1459), opposing it. In 1439 the University of Paris requested the Council of Basle to define it as a dogma of the Catholic Church. But the council merely declared it to be a pious belief in accord with Catholic faith, Catholic worship, right reason, and Holy Scripture, and forbade anyone to preach or teach the contrary. Opposition to the doctrine gradually vanished. In 1476 Sixtus IV established the Feast of the Immaculate Conception on the eighth of December for the entire Latin Church; and a few years later he forbade both its supporters and its opponents to

call each other heretics.⁸⁹ In 1497 the University of Paris imposed defense of the doctrine on all members of the university, and other universities followed the same policy.

Savonarola: An extraordinary agitation was stirred up towards the end of the century by the preaching of Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican monk of Florence. A man of unquestionable personal virtue and strict orthodoxy, he successfully undertook the moral improvement of his own city, and for a while ruled as a religious dictator, denouncing with great vehemence the wickedness of the time and especially the corrupt court of Lorenzo de' Medici, "condemning the whole established system and all who took part in it, high and low, prince or prelate, ecclesiastic or layman, with a pitiless rigor."⁹⁰ In August 1490 he began a course of sermons which he claimed were based upon his visions.

Having censured Alexander VI, and allied himself with the French king, Charles VIII, Savonarola was excommunicated in 1497; but he disregarded the excommunication, claiming it had been obtained by fraud, and appealed from the authority of Alexander to a future general council. Abandoned by most of his followers and imprisoned, he was, through terrible tortures, forced to repudiate his claim to be a messenger of God. In 1498, with two of his brethren, he was hanged and burned in the great piazza of Florence.

The Moslems: After their defeat by Tamerlane the Mongol, at Angora in 1402, the Ottoman Turks might well have been crushed, had Europe taken advantage of this opportunity. But Christendom was divided and the Turks were allowed to grow strong again. In 1421 they invaded Hungary and, at the battle of Varna in 1444, routed a Christian army, killing its leader, the king of Hungary and Poland, and 10,000 men. The pope could obtain no further support for a campaign against the Turks, and within a decade Constantinople fell. Santa Sophia was

⁸⁹ "Since no decision had been given by the Roman Church and the Apostolic See." From the Constitution *Grave nimis*, 4th September 1483.

⁹⁰ Newman, *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, p. 211. Among those who revered him as a martyr have been popes and saints—including St. Philip Neri, who was born in Florence a few years after Savonarola's death.

converted into a Mohammedan mosque; and the sultan, proclaiming himself the protector of the Greek Church, appointed a subservient anti-Latin to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Athens was taken in 1456; the Parthenon became a mosque. Turkish armies overran Serbia, Wallachia, and Bosnia, landed in Italy, seized Otranto; and they were menacing Rome when Mohammed died in 1481. Under his less vigorous successors, the Turkish power waned.

In Egypt the Mameluke rulers defended themselves successfully against the Ottoman Turks; but the country was devastated by a fearful plague, and in Cairo twelve thousand persons died in a single day (1492).

Meanwhile in India, during the continued struggle between Hindus and Mohammedans, Islam advanced steadily and, except in a region along the southern border, largely displaced Hinduism.

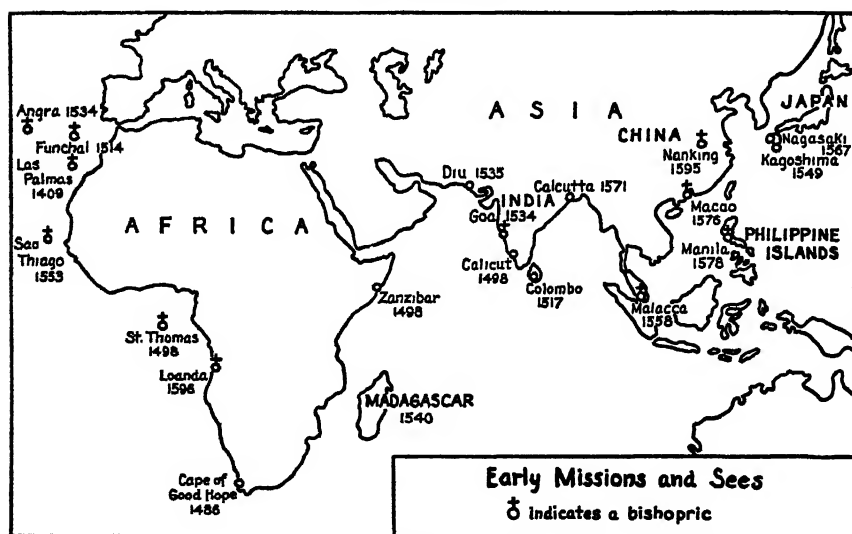
The Jews: About the beginning of the century a vigorous and widespread attempt was made to win the Jews to Christianity by means of sermons and religious debates. As the relative failure of this attempt occasioned outbreaks of mob violence, many Jews eventually made external profession of Christianity while still practicing Judaism in secret. On numerous occasions persons suspected of secret Judaism suffered from popular attacks or official injustice; and several popes came to their defense—notably Martin V (1417–1431) and Eugene IV (1431–1447). Complaints then were made that, thriving under papal protection, the Jews had become arrogant and offensive; and later pronouncements of the Holy See (by Eugene IV in 1442 and by Nicholas V in 1451) were less sympathetic.

The few Jews who dwelt in France were obliged to obtain a license, renewable every two months. In the German states, where the old "Blood Accusation" was revived, they suffered frightfully. All the Jews of Salzburg were burned in 1404; a few years later the Rhine provinces and other sections of Germany banished Jews entirely; and the emperor, Frederick III, allowed them to be brutally mishandled during his long reign. On the whole they were treated best in Italy, where they were highly esteemed for their commercial abilities and for their skill in diplomacy.

In Spain—where the lot of the Jews became lighter about the middle of

the century—a number obtained exalted positions at the courts of Castile and of Aragon. Prosperous Jewish communities existed in many cities of both kingdoms, and the Spanish Jews came to differ but little from their Christian neighbors in social customs. During the reign of King John II of Castile, however, anti-Semitic riots recurred. The charge of ritual murder was renewed and the Jews began to be regarded as a menace to the general welfare and an impediment to national and religious unity. Nicholas V, following earlier popes, forbade the practice of forcing Jews to accept baptism. Nevertheless attacks on the Jews were made at Toledo in 1467 and at Córdoba in 1473. The royal decree of 1492 banishing all Jews was carried out in brutal fashion; and the Jewish refugees were repulsed cruelly from several Christian countries which they sought to enter. They were welcomed in Turkey and they were treated humanely in the Papal States. Pope Alexander VI had not approved their expulsion from Spain and he allowed Jewish refugees to enter Rome, although the Roman Jews tried to bribe him to prohibit their admission.

4. MISSIONS



During the "Age of Discovery" missionaries made their way into the newly opened regions: when Prince Henry of Portugal⁹¹ (1394–1460), sent out expeditions to the Azores, the Madeiras, and the Cape Verde Islands; when Diogo Cam reached the

⁹¹ Moved by religious zeal, hope of finding the mythical "Prester John," and the desire to promote Portugal's trade with the east, this pioneer of explorers, with the aid of clever navigators and geographers, organized a school to promote navigation.

Congo (1482); when Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope (1486); when Vasco da Gama sailed to Calicut (1498); when across the Atlantic, Columbus landed in Hispaniola (1493),⁹² Cabot in Canada (1497), Cabral in Brazil (1500).

In the Canary Islands (discovered much earlier) the conversion of the inhabitants was completed by 1495, and the first bishop, Juan de Frías, protected the aborigines against Spanish oppression. Missionaries who followed Cam baptized several African chiefs; one of the priests who sailed with da Gama died a martyr; at least one Franciscan accompanied Cabral. Apparently there were no priests with Columbus on his first voyage but, on his second voyage in 1493, twelve missionaries crossed the Atlantic led by Bernard Boyl, about whose precise identity there has been much controversy; and one of the twelve, Pedro de Arenas, celebrated the first Mass in America.⁹³

The New World was a most attractive missionary field, yet conversion of the natives was made difficult by the vices of the soldiers, the cruelty of the governors, the greed of the merchants and slave traders, and the rivalry between Portugal and Spain.

SUMMARY

By electing Martin V, the Council of Constance re-established the focus of religious unity; and although the Council of Basle gave Martin trouble and, after the election of Eugene IV, set up a rival pontiff, Felix V, this usurper proved to be the last of the antipopes. Nevertheless, national conflicts and family feuds

⁹² For references to works on religious beginnings in Spanish America, see Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, pp. 20-23. Within the last decade a vast literature has been produced in the field of Spanish-American history, with consequent revision of many old opinions; and the celebrated *Historia de las Indias* of Las Casas, chief source of information about the first voyage of Columbus, has been assailed by some, and defended by others. See Francis Borgia Steck, "Some Recent Trends and Findings in the History of the Spanish Colonial Empire in America." *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII, pp. 13 ff.

⁹³ Boyl returned to Spain in 1494, alleging that Columbus was "too strict and cruel with the Spanish soldiers." Some of his companions remained, but the Spanish colonies in America were left without an ecclesiastical superior for nearly twenty years, while the Spanish sovereigns were disputing with the Holy See over the matter of Church revenues.

made it impossible for the popes—even the scholarly Nicholas V, the brilliant Pius II, the active Sixtus IV—to regain their old control. The Colonna dominated Rome under Martin V; later they were displaced by the Orsini; and in the pontificate of Innocent VIII factions ran riot—to be put down later by the strong hand of the Borgia pope, Alexander VI.

The international situation presented features no less disturbing. Churchmen disputed over vital issues at Constance, Basle, Ferrara, Florence; the Bohemians who never forgot the burning of Hus, fought Sigismund for fourteen years; during a long conflict between England and France Joan of Arc died at the stake; "Gallicanism" broke out at Bourges; the apathetic West let Constantinople fall into Turkish hands; Ivan the Russian founded an empire; Ferdinand and Isabella demanded control of episcopal nominations; then came the final break between Greeks and Latins; and the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII led to a bitter Franco-Spanish feud.

The general confusion was not offset by the fact that Martin V negotiated concordats with several nations; that Eugene IV effected a temporary reunion with the Greeks; that Nicholas V secured the resignation of the antipope Felix, founded the Vatican Library, planned a new St. Peter's, and commissioned Fra Angelico to give bodily form to visions of spiritual loveliness; that Pius II obtained a temporary suspension of the Pragmatic Sanction; that Paul II suppressed pagan humanists and deposed King George of Bohemia; that Sixtus IV checked the abuses of the Inquisition and rehabilitated Rome; that Innocent VIII undertook the suppression of the Waldenses; that the coronation of Alexander VI was a scene of unsurpassed splendor. The spread of learning and the multiplication of universities gave proof of intellectual progress; but classical scholars who were pagans at heart could do more harm than good.

At the close of the century, Savonarola was denouncing contemporary wickedness as St. Bernardine of Siena had been doing three generations earlier; but—ironically—Machiavelli obtained high political office in Florence the very year that Savonarola

died. Few persons, if any, foresaw how soon events would verify the dying friar's prediction; yet, as he foretold, the postponement of reform was about to put the Church to a test far too severe for a human institution to survive.

*Ewing Galloway*

FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA

Statue by Pazzi (Palazzo Vecchio, Florence)

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1409 Council of Pisa | 1410 Teutonic Knights crushed at Tannenberg |
| 1414-1418 Sixteenth Ecumenical Council (Constance) | 1415 John Hus burned |
| 1417 <i>Martin V</i> elected
End of Schism | |
| c. 1417 St. Bernardine of Siena denounces evil-doers | |
| 1418 Concordats with several nations | 1419-1433 Sigismund fights Turks and Hussites |
| 1431-1449 Seventeenth Ecumenical Council (Basle-Ferrara-Florence)
Brief reunion with Greeks | 1425 University of Louvain |
| | 1431 St. Joan of Arc burned |
| 1439 <i>Eugene IV</i> reunites Greeks | 1438 Antipapal Pragmatic Sanctions (Bourges) |
| c. 1452 <i>Nicholas V</i> founds Vatican Library | c. 1445 Fra Angelico in the Vatican |
| 1453 Conspiracy of Porcaro | 1453 Fall of Constantinople |
| 1459 <i>Pius II</i> vainly attempts Crusade | 1456 First printed Bible |
| 1466 <i>Paul II</i> deposes King George Podiebrad of Bohemia | 1461 Lewis XI suspends the Pragmatic Sanction |
| 1468 <i>Paul II</i> abolishes Roman Academy | 1462 Ivan the Great founds the Russian Empire |
| | 1466 Treaty of Thorn subjects Prussia to Poland |
| 1480 <i>Sixtus IV</i> rehabilitates Rome | 1472 University of Ingolstadt |
| 1483 <i>Sixtus IV</i> protests abuses of Spanish Inquisition | 1476 Spanish Inquisition |
| 1484 <i>Innocent VIII's</i> Bull on Witchcraft | 1477 Universities of Tübingen and Upsala |
| 1487 Waldenses suppressed | 1482 Ferdinand and Isabella force concessions from Sixtus IV |
| 1493 <i>Alexander VI's</i> Bull of Demarcation | 1483 Torquemada head of Spanish Inquisition |
| 1498 Ximenes begins reform of Spain | 1492 America discovered
Spain expels Jews |
| | 1494 Charles VIII invades Italy |
| | 1498 Savonarola burned
Machiavelli in office |
| | 1499 University of Alcalá |

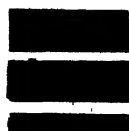


RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS ABOUT 1563

DOMINANTLY CATHOLIC

DOMINANTLY PROTESTANT

DOMINANTLY OTHER





FOURTH PERIOD

(A.D. 1500 to 1945)

Disrupted Christendom

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF PERIOD IV

1. European Christianity split by Protestantism.
2. Economic, social, political revolutions.
3. Revival and extension of Catholicism.
4. The menace of absolutism.

GENERAL VIEW

(1500-1945)

THE Fourth Period of Church History commenced shortly after the discovery of America. Midway of this Period, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) transferred the supremacy previously possessed by Catholic Spain and France to Protestant England—to be shared later by Protestant Germany. About the same time, Deism and Rationalism began to win notable victories in their campaign against supernatural faith. These victories were followed by temporary reverses; yet, towards the end of the Period, secularism secured so dominant a position in the civilized world that the vitality of Catholicism was tested as it had not been tested since the days of Diocletian.

Near the beginning of the Period, that is soon after 1500, "The Protestant Revolt" broke out. Within a short time a new religion, aided by aggressive propaganda and armed force, drew a large part of Germany and of Northern Europe away from the Catholic communion; then, thirty years later, a reform program, adopted by the Council of Trent and put into operation by Pope Pius IV, regained for the Church much of the lost area. By the end of the century Western Christendom included two irreconcilable religious bodies occupying areas roughly corresponding to those of the present day—one-half of Europe having repudiated the authority of the pope and other essential dogmas inherited from apostolic times.

The division of Christendom was more than a theological break. Racial and economic issues also entered into the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants which led to the Thirty Years' War and ended with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). During the next hundred years the principles embodied in the treaty slowly revealed their implications. European life became secular

in its main political, economic, educational features—that is to say, the standards in these fields were now set by civil, not by ecclesiastical, authority. And the unity of Christendom disappeared—first as an institution, then as a sentiment.

Several abortive attempts on the part of individual nations to step into the place of the decadent empire and exercise a quasi-imperial control were followed by a general vanishing of the old sense of common membership in a universal Christian society. Europe was reduced to a group of states, bound together only by such covenants and agreements as each one had freely accepted with a view to self-interest; and religion was converted into a practical instrument for the furthering of national welfare. In the world-wide struggle for wealth and power, France, previously uppermost, had to yield place to England, then growing fast in both wealth and population. Almost simultaneously, Frederick the Great seized for Protestant Prussia the hegemony of the German states which had been the traditional privilege of Catholic Austria. English Deists and French Encyclopedists attacked traditional Christianity; popular history pictured the Church as an outmoded institution; the intelligentsia came to regard Catholicism as a medieval compound of superstition and ignorance.

The eighteenth century brought the era of “enlightened despotism.” In France, to be sure, the profligate Louis XV was despotic without being enlightened; but most of the European countries were ruled by sovereigns honestly interested in the material welfare of their people and fairly successful in promoting it, although often careless of fundamental human rights and blind to moral and religious issues.

The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution gave a strong stimulus to nationalism, first by making European peoples aware of democracy as a desirable political ideal, and then by arousing agitation for a wider extension of the suffrage.¹

¹ “In the French Revolution, in the Industrial Revolution, and likewise in the romanticism which succeeded rationalism, are discoverable the factors that finally resolved all doubts about the future of national states and the currents that ultimately galvanized national consciousness everywhere into the nationalism which we know.” Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, pp. 43-44.

Closely connected with the swing towards democratic government was the "Liberal" movement which spread through Europe and America. The name Liberalism, not in itself obnoxious, was appropriated by a school of thought which held that man is independent of all authority outside of himself. Liberalism, thus conceived, calls for the establishment of a political system in which the sovereign people is absolutely free—unrestrained by conscience, by Church, or by God. This school looks back to the Revolution of 1789 as its cradle; to the Englishmen, Locke and Hume, the Frenchmen, Voltaire and Rousseau, the Germans, Lessing and Kant, as the earliest exponents of its philosophy. It has been responsible for many attacks, open or secret, upon the Catholic Church.²

The first effects of the revolutionary changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were emancipation of the middle class, enormous accumulation of individual wealth, the deepening degradation of the common people. With the shift from agriculture to manufacture, from hand labor to machinery, from craftsmanship to mass production, from wide to narrow distribution of property and land, the "laboring poor" degenerated into a horde possessing neither culture, political power, nor economic security. As free education spread, however, the workers became class-conscious, organized themselves in associations, and began to fight successfully for a more abundant life. Thus came about a war between capital and labor, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which profoundly altered, and even threatened to destroy, Western civilization.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, nearly all the states of Spanish America became independent republics; and by 1900 almost every government in the civilized world, except Russia, was either a constitutional monarchy or a republic. After the close of the First World War in 1918, a number of new republics were established; yet many governments, while retaining the forms of democracy, set up practical dictatorships. On all

² "In France, Italy, and Spain, liberalism particularly connotes anticlericalism." It usually also advocates freedom from ecclesiastical authority. s.v. "Liberalism," *Columbia Encyc.*, p. 1038.

sides appeared dictators—sometimes favoring the Church, yet professing principles irreconcilable with Catholicism. The clash of absolutists with democrats (real or professed), the struggle of class with class, and the criss-crossing of national ambitions eventually provoked the Second World War—an unprecedented calamity. Fifty nations drafted the San Francisco Charter of 1945 as a basis of lasting peace. Yet the Charter's provocative disregard of the rights of small nations, the post-war gains registered by Communism, the unease of Asia, the lesson of the atomic bomb—all seem to reveal our age as indeed "one of those periods of unrest, questioning, disorientation and conflict, that have been well described as turning points of history."³

CHRISTIAN ART

Here as elsewhere, the new age wrought a radical change in old traditions. The Renaissance, looking upon Gothic as only "the perfection of barbarism," introduced a style, classical, artificial, academic, even pedantic. Recrudescant paganism soon made its influence felt; then came an enfeeblement of religious art.⁴

Ecclesiastical disapproval of certain features of current art helped to introduce the Baroque style—elegantly aristocratic, international, unified, yet not so devoid of beauty as some critics have affirmed. Later came a return to the devotional subjects popular two centuries earlier—the story of St. Francis, for example, and the Passion of Christ. Beautiful religious paintings still appeared from time to time; nevertheless, within a few generations, the glorious era had definitely ended.⁵

The liturgical revival of recent years has helped to discourage ugly and inartistic work; and it has also inspired new and beautiful creations, especially in the minor arts as applied to church fittings and decoration. Yet the weakness of modern religious art as a whole is undeniable. It has been attributed to various causes: lack of deep and widespread spiritual feeling,

³ Pope Pius XI, Letter to American hierarchy, Sept. 21, 1938.

⁴ The notion that the Renaissance was a dawn ending the darkness of the Middle Ages has been exploded by modern critics. To what extent the use of the classical style is compatible with the expression of Christian ideals remains still a subject of debate.

⁵ "In Pedro de Mena's (d. 1693) 'Saint Francis' one might say that the Christian art of Europe came to an end. Here, in this singularly modern-looking figure, there is still pure Christian content, and a technique whose sophistication does not mask its Gothic derivation. But although, since the Baroque period, there have been countless churches built, and statues carved and pictures painted for their adornment, the architecture, sculpture, and painting which have been thus employed were not Christian in origin or *raison d'être*." Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

dominance of commercialism, inability to discover forms expressive of common religious concepts. According to Sorokin, "The communists and fascists in politics are the analogues of the modernists in the fine arts. . . . They are mainly destroyers and rebels—not constructive builders. They flourish only under the conditions peculiar to a period of transition. . . . Whether we like it or not, sensate art seems to have performed its mission. . . . This decadence is now in full swing. Nothing can stop it. It is destined to be succeeded by a different type of art, either ideational or idealistic, as these types gave way to it six or seven centuries ago."⁶

⁶ *The Crisis of Our Age*, pp. 78-79.



Courtesy of New York Public Library

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

Statue by Pedro de Mena (1628-1693)

CHAPTER XVI

(The Fifteen Hundreds)

*Protestant Revolt and Catholic Reform*¹

PREVIEW

THE early sixteenth century separates medieval from modern times. Rising national consciousness, the strengthening of kingly power, the increasing importance of cities and merchants as contrasted with armies and captains, the decline of Catholic schools, the spread of humanistic culture, the exaltation consequent on the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and of new routes to the Orient—all contributed to the inauguration of a new era in the history of Europe.

Religiously speaking, Christendom was then in a highly unstable condition. Little or nothing had been done to correct evils which invited disaster: ecclesiastical maladministration; priestly misconduct; burdensome Church taxes; tempting opportunities presented by Church wealth; anticlerical propaganda, all the more effective when based on fact.²

¹ "The Catholic Reform is often described as the 'Counter-Reformation,' as though it had no other object than to oppose the Protestant 'Reformation' and was a mere reply to the challenge of that movement. Such a conception does it less than justice." Historians, therefore, sometimes prefer to use the term "Catholic Reaction" or "Catholic Restoration." See L. Cristianì, "The Reformation on the Continent," Eyre, *op. cit.*, IV, 153.

² Most modern historians, both Catholic and non-Catholic, hold that the religious revolution of the sixteenth century was made possible chiefly by personal and administrative abuses in the Church which had moral and religious, as well as financial and political repercussions. See Peter M. Dunne, S.J., "The Religious Upheaval: Catholic Culpability, II," *The Historical Bulletin*, XX (Jan., 1942), 29 ff. Father Dunne describes a number of important texts including letters of Cardinal Cesarini to Eugene IV and of Pius II to Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia (later Pope Alexander VI); a report of the Commission of Cardinals for Reform to Pope Alexander VI; the address of Egidius, General of the Augustinians, before the Fifth Lateran Council; Convocation Sermon of Dean Colet to the bishops and abbots of England (1512); a letter of

At this critical point there began an herculean conflict between two mutually exclusive systems—traditional Christianity based upon Church authority and a new type of religion created by individual interpretation of the Bible. This conflict transformed Europe into a battlefield and aligned the nations in hostile camps, Catholic and Protestant. The Church suffered blow after blow. Whole regions fell away; priests and bishops apostatized. At Augsburg, in 1555, the chief political defenders of the old order had to accept a costly compromise. That Catholicism still retained its divine vitality, however, and that the Church still embodied the spirit of the early martyrs and the medieval saints became evident as soon as Trent published the program of the Catholic Reformation. Much of what had been lost was quickly won back; and the century ended with fair hope of general spiritual recovery.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

It was the intervention of political forces which converted the religious revolt into a catastrophic shattering of Christian faith and unity. Christendom was moving in a new direction, away from the Roman tradition of a universal empire towards independent nationhood, away from partly ecclesiastical to purely civil control of material affairs. The invitation issued by Protestantism was addressed to a generation of Europeans ready to rebel. This was especially true in Germany where many local rulers made haste to confiscate Church property, where many princes and bishops gladly accepted a religious sanction of self-

Bishop Perstinger of Chiemsee in Bavaria (1519); instructions of Pope Adrian VI to the nuncio at Nuremberg (1522); letters of St. Pius V to King Charles IX of France and to the bishop of Münster (both in 1566); letters of Blessed Peter Faber to St. Ignatius and of St. Ignatius to St. Peter Canisius. Most revealing is the startling memorial submitted to Paul III in 1537 by his Reform Commission of Cardinals and other prelates, which indicated twenty-eight evils afflicting the Church and ranked misuse of ecclesiastical wealth as the greatest. This document, which exposed the abuses of the Curia and the Church "with the greatest freedom and in the strongest terms," is summarized by Pastor, *op. cit.*, XI, 165-72.

indulgence, where many priests, monks, and nuns discovered in Lutheranism an excuse for the repudiation of the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience under which they had been chafing, and where a large proportion of the people were quick to rally around leaders who promised moral reform, abolition of Church taxes, and the ending of Italian domination.

The religious explosion in Germany engineered by Luther took place in 1521; and within a few months Zwingli brought about a similar explosion in Switzerland. The issues raised by the first "Reformers" were not at the beginning strikingly different from numerous earlier controversies; but this time a seemingly insignificant quarrel was taken up by an ever increasing number of secular rulers and before long Western Christendom was divided into two great armed coalitions.

In the center of the field were the Emperor Charles V and the French king, Francis I—foes from the day that Charles, with the help of a half million florins borrowed from Augsburg bankers, had crushed Francis' hopes of the imperial crown. Into the later phases of the battle came the English king, Henry VIII, his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, the French king, Henry IV, and the mighty sultan, Solyman the Magnificent. Protestantism was kept from achieving a total triumph; nevertheless the revolution affected every country in Europe, great or small.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Poland, Russia

The Empire: A downward sweep of the Church's fortunes and a subsequent rise, though not to the ancient level, took place during the reigns of Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Maximilian II. To realize the complexity of the situation at this time one must keep in mind elements which alternately clashed, then fused, then drew apart again. The emperor, nearly always at war with the Turks, was sometimes fighting against and at other times negotiating with France and with the papacy over the question of Italy; and meanwhile he was battling with Protestant princes over religious unity and imperial jurisdiction. France, at times

allied with the emperor, the pope, the Protestant princes, the Turks, was at other times opposed to them. The papacy, always against the Protestants and the Turks, was by turns for and against the emperor and the French king. The Protestant princes and the Turkish sultan were consistent antagonists of the old European order, religious and political; and their gains alternated with losses.

Luther's rebellion against the established form of Christianity presented the German princes with a plausible excuse for claiming a new freedom and for seizing Church property within their jurisdiction. Many of them, although ill-fitted to pose as champions either of religion or morality, quickly enrolled on the side of the proposed "reform"; and Luther, in sore need of material support, gladly accepted them as allies. Emperor Charles V was willing enough to suppress the movement which thus threatened to bring political and religious disruption upon Germany; but he was hampered by the double necessity of fighting the French invaders of Italy while at the same time defending Christendom against Turkish aggression. Consequently he had to accept an unsatisfactory settlement; and, within thirty years of Luther's outbreak, the Lutheran princes were officially placed on the same political footing as the Catholics and the Imperial Chamber was apportioned equally between representatives of the two religions. The succeeding emperors inherited this difficult situation. Ferdinand I achieved a limited success by compromising; Maximilian II did little to help, although he did not actively oppose, the pope; Rudolf II accomplished, and indeed attempted, almost nothing.

Outside Germany, meanwhile, the religious revolution had progressed swiftly. Bohemia remained officially Catholic, to be sure; yet many of the people, antagonistic to the Hapsburg king, a foreigner and a Catholic, became Lutherans or Calvinists. In Hungary, where Protestantism at first made little headway, a number of Lutherans were burned at the stake in 1525; but after the Turkish invasion the bishops withdrew and Catholicism waned. In Poland—where the king, who controlled episcopal nominations, as a rule admitted only nobles to the hierarchy—

the new religion gained many recruits, both lay and clerical; the national diet enacted antipapal laws; and, during most of the century the throne was occupied by sovereigns disloyal to the Church. In Switzerland Zwingli and, later, John Calvin, organized a Protestant party at least as powerful as the Catholic.

Germany. *The Emperors:* Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519), although he built up the Hapsburg fortunes, saw his imperial prerogatives gradually diminish, as an increasing measure of independence was claimed by the political entities under his jurisdiction. The districts governed by electors, princes, and knights or chartered as free towns and cities, clung together only loosely; national consciousness was developing; and Maximilian's assumption of the title, *Germaniae Rex*, implied that a German kingdom now actually existed.³

Born at Ghent in 1500, Charles V (1519-1556),⁴ became king of Spain at the age of sixteen, inherited the Hapsburg possessions in 1519, and five months later was chosen emperor over two rival candidates, Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England. He did not, however, receive the imperial crown from the pope until his coronation by Clement VII in 1530. A man of unusual sagacity and force of character, bent on preserving, or at least restoring, the unity of the empire and of Christendom, Charles found himself involved in a network of embarrassments too complicated even for him. Forced to fight desperately against the Turkish invasion, kept at war with France by Pope Leo X, but later opposed by Pope Clement VII who favored the French, and in his own dominions defied and betrayed by his subjects, Charles had to acknowledge defeat. In 1556 he abdicated in favor of his brother Ferdinand.

To be understood, the religious activity of Charles must be set against the background of numerous significant events which took place during his thirty-six years of rule. Some of these were connected with the steadily increasing pressure of the Turks who occupied Belgrade, the key of Hungary in 1521, gained victory after victory despite intermittent repulses, and in the final years of Charles's reign were raiding the coasts of the

³ Dr. W. T. M. Gamble draws attention to a consideration not always kept in mind—the effect of Maximilian's legislative policy: "We are bound to mention one determinative fact that marks the end of the operation of that process of development which we have been noting as the characteristic of the changes in medieval society and civilization: the establishing throughout the Empire, under Maximilian I, of Roman Law as the accepted legal standard . . . it had the effect of arresting and crystallizing a social structure that had been subject to repeated changes without revolution, in such a way that future changes were more likely to take radical and revolutionary forms." *The Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Its Inheritance in Source Valuation and Criticism*, pp. 54-55.

⁴ Charles, son of Philip of Castile, Duke of Burgundy, was grandson of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and, on the other side, of Emperor Maximilian I.

Mediterranean continually. Another series of events was set in motion when France began a long and almost uninterrupted war with the empire, using both Turks and German Lutherans as allies (1521-1544). Still another set of complications came from the Lutheran princes who reacted to the decrees of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 (which forbade the teaching of Protestant doctrine) by organizing the League of Schmalkalden and forcing Charles to accept the Religious Peace of Nuremberg (which stipulated that no one was to be punished for his religious opinions). With the help of Maurice, whom he had made Elector of Saxony after displacing the previous incumbent, Charles gained temporary control of Germany in 1547; but Maurice struck a bargain with the French king, Henry II (to whom he offered Metz, Toul, and Verdun), turned on the emperor, defeated him, and almost took him prisoner in 1552.⁵ These disturbances, together with the Peasants' War,⁶ lent new impetus to the movement towards political decentralization and gave the electors a deciding voice in the decrees of the diet.⁷

Little wonder that Charles, thus hampered, committed several serious blunders. As early as 1530, with sound instinct, he had urged the convocation of a general council; but Francis I stood in the way, and Charles, thrown back on his own resources, temporized with the Protestants at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541 and made unwise concessions at Speyer, at Augsburg, and again at Passau (1544, 1548, 1552). Nevertheless, vague language, secret reservations, and disciplinary compromises failed to conciliate the revolutionists; the attempt to reorganize the empire on the basis of mutual religious concessions met an impassable obstacle in the refusal of the reformers to restore the ecclesiastical property they had seized; and the so-called "Interim Religion" effected nothing.⁸

Hopeless of restoring religious unity, the emperor authorized his

⁵ Maurice was not displeased at Charles's escape: "I have no cage big enough," said he, "for such a bird." Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 374, n.

⁶ The Peasants' War (1524-1526) (a revolt of the German peasantry against their feudal lords) was occasioned in part by increasing poverty, the imposition of heavier taxes, the application of a principle of Roman law which classified the peasants as serfs, and the attack made by Luther upon the principle of authority. Among the demands presented by the peasants in 1525 was the right of choosing their own pastors. Luther sided first with the peasants and later with the nobles. The revolt spread over a large part of Germany, but not into Bavaria. Savage atrocities were committed on both sides.

⁷ The local rulers had been devoting themselves to the development of their own territories, but taking no steps to defend the boundaries of the empire. The Spaniards and the Dutch seized lands near the Rhine; France extended her domain in the vicinity of Strassburg; Swedes, Russians, Poles, and Danes appropriated areas in the Baltic region; and the Turkish invaders of Hungary were bought off with a promise of annual tribute.

⁸ This name is given to three temporary settlements between Charles and the Lutherans—at Ratisbon in 1541, at Augsburg in 1548, at Leipzig in 1548 (the Great Interim based on the so-called Small Interim drawn up at Zella a few weeks previously).

brother Ferdinand to sign the Treaty of Passau (1552), giving every prince control of religious affairs in his own jurisdiction—a rule which was to cause trouble and suspicion for long years to come. Three years later this agreement was ratified by the Imperial Diet; and the Peace of Augsburg (1555) decreed that thereafter the imperial chamber should be composed equally of Protestants and Catholics.⁹

Oppressed by disappointments and broken in health, Charles relinquished the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand I and the crown of Spain to his son Philip II. He then retired to a monastery at Yuste, Spain, where he died.

Because of the part he had taken in arranging the Treaty of Passau with the Protestants, Ferdinand I (1556–1564),¹⁰ found his claim to the imperial throne denied by Pope Paul IV; and not until the pontificate of Pius IV did he receive papal recognition. Ferdinand showed an honest desire to check the progress of the Protestant revolution, but influenced by the "Basle" views of the pope's office, he wished to command rather than obey, insisted upon concessions to Protestant demands (clerical marriage and the chalice for the laity); and he made it extremely difficult for Pope Pius IV to reopen the Council of Trent and to direct its program. He was won over at last by the pope's agreement to recognize Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, as king of the Romans.

The general policy followed by Maximilian II (1564–1576) made it difficult to determine whether his sympathies really lay with the old or with the new religion. Rudolf II (1576–1612), his son, despite apparent good will, was not able to bridge over the politico-religious schism; and the end of the century saw a Protestant alliance of states in opposition to a Catholic group.

The Electors: The rapid progress of Lutheranism in the empire may be measured by reviewing its spread in the dominions of the imperial electors:

In Saxony (most powerful of the German states), the Elector, Frederick (1486–1525), who was Luther's own sovereign, protected him at the beginning of the trouble. Frederick's brother and successor, John (1525–1554),

⁹ The Peace of Augsburg—a compromise between exhausted belligerents which pleased the Lutherans more than the Catholics—established religious toleration by international law. (1) It cleared the legal title of the German Lutheran rulers to the ecclesiastical lands in their possession and gave them a status of equality with Catholic rulers. (2) It bestowed ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the rulers of the Protestant states and authorized them to expel all Catholics from their dominions, the basic principle of the treaty having been formulated in the phrase *Cujus regio, ejus religio* (the ruler of a region determines its religion). The treaty included a clause called "the ecclesiastical reservation" which provided that every prelate who in the future should become a Lutheran would resign his office and his patronage—a proviso not faithfully kept. See Eckhardt, *The Papacy and World Affairs*, pp. 34–35, and Eyre, *op. cit.*, IV, 99–100.

¹⁰ Already king of Hungary and Bohemia, Ferdinand had consolidated these countries into the hereditary possessions of the Hapsburgs.

an enthusiastic Lutheran, imposed the Lutheran liturgy on all the churches in his dominion, deposing every priest who disobeyed this order; and many of the churches and monasteries were plundered. His successor pursued the same policy of active antagonism both to the emperor and to the Catholic religion.

In Brandenburg, Elector **Joachim** was hostile to the Lutherans. Nevertheless the new religion gained numerous adherents; and after Joachim's death his son, Elector **Joachim II** (1535-1570), went over to Protestantism, expelled all the Catholic clergy, suppressed the religious houses, appropriated ecclesiastical property. In 1535, Bishop von Jagow introduced a Lutheran preacher and released his priests from the obligation of celibacy. Later the elector made use of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) to de-Catholicize his dominions completely. Catholic services were not again permitted until the establishment of the Kingdom of Prussia a century and a half later.

The Elector of the Palatinate, **Lewis V** (1508-1544), did little to check the spread of heresy; his brother and successor, **Frederick II** (1544-1556), one of the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League, showed sympathy for the Protestants; and the next elector, **Otto Henry** (1556-1559), imposed Lutheranism on all his subjects. During the rest of the century the Palatinate was a stronghold of Protestantism.

Luther found friends also in the three ecclesiastical electorates. **Albert** of Brandenburg, Elector of Mainz, allowed the new doctrines to be propagated in his territory at first without hindrance; ¹¹ the elector of Cologne, in the beginning hostile to the Protestants, soon shifted to their side; and the elector of Trier was too busy defending himself against the army of Franz von Sickingen to prevent the Lutheran preachers from invading his jurisdiction.

Other States: Elsewhere the new religion encountered sometimes encouragement and sometimes opposition. **Philip**, Landgrave of Hesse, made his court a Lutheran center, closed the monasteries, confiscated Church property, forbade Catholic worship, and founded a Protestant university in Marburg (1527). Within a few years he had eliminated the Catholic faith from his dominions. Incidentally, the landgrave made prompt use of his newly acquired independence of Catholic principles by taking a second wife while retaining his first, with the approval of Luther and Melancthon. In the north, **Albert**, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and ruler of considerable areas in Poland and in Prussia, passed

¹¹ **Albert** of Brandenburg (1490-1545)—younger brother of Elector **Joachim I** of Brandenburg and cousin of **Albert** of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights—became archbishop of Magdeburg and administrator of Halberstadt in 1513, archbishop of Mainz in 1514, and cardinal priest in 1518. His indifference to the progress of Lutheranism drew a reproach from Leo X and afterwards he showed himself a zealous champion of the Catholic faith.

over to Lutheranism, taking with him two friendly bishops; and all three married.

Only a small proportion of southern Germany came under Protestant control, partly because Catholic resistance was better organized. In Baden the majority remained Catholic. In Bavaria, **William IV** (1508-1550) and his successor consistently strove to keep Protestantism out of their territory; and the dukes of Bavaria were leaders of the Catholic Reformation. The old faith was maintained also in the Hapsburg dominions.

Bohemia: Civil war broke out in 1525. On one side were the Catholics and the moderate "Utraquists," who differed little from Catholics except in their demand for the reception of Communion under both forms. On the other side were the Bohemian Brethren (descended from the Hussites) and the extreme Utraquists, whose creed was practically Lutheranism. This division of his Bohemian subjects crippled **King Louis II**, who in his battle with the Turks at Mohacs in 1526 was defeated and killed.

The Hapsburg claim to the Bohemian throne as an hereditary right was established by **Ferdinand** of Hapsburg (afterwards Emperor Ferdinand I). When in 1546 the Schmalkald War broke out in Germany between **Charles V** on the one side and the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse on the other, Ferdinand tried to go to the assistance of his brother Charles; but his Bohemian army refused to cross the border. After the defeat of the German Protestants by the imperial army at M \ddot{u} hlberg, Ferdinand expelled the Bohemian Brethren and deprived Prague and other cities of privileges; yet he treated most of the Bohemian nobles with leniency. Before his death in 1562 Ferdinand secured the Bohemian succession for his son **Maximilian**, the future emperor. Maximilian took no very definite stand in the religious dispute; and, when the Bohemian Diet in 1575 adopted a creed substantially identical with the Augsburg Confession, he endorsed it privately, although he refused to allow its publication.

Hungary: After the death of **Louis II** at the battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Turks took possession of nearly all Hungary (except the northern region and the extreme west); and Transylvania became a Turkish protectorate.¹² The invasion threw religious affairs into confusion. Numbers of people were killed and carried off; churches were converted into mosques; many of the population embraced Islam; others passed over to Protestantism. Church property was seized by powerful nobles and by city officials; the education of the clergy was neglected; Protestantism made considerable progress. In 1564 Calvinists acquired equality with Catholics and Lutherans; and in 1571 Unitarians also obtained freedom

¹² Among the princes of Transylvania were **Stephen Bathori** (1571-1575) who became king of Poland, and his nephew, **Sigismund Bathori** (1581-1602) who abdicated the throne in order to become a priest but later changed his mind and made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the crown.

of worship. Before the end of the century the Jesuit seminary, founded at Gran in 1556, was an active religious center. The Catholic revival began.

Poland: This "Golden Age" brought a rich flowering of national literature. Protestantism rose and declined. Poles and Lithuanians drew closer in the Union of Lublin (1569). Orthodox Ruthenians united with the Holy See at Brest-Litovsk in 1596.

Sigismund I "the Old" (1506–1548), who faced invading Turks and Russians, threatening Germans, infiltrating Protestants, accepted as vassal—in the interests of peace—the ex-Catholic Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights (1525). **Sigismund II Augustus** (1548–1572) spoke of divorcing his wife, asked the pope to authorize marriage of priests, vernacular Mass, the giving of Communion in both forms. Bishop Lubranski of Posen (d. 1520) favored Protestantism; the priest, John Laski, humanist and friend of Cranmer, became a Protestant (1540); the Primate, Uchanski (d. 1581), wavered. Prominent writers, for example, Andrew Frycz-Modrzewski and Mikolaj Rey, advocated Protestantism and championed the oppressed peasants. Papal legates—Lippomano, Ruggieri, Comendone—reported that Poland was in danger of losing the faith.

But defections were mainly among the nobles; the majority of the people remained loyal. Zealous bishops were never wholly lacking—among them, the elder John Laski, Primate of Poland (d. 1531), and the great Cardinal Hosius (d. 1579), Bishop of Ermland, chief leader of the Catholic reform, author of the best piece of controversial literature in his day. The Dominicans made many converts. Led by the brilliant Peter Skarga, the Jesuits conducted public debates with heretics, made their schools the religious centers of the noble families. Catholic apologists put to good use the new vernacular literature, developed largely by Protestants.

Sigismund II was the last Jagellon. Poland then elected a series of foreigners. **Henry of Valois** (1573), soon returned to his native France, where he had inherited the crown; the Hungarian, **Stephen Bathori** (1575–1586), served Poland and Catholicism well; the Swedish **Sigismund III Vasa** (1587–1632) used Poland to press his claim to the Swedish crown.

Unified at Lublin in 1569, the "Royal Republic" stood out as a center of Christian culture and Europe's strongest barrier against the Turks. For a time it seemed as if Muscovites, too, might federate with Poles and Lithuanians; for the ruling Polish dynasty died out in 1573 and the Russian in 1598. But ethnic and religious barriers, especially after Poland's invasion of Russia, proved impassable.

After the Ukraine (Red Ruthenia) had been transferred from Lithuania to Poland, the Ruthenian Orthodox bishops petitioned for reunion with Rome, stipulating that they might retain their own rite, their own calen-

dar and their own Creed (which omitted the phrase "Filioque," without prejudice to the doctrine). Clement VIII agreed; and the bull, *Magnus Dominus et Laudabilis*, announced the return of the Ruthenians to unity. At Brest-Litovsk, in 1596, the union was ratified by almost all the Orthodox Ruthenian bishops; and Sigismund III ordered that only those who accepted the Act of Union should be recognized as bishops.

Russia: The conquests of Ivan III were followed by those of Basil III (1505-1533). Then came the eventful reign of the first czar, Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584), who enlarged and unified the empire. By the end of the century the conquest of Siberia had been completed. Moscow became an independent patriarchate in 1589; Latin churches were prohibited. The czar would make Moscow a "Third Rome."

Repeatedly the czars repulsed papal overtures—of Leo X and Clement VII, who sent envoys; of Julius III and Pius IV, who invited Ivan the Terrible to be represented at Trent; of Pius V, who urged Russia to join the war against the Turk. At one critical moment in 1582—when Ivan feared a Polish invasion—he sought the aid of Gregory XIII; but the subsequent visit of the Jesuit Possevino to discuss reunion brought no results.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

Manifestations of sympathy with the new religion were quickly suppressed in most of the Latin countries. In France, however, the Calvinists, having formed an alliance with powerful nobles, kept the nation torn by war until the Edict of Nantes in 1598 gave "Huguenots" ¹⁸ the status of a tolerated minority.

In their attitude towards the Holy See the Latin sovereigns, as a rule, left much to be desired—disturbing the papal conclaves by their wrangling over national interests and greatly hampering the pope's freedom before, during, and after the Council of Trent. Francis I, and later Charles IX, seemed almost ready to follow Henry VIII of England into schism; the French national council of 1560 assembled in defiance of the express wish of Pius IV; the Spanish king, Philip II, under cover of respectful words, was highhanded and dictatorial; and his son, Philip III, tried "to give orders" to Clement VIII.

¹⁸ This name of uncertain origin was applied to French Calvinists.

France: Ruler of a kingdom still largely feudal, Francis I (1515-1547) made himself champion of the anti-imperialist party; and his reign was dominated by that hostility to the Hapsburgs which remained an element of French foreign policy for two centuries. By acting as ally of the emperor's enemies—Lutheran princes and Turks—he contributed indirectly in no small degree to the success of Protestantism. Having obtained from Pope Leo X (in return for the abolition of the old Pragmatic Sanction) the right of nomination to French benefices and thus gained practical control of Church property,¹⁴ King Francis was naturally opposed to revolution within his own domains; and he undertook a vigorous persecution of the Lutherans, realizing that their activities would disrupt French unity.¹⁵ Despite the protest of du Bellay, Archbishop of Paris, seven Lutherans were burned in 1534; and two campaigns (1540 and 1545) almost exterminated the heretics in Provence. Nevertheless, from Geneva, where Calvin had established headquarters in 1541, Protestant propagandists streamed into France and organized churches there; and the king's sister, Margaret of Angoulême, wife of Henry, king of Navarre, and author of the *Heptameron*, a series of coarse tales, made her brilliant court a refuge for Protestant chiefs, among them her son-in-law, Anthony of Bourbon (father of the future Henry IV of France), his brother the Prince of Condé, and the distinguished soldier, Gaspar de Coligny, nephew of the Constable Montmorency.

Following the general policy of his father, Henry II (1547-1559), husband of Catherine de' Medici, coöperated with the Turks and signed a treaty with the German princes which gave him title to Metz, Toul, and Verdun. This gain, together with Charles V's division of the Hapsburg possessions into separate political entities, opened up new opportunities for the development of France. Against the heretics, Henry was severe.¹⁶ Nevertheless heresy made progress; and when the first national synod of French Protestants met in Paris in 1559, the Huguenots claimed more

¹⁴ This agreement—which held until the French Revolution—was embodied in the concordat of 1516. Francis entrusted the formulating of France's claims to his chancellor, Duprat, who in the following year (after his wife's death) became a priest. A determined supporter of royal absolutism, opposed to the independence of nobles, hostile to the Protestant innovators both on political and on religious grounds, made archbishop of Sens in 1525 and cardinal in 1527, he was classified as "second only to Richelieu" in the decisive influence he exercised on the history of France.

¹⁵ Tolerant at first, he reversed his policy when he found that scurrilous placards vilifying the Mass had been affixed to the doors of the royal chateau and other buildings throughout France.

¹⁶ A commission with the suggestive name of *Chambre Ardente* tried about five hundred persons between 1547 and 1550, giving them the alternative of repudiating heresy or suffering death; one hundred of these persons were executed. In 1554 the "Five Scholars of Lausanne," who had studied under Theodore Beza in Switzerland, were burned as heretics on their return to France. Of one of them, Beza, the biographer of Calvin, said, "Berquin might have been the Luther of France, had King Francis been King Frederick of Saxony."

than two thousand churches and a following of about three million souls (in a total population of twenty million). This rapid growth occurred because the Huguenots took full advantage of the bitter feud between the Catholic House of Guise and other noble families (Chatillon, Bourbon, Montmorency).¹⁷

An invalid boy, **Francis II** (1559-1560) lived under the control of his Guise uncles who discovered and ruthlessly punished the Huguenot conspiracy of Amboise to seize the person of the king.

In the reign of **Charles IX** (1560-1574)—a boy of ten at the time of his accession—his guardians, Catherine de' Medici and Anthony of Bourbon, favored the Huguenots.¹⁸ The Guise faction organized to defend Catholicism; and during the "Religious Wars" which filled the rest of the century, each party fought fiercely for political control, inflicting cruel punishment on its enemies.¹⁹ After the killing of a number of Huguenots at Vassy in 1562, matters went from bad to worse; finally the increasing strength of the Huguenots and the rumor of a conspiracy against the life of the king provided an excuse for the frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572), the responsibility for which lies chiefly upon the unscrupulous Catherine de' Medici.²⁰

Although a convinced Catholic, **Henry III** (1574-1589) showed resentment at the popularity possessed by the Guises and wavered from side to side in the political struggle. Shortly after his accession, the Politiques

¹⁷ The House of Guise was the leading Catholic family of France. Claude, Duke of Guise, who died in 1550, was the father of another duke; of Mary, who married James V of Scotland; of two cardinals, Charles and Louis; and of Francis, who in turn was father of a duke and a cardinal. Claude's son Charles (d. 1574), Cardinal of Lorraine, an outstanding figure in his day, officiated as archbishop of Rheims at the coronation of three kings of France; he was leader of the French cardinals in several papal conclaves; and he promoted the French national council of 1560, "snapping his fingers at the pope." (Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine*, p. 157.) He has been a favorite target of attack with writers who accuse him of compromising with German Lutherans, of holding Gallican views of papal authority, and of provoking the Huguenot wars; but much of the criticism directed against him is unverified propaganda. He supported the pope during the closing days of the Council of Trent; and he strove loyally to have the Tridentine program reform published in France. He was, however, blocked by the opposition of Catherine de' Medici.

¹⁸ Among the distinguished converts to the Huguenot ranks were the Cardinal de Chatillon and the bishop of Troves.

¹⁹ "The answer to the question which side began the quarrel, merely depends upon what arbitrary date you select for the quarrel's beginning." Christopher Hollis, in Eyre, *op. cit.*, IV, 712.

²⁰ Catherine pretended that the motive for the massacre was religious zeal; and for a long time Protestant writers represented the pope as partly responsible for the atrocity. At present it is generally conceded that Gregory XIII was in no way involved. The whole story is told at length by Pastor in his *History of the Popes*, Vol. XIX, Chap. XIII. The exact number of persons killed still remains a matter of dispute. Less than 1,000 names have been listed, although the Huguenot Martyrology of 1581 placed the number of dead at 15,000. Cristiani describes the massacre as "a lamentable episode in the pitiless vendetta between two families, involving the whole kingdom in ruin." In Eyre, *op. cit.*, IV, 249.

(a moderate group of Catholics opposed to the use of force), persuaded Henry to sign the Edict of Beaulieu by the terms of which the Protestants received eight fortified towns, a general amnesty, and freedom of worship everywhere in the kingdom except in the neighborhood of Paris and the court. Later the Catholic League forced the king to sign the Edict of Nemours which outlawed Calvinism.

When the death of the king's brother made the Huguenot, Henry of Navarre, heir apparent to the throne, Pope Sixtus V excommunicated him, pronouncing him unfit to succeed to the throne of France, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance.²¹ Then followed the War of the Three Henrys—Henry III of France, Henry of Navarre, and Duke Henry of Guise—in which Henry of Navarre was victorious.

When about to succeed to the throne, Henry IV (1589-1610) found himself deserted by his Catholic supporters, unwilling to have a heretic on the throne of France. Pressed by his advisers, the king finally agreed to abjure Protestantism and to profess the Catholic religion; and the archbishop of Bourges absolved him from excommunication.²²

In 1598 the Edict of Nantes restored the rights and privileges of the Catholic clergy, but on the other hand, gave the Huguenots freedom of worship in many parts of France, full civil rights, special courts, and possession of one hundred fortified cities. Pope Clement VIII protested against these concessions as overgenerous; but they were finally accepted in all quarters and the century closed in peace with a Bourbon on the throne of France, the House of Guise in a decline, and the Huguenots half victorious.

²¹ Henry of Navarre was the son of Anthony of Bourbon and of Jeanne, the Calvinist daughter of Margaret of Angoulême. He married his second cousin, Margaret of Valois, the daughter of Henry II. In 1599 a papal commission decided that the marriage contract was invalid on the grounds of consanguinity and lack of freedom.

²² The archbishop made a reservation with regard to future confirmation by the Holy See; for the French hierarchy was divided in opinion, some (Gallican) bishops denying and others affirming that papal confirmation was required. Almost three years elapsed between the king's first approach to the Holy See and his absolution by the pope; and meanwhile Paris, Rome, and Madrid were alive with excited discussion. Philip II exerted all possible pressure on Pope Clement to reject the king's overtures; Henry sent messages and envoys to Rome repeatedly. Some of the French bishops threatened to hold a national council and to set up a French patriarchate; but Clement would not act until persuaded that he could trust the king (who twice before had relapsed into heresy); and he affirmed that the French bishops who had presumed to absolve Henry would have to justify themselves before the Inquisition. At last Clement, influenced by St. Philip Neri, by Cardinal Baronius, and by the Spanish Jesuit, Toledo, accepted Henry's guarantees; and in 1595, at a solemn function in St. Peter's, Henry was absolved from the excommunication imposed upon him by Sixtus V ten years earlier.

There is little historical foundation for the legend which quotes Henry as saying "Paris is well worth a Mass"; but the sincerity of his conversion (which was of enormous political advantage to him) remains, after exhaustive investigation, a mystery incapable of solution. At any rate Henry did retain his mistresses and in the pontificate of Paul V his political double-dealing caused the pope considerable embarrassment.

Spain: Son of Charles V, **Philip II** (1556–1598), born in 1527 and regent of Spain at the age of sixteen, showed his independence of spirit in 1547 when he condemned in strong terms his father's plan to secure funds for the Turkish war by confiscating Church property. A sincere Catholic in faith, Philip had "an almost Byzantine" conception of his own authority in religious affairs, and in his dealings with the Holy See he ranged from thinly veiled arrogance to actual warfare—sending an army against Paul IV after having been assured by Spanish theologians that this action was justified in the circumstances. He went to great lengths to advance Spanish interests in Italy, to get the upper hand of France, and to increase his influence in the election of bishops at the expense of cathedral chapters; and relations between Madrid and Rome were badly strained while Philip was trying to prevent the proposed absolution of Henry IV of Navarre. Indirectly his policy aided British Protestantism.

Although he advised his wife, Mary Tudor,²³ not to persecute the Protestants of England, Philip himself pursued a policy of drastic repression against the Moriscos whom he regarded as a menace to the welfare of Spain. He spent much energy in a vain attempt to keep control of his restless Dutch subjects whose dislike of Spain was sharpened by their Calvinistic tendencies. His attempted invasion of England ended with the disastrous wrecking of the Armada (1588). As the foremost champion of Catholicism in his day Philip attracted the unsympathetic attention of Protestants, and many unproved charges were made against him—including the accusation that he was responsible for the death of his own son, Don Carlos.

The Protestant revolt made little headway in Spain, partly because Cardinal Ximénes had thoroughly reformed the previous generation, and partly because the (government-controlled) Inquisition functioned smoothly and efficiently, suppressing all revolutionary tendencies, both civil and religious. The authorities kept Protestant books and Protestant preachers out of the country; and the few Spaniards who were disposed to embrace the new religion took refuge in other lands.²⁴

Portugal: Here, as in Spain, Protestantism made few converts, both be-

²³ Philip was married four times: in 1543 to his cousin María, Infanta of Portugal, who died at the birth of her son Don Carlos; in 1554 to Queen Mary of England; in 1560 to Elizabeth of Valois; in 1570 to Anne of Austria.

²⁴ One of these, Servetus, was burned by Calvin at Geneva for his anti-Trinitarian views. Brief outbreaks took place in the neighborhood of Valladolid and Seville. At Seville in 1559 four friars and three women were burned, and ten other persons died at the stake in the following year. The Dominican archbishop of Toledo, Bartholomé de Carranza, one of the theologians of the Council of Trent, fell under suspicion of heresy, and two of his brother Dominicans, Melchior Cano and Dominicus de Soto, pointed out passages in his writings which were open to censure. The Holy See (for Carranza's own sake) insisted on having him tried in Rome; and during his long imprisonment there the archbishop led an edifying life, convincing almost everyone that he had never willfully departed from orthodox teaching.

cause its appearance had been preceded by a religious revival earlier in the century, and because the civil and ecclesiastical authorities coöperated in its suppression. In accord with a promise exacted from him at his marriage to the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, **King Emmanuel** (1495-1521) decreed the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews, a step which led to the hasty and insincere conversion of many. An ardent friend of the Jesuits, **John III** (1521-1557) coöperated with them in the building up of Portuguese education and in the missions of Brazil and Japan; but he came into conflict with the papacy on two occasions—in 1532 he forbade publication of Clement VII's bull suspending the powers of the cruel Portuguese Inquisition, and a few years later he resisted Paul III's attempts to check the Inquisition's maltreatment of the Jews.

Conditions in Portugal were unstable. Many people emigrated to the colonies overseas; a large migration carried inhabitants of the rural districts to the newly important cities of Lisbon and Oporto; labor became so scarce that the owners of great estates brought in Negro slaves. **King Sebastian** (1557-1578), a determined celibate, refused to marry in order to continue the dynasty—despite the pleading of St. Pius V—and died in an ill-advised crusade against the Moslems of North Africa. Sebastian was succeeded by the 67-year-old **Henry**, Cardinal Archbishop of Braga, who died two years later, after Gregory XIII—to avoid displeasing the heir apparent, Philip II of Spain—had refused to grant Portugal's request for a dispensation permitting Henry to marry. **Philip** succeeded to the throne in 1580, and Portugal remained united to Spain for the next sixty years. The Cortes lost its power; poverty and discontent spread; most of the old Portuguese colonies were appropriated by the English, the Dutch, and the French.

Italy: Although secret propaganda secured a certain number of converts about the middle of the century, and the Protestant leaders at that time entertained hopes of success,²⁵ the new religion took no real hold of Italy. Pius IV took pains to convince the civil rulers of the different Italian states that they must deal severely with heretics; his drastic methods probably saved Italy from a series of civil wars similar to those which caused so much bloodshed in France.

²⁵ There are records of persons arrested for heresy in the Papal States, in Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Milan, Mantua, Modena, and Florence. Among the individuals whose conversion to Protestantism aroused particular attention were the elder and the younger Socinus, pioneers of Unitarianism; the Capuchin, Bernardino Ochino, who later became a professor at Oxford; and the Dominican, Giordano Bruno, who, after an imprisonment of six years, was condemned by the Inquisition, delivered to the secular power, and burned at the stake in the year 1600. Juan de Valdés, secretary of the viceroy of Naples, although he never openly professed heresy, was at the head of a circle of men whose orthodoxy was under suspicion. The apostasy of Ochino led the Holy See to consider the advisability of suppressing the Capuchin order. Fortunately, no such step was taken and the Capuchins survived to become a powerful factor in the Catholic revival.

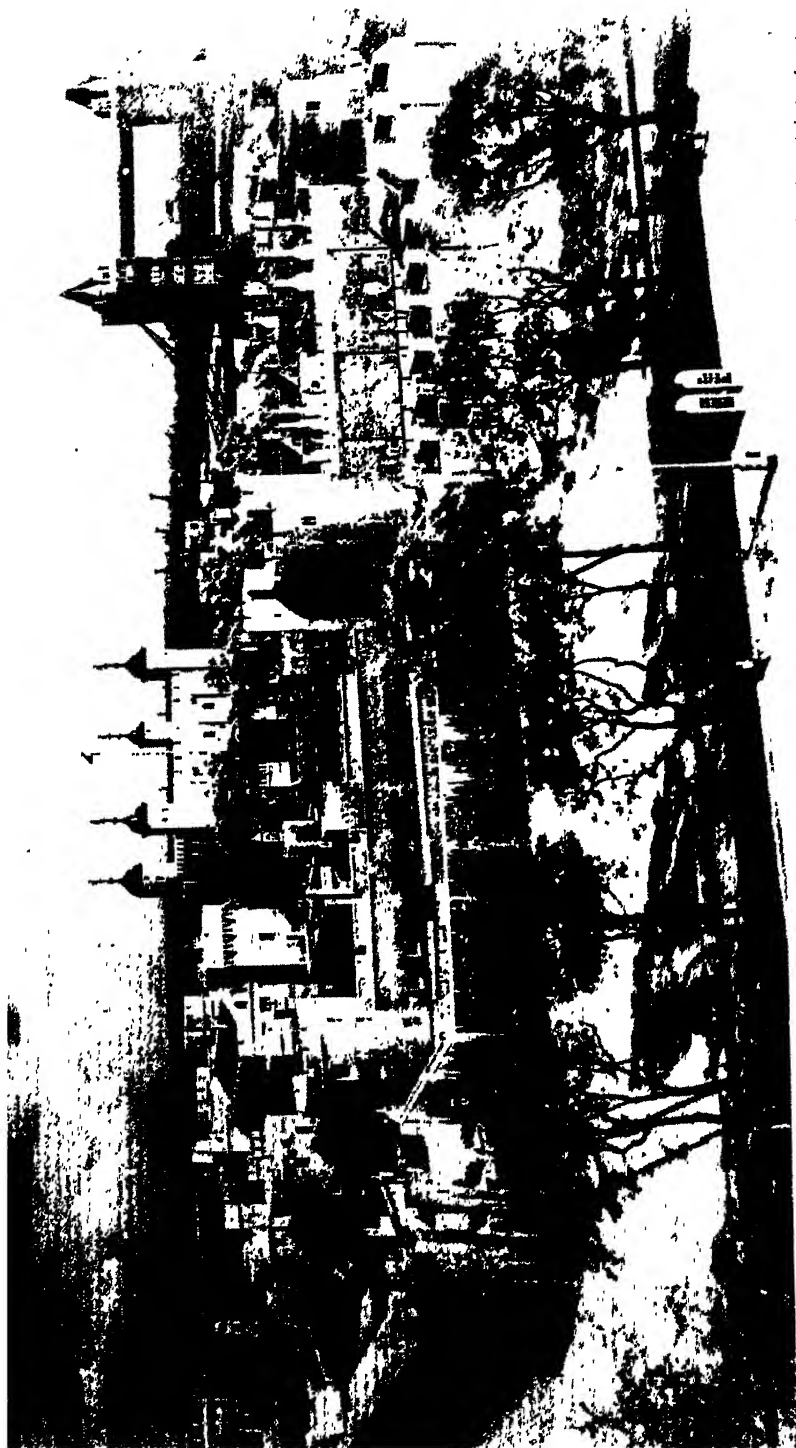
b. The British Isles

England, Ireland, Scotland

The British Isles: Nowhere did Protestantism produce greater disaster than in the English-speaking countries—although here the break with Rome came not through the spread of false doctrine nor reaction against clerical corruption, but chiefly because the king would have his way in spite of the pope. A schism at first rather than a heresy, Anglicanism in the latter part of the century was affected by a series of coincidences which wrote the doom of English Catholicism. As a consequence Ireland suffered a long and cruel religious persecution, and Scotland lost the faith almost entirely.

England: The rise of English sea power had made England the chief rival of Spain for supremacy in Europe. Commercial disputes sharpened antagonism between the two countries; Elizabeth's adviser, Cecil, was an implacable enemy of the Church; and, at a critical moment, Catholic leaders undertook to establish the claim of Mary Queen of Scots to the royal succession in England. Everything went wrong; the expected support from Spain did not materialize; an armed rising in the north of England was easily put down; hundreds of Catholics were executed; and Pope Pius V issued a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth which led the English people to associate loyalty to the pope with treason to the crown.²⁶ Cecil's position was strengthened and his animus against the Church grew more bitter; the law made it a crime punishable by death to hear Mass even in secret; a new generation grew up almost uninstructed in the Catholic religion.

²⁶ The bull *Regnans in excelsis* (February 25, 1570) was the last sentence of deposition pronounced by the Holy See against a sovereign. The king of Spain and the king of France refused to allow it to be published in their dominions; and King Philip declared that no act of the pope had caused him so much displeasure. Lingard writes, "If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have been disappointing. The time was gone when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes." Cardinal Gasquet describes the bull as "embarrassing and painful"; and Belloc declares that it was issued "when it could only exasperate and be of no political service." Pastor (XVIII, 223) comments that among English Catholics "the bull with its prohibition of obedience to the Queen led to doubts and scruples, and consequently to various interpretations of the Papal prescriptions, as well as to divisions and disagreements."



Courtesy of J. G. Thompson

TOWER OF LONDON
Prison of Catholic Martyrs under Henry VIII and Elizabeth

[illegible]

Meanwhile, an important chapter in the history of Catholicism was being written by thousands of English Catholics who took refuge on the Continent. Some of them played leading roles in the intrigues which aimed at the re-establishing of the Church through political negotiations or by force of arms; but the great majority—especially after the Armada disaster—devoted themselves to spiritual and intellectual activities. Probably never more than three thousand in number at any given time, these exiles achieved extraordinary success;²⁷ the houses and colleges they established were chief factors in keeping the English Church alive during the day of persecution and in preparing for its later convalescence.

Soon after coming to the throne, Henry VIII (1509-1547) married Catherine of Aragon, widow of his brother and aunt of Charles V—Pope Julius II having granted dispensation from the impediment of affinity. Three boys and one girl were born; only one survived, the Princess Mary. In 1519 Henry turned to Elizabeth Blount. Later he devoted himself to Mary Boleyn, a niece of the duke of Norfolk, and later again in 1526 to her sister, Anne Boleyn. In 1527 Henry, wishing to marry Anne, voiced a doubt as to whether the dispensation granted by Julius II had really validated his marriage; and, with the aid of Cardinal Wolsey, he set about the securing of an annulment.²⁸ To Henry's request for a dispensation to contract a fresh marriage, Clement VII answered in a bull drawn up in December 1527, granting the dispensation on the condition that proof could be furnished of the invalidity of the first marriage. Wolsey then asked the pope to authorize him to adjudicate the case. Despite the pressure exerted by Francis I, who intervened in Henry's behalf, the pope would do no more than commission Wolsey and the Cardinal legate, Campeggio, to examine the evidence and to render a decision in accord with the facts.

When in 1529 the king and queen were cited before the court of the

²⁷ Some idea of the extent and importance of this movement—not yet thoroughly investigated—may be gathered from Dr. Guilday's careful study of its influence in the Netherlands. He draws attention to the contrast between the Catholic refugees and the French and Flemish Protestants who took refuge in England—perhaps some 150,000 in all—and notes that, whereas the Protestant refugees have been written up exhaustively and eulogistically, the Catholic exiles "have been branded as unpatriotic and traitorous" and have been neglected by historians. *The English Catholic Refugees* . . . , I, p. XXI.

²⁸ Among the king's motives was his wish for a son. "Henry desired a male heir, of course, but that desire was not the mainspring of the divorce. It is essential to history that we should grasp its true motive force: the will and tenacity of Anne." Hilaire Belloc, in *Preface to The Reformation in England* by G. Constant, I, p. xiii.

two legates, the queen appealed her case to the pope and withdrew. Alone of the English bishops, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, came out strongly in favor of the validity of the marriage between Henry and Catherine; and a little later Clement VII recalled the case to be decided at Rome. Thereupon Henry—whose refutation of Lutheranism ten years before had obtained for him from Pope Leo X the title “Defender of the Faith”—adopted a policy which led step by step to the denial of papal supremacy. In 1533 he persuaded the pope to bestow the office of archbishop of Canterbury on Thomas Cranmer, a priest who had secretly accepted Protestant teachings and had married. Cranmer pronounced the first marriage of the king null and void on the ground that the pope had no power to dispense Catherine from the impediment to her first marriage; and five days later he validated the marriage which Henry and Anne Boleyn had already secretly contracted. When Pope Clement declared the divorce and remarriage null and excommunicated Henry, the king appealed from the pope to a future council. In reply to the friendly remonstrances of King Francis I, Henry promised merely that he would remain in the Catholic Church, if Clement yielded. Clement refused to yield and Henry thereupon repudiated the supremacy of the pope.

Meanwhile the king had been imposing his own will upon England. For much of the time after 1515 he governed without a parliament; and both nobles and clerics were forced to obey him blindly. In this policy he was supported by Cardinal Wolsey, an ambitious man who used the extraordinary powers given to him as papal legate to better his own personal position.

In 1535 Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, making the king supreme head of the Church of England and obliging every English subject to take the Oath of Succession and thereby to recognize the validity of the marriage between Henry and Anne.²⁹ Anyone who refused the oath was by that very fact suspected of treason. Most of the bishops, priests, monks, and laity took the oath and repudiated the papal authority; but John Fisher, seventy-seven-year-old Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas More, ex-Chancellor of England, refused to take it and suffered martyrdom in 1535.³⁰ Thomas Cromwell (vicar general in ecclesiastical matters) and his agents visited convents and monasteries, closing many of them and confiscating their property on false charges of misconduct. A number of monks who took the same stand as Fisher and More were executed. A rebellion in the north, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, was overcome first by lying promises and then by summary executions. In 1535 Paul III

²⁹ The “succession” implied the legitimacy of Elizabeth, born of this marriage in 1533.

³⁰ Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as chancellor in 1529, had already lost the king's favor because of his opposition to the royal will in regard to Henry's divorce, the doctrine of papal supremacy, and the punishment of heretics.

declared that Henry, already under excommunication for more than two years, should be deposed. This was the critical moment of the English "Reformation"; and Henry in all probability would have been forced to give way had Spain and France supported Paul. But Charles and Francis, distrustful of each other, were unwilling to turn Henry VIII into an antagonist; and they made it clear that they would take no steps to effect his deposition. The cardinals therefore refused to approve the Bull of Deposition; and the pope withheld it until 1538.

With the death of Queen Catherine and the execution of Anne Boleyn on charges of infidelity in 1536, the way seemed clear for Henry's return to the Church. But the confiscation of monastic property had proved so lucrative that the king continued and even intensified that policy. By this means he reduced the pope's strongest supporters to poverty and at the same time acquired revenue previously devoted to religion, charity, and education.⁸¹ Anxious at the same time to prove his own orthodoxy, Henry enacted laws requiring all English subjects to profess certain Catholic doctrines denied by the Protestants.⁸²

Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, died at the birth of her child, the future Edward VI. Henry then married a Lutheran, Anne of Cleves, and divorced her within a year. His fifth wife, Catherine Howard, was beheaded in 1542; and her successor, Catherine Parr, was on the eve of being executed when Henry died in 1547.

Henry was survived by three children—Mary, daughter of his first wife; Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn; and Edward VI. Edward succeeded to the throne at the age of ten; and the government was taken over by his uncle, the duke of Somerset, acting as regent. The boy king was brought

⁸¹ The chief religious orders in England at the time of the suppression were the Carthusians, the Black Monks (Benedictines, Cluniacs), the White Monks (Cistercians), the Regular Canons, Black (Austin), and White (Premonstratensian), and the four orders of Mendicant Friars, in addition to Benedictine, Cistercian, Gilbertine, Augustinian, Premonstratensian and Minoress nuns. It has been calculated that within ten years Henry confiscated monastic property worth sixteen million pounds at present-day valuation. Much of this wealth was used to enrich Henry's friends and thus cement their attachment to his cause.

An old calumny repeated in textbooks and general histories for more than three centuries, alleged that the monasteries were suppressed on account of the immoral and criminal conduct of the inmates. "No modern historian repeats the old accusations." G. Constant. *op. cit.*, I, 153.

⁸² Henry upheld Transubstantiation, sufficiency of Communion under one species, ecclesiastical celibacy, the validity of the vow of chastity, the utility of private Masses for the souls in purgatory, auricular confession.

In Henry's Ten Articles of 1536 and his Six Articles of 1539, some historians find no departure from Catholic doctrine except the denial of papal supremacy; and they regard the first Book of Common Prayer (1549) in the reign of Edward VI, as the earliest official record of England's conversion to Protestantism. Other historians hold that Protestant infiltrations were already visible in Henry's pronouncements. See G. Constant, *op. cit.*, II, 15, for references to his controversy with E. C. Messenger. See also Messenger, *The Downside Review* (Apr. 1942), pp. 123 ff.

up a Protestant; and the English nation began to be drilled in the more extreme doctrines of Calvin. The *Book of Common Prayer*—published in 1549 and revised by Cranmer in 1552—substituted a Communion Service in English for the Mass and sanctioned Protestant views of the Eucharist. The new form of ordination by implication denied belief in the sacrament of holy orders; and the authorities in many places destroyed altars and vestments as idolatrous.

To prevent the coming of a Catholic to the throne, Edward VI named as his successor a Calvinist, Lady Jane Grey;³³ but the Catholic Mary Tudor (1553–1558), daughter of Henry and Catherine, became queen, and Jane Grey was executed. Mary's plan to effect an immediate reconciliation with Rome was delayed by the unwillingness of the Holy See to permit the confiscated Church property to remain in the hands of its owners. In 1554, however, Julius III accepted this condition, and Cardinal Reginald Pole restored England to the Catholic communion.³⁴

Mary's unpopular marriage to Philip II of Spain alienated the sympathy of many in England; and her method of re-establishing the old religion antagonized others. Against the advice of Cardinal Pole, she invoked the laws which provided capital punishment for heretics; and Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Latimer and Ridley, with about two hundred seventy-five other persons were burned at the stake. The subsequent popular reaction, exploited by her enemies, fastened upon her the title of "Bloody Mary" and did much to prevent the return of England to Catholicism. Another blow to the popularity of the Church was the capture of Calais by the French, at that time allies of the pope.

Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole both died in 1558. Mary had named Elizabeth (1558–1603), daughter of Anne Boleyn, as her successor with the stipulation that Elizabeth would retain the Catholic faith; but Elizabeth, without at first making any public statement as to her religious belief, allowed her policy to be determined by William Cecil, a Calvinist in

³³ Granddaughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII.

³⁴ The cardinal's task was difficult. "Pole had to deal with the Emperor, a man well meaning and passably conscientious indeed, but absorbed in the cares of the world; with Granvelle, priest by profession, but by preference a statesman; with Philip, devout, but utterly convinced that the Kingdom of God was identical with the Hapsburg supremacy; with the nobles and gentlemen of England, their consciences calloused by violence, treachery and greed." (H. F. M. Prescott, *A Spanish Tudor*, p. 366.) Parliament held back until assured that those who held Church lands would be confirmed in peaceful possession of them. "That confirmation received, they made no bones about the legislation that was required of them. Quickly, if not quite smoothly, bills passed both houses restoring the old acts against heretics, forbidding the assembly of worshippers in secret conventicles, repealing all the religious and ecclesiastical changes made by Henry VIII's Parliaments from the twentieth year of his reign onwards, abrogating also the Royal Supremacy which was of an older date than that, and devising punishments for sedition." *Ibid.*, p. 370.

religion, who was bent upon the destruction of Catholicism in England. Elizabeth undertook to govern the realm "in spirituals," annulled the laws passed by Mary in favor of Catholics, recalled the English ambassador from Rome, and by an Act of Uniformity prescribed the substitution of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI for the Catholic liturgy. Most of the laity accepted the change quietly; but half of the clergy and all of the bishops, except Bishop Kitchin of Llandaff, refused to conform. The bishops were replaced by government appointees; some four hundred priests were deposed and others resigned.⁸⁵ Matthew Parker was "consecrated" Archbishop of Canterbury according to an invalid form. As the succession of the Anglican hierarchy descended through him, the Church of England, even though a state establishment, no longer possessed valid orders.

In the year 1563 Parliament changed the religion of England into a definite heresy by promulgating Thirty-nine Articles which repudiated many Catholic doctrines.⁸⁶ In 1570 Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth.⁸⁷ Parliament then passed a bill making it an act of treason to recognize the papal authority and confiscating the property of those Catholics

⁸⁵ After the death of Bishop Bonner in 1569 the Catholic clergy remained without a head until 1598 when the Holy See appointed George Blackwell archpriest with jurisdiction over all England.

⁸⁶ The Thirty-nine Articles acquired the force of law and English subjects had to reject all sacraments except baptism and the Lord's Supper, and to regard Transubstantiation, the Real Presence, and the Sacrifice of the Mass as "blasphemous fables." Elizabeth herself, instead of adjusting her personal conduct to these articles, retained the Prayer Book of Edward VI and approved the use of Catholic ceremonies and vestments. On this account she was denounced by many of the Calvinistic clergy, who acquired the name "Puritans" through their advocacy of a "purer" form of worship.

⁸⁷ The evidence against Elizabeth was formally presented to the Holy See in February 1570. "The chief points in the accusation were the assumption of authority as *head of the English church*, the deprivation and imprisonment of bishops, the assumption of visitatorial rights, the introduction of an oath injurious to papal authority, the passing of laws against the pope, the encouragement of heresy, etc." (Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 76-77.) On several questions connected with the condition of English Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth, light has been thrown in recent years by Dr. Meyer's researches in the Vatican Library and archives, and by the writings of the Jesuit, Father John H. Pollen, who in Meyer's opinion, "is hardly surpassed as a specialist in Elizabethan Catholic history."

Elizabeth's Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity became the basis of a penal code which legalized the persecution of Catholics for two hundred years. A number of English historians (notably Hume) have attempted to justify this proceeding; but Greene, in his *Short History*, wrote: "There is something even more revolting than open persecution in the policy which brands every Catholic priest as a traitor, all Catholic worship as disloyalty." It is now commonly recognized that the accusation of treason was merely a dishonest pretext. "The investigation of the Holy See in the causes of canonization of the so-called English Catholic martyrs has shown that so far as is ascertainable the fear of the government was groundless, for all of these Catholics executed by Elizabeth died protesting their loyalty to her (e.g. Edmund Campion)." s.v. "Catholic Emancipation," *Columbia Encyc.*, p. 314. *The New Catholic Dictionary* gives the names of over 600 English martyrs who died between 1535 and 1681.

who had taken refuge on the Continent. The fact that several conspiracies to dethrone Elizabeth were promoted by some Catholics was used by the government to classify every Catholic as a potential traitor. In 1588 Catholic priests were required to leave England under penalty of capital punishment, and persecution raged for the next twenty years. Nevertheless the supply of priests did not die out immediately; and at the end of the century there were three hundred sixty priests on the English mission. Sixteen of these were Jesuits; fifty had held on since the reign of Mary; and nearly three hundred had come from the English College in Rome and from the English seminary established at Douai in 1568—transferred later to Rheims because of the Dutch revolution. Among the priests who entered England in defiance of the law and who became martyrs, was Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J. The total number of Catholics put to death during the reign of Elizabeth was two hundred twenty-one, of whom one hundred twenty-eight were priests and three were women. Thirty-two were Franciscans who suffered death by starvation. Notable among the martyrs was Margaret Clithero, pressed to death between heavy stones for hiding a priest from the pursuivants.

Meanwhile, Calvinism had been winning numerous recruits among the peasantry, the country gentry, and the commercial classes. As this group expressed dislike of the old liturgy and of the episcopalian form of Church government, the Anglican bishop, Richard Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, published an elaborate defense of Episcopalianism; and in 1582 Elizabeth instituted a High Court Commission to suppress Puritanism, as the new movement was called. Despite opposition, however, the Puritans developed into a political party and acquired considerable power.

Ireland: The subservient Dublin Parliament bestowed the title "King of Ireland" on Henry VIII, accepted the royal supremacy and—by the Act of Uniformity in 1559—required all the people to attend Protestant services. Outside the area around Dublin (the Pale), the country continued loyal to the pope; not more than six or eight of the nearly thirty bishops conformed; and, even within the Pale, most of the nobility who had accepted the bribe of confiscated monastic lands remained Catholic. Throughout Henry's reign, both king and pope followed a cautious policy in the matter of punishing disobedience or desertion; and, on the whole, the power of the pope seemed to increase. In view of the Dublin Parliament's disapproval of anti-

Catholic legislation, the administration was forced to invoke martial law.³⁸

After the excommunication of Elizabeth, the crown, although more aggressive, was still careful not to alienate possible friends or to create enemies unnecessarily. Employing persuasion instead of compulsion, and insisting that punishment was being inflicted for treason rather than for non-conformity, the government dissuaded the Catholics from lending general support to the armed attempts to restore Catholicism made by Fitzmaurice in 1579 and by O'Neill in 1595.³⁹ The earlier attempt was suppressed quickly; but O'Neill's campaign was more formidable. Nevertheless the Catholics of the Pale and the nobles of the south held aloof—despite the fact that Clement VIII granted to O'Neill's soldiers the usual indulgence of crusaders. O'Neill suffered a disastrous defeat at Kinsale (1601); and soon afterwards persecution of Catholics in Ireland began in earnest.⁴⁰

Scotland: A large proportion of the Scottish nobility died with James IV at Flodden Field (1513) battling the English; and of those who survived many favored England's overlordship. When Protestantism appeared, it quickly found supporters. James V (1513–1542), a loyal Catholic, son of Margaret Tudor (sister of Henry VIII), married the daughter of the French king, Francis I; and after her death he married Mary, daughter of the strongly Catholic duke of Guise. At death James left to his infant daughter, Mary Stuart, a country divided in racial and religious sym-

³⁸ Among the 260 or more Irish martyrs who died between 1537 and 1714, were 4 archbishops and 11 bishops. An official list of Irish martyrs (printed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Fifth Series, XI, 311) includes the names of 20 who died in prison, 36 put to death apparently without legal process, and 39 executed—in most cases by martial law.

³⁹ After Fitzmaurice who had received Gregory XIII's blessing had landed at Dingle in Kerry, the English government, fearing a country-wide rebellion, ordered Dublin to concede freedom of worship if the rebels could thus be induced to submit to the queen. Some Protestant writers advance the theory that the first official appearance of Tridentine Catholicism in Ireland took place when Fitzmaurice landed. "But no one acquainted with Catholic belief and Catholic outlook could accept that theory for one moment." Robert Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland*, p. 253.

⁴⁰ O'Neill had appealed to the Holy See to excommunicate those Catholic Irish who refused to support him or who aided the crown; but the Catholics of the Pale maintained that O'Neill was chiefly concerned with establishing his own power in Ireland—a charge unsupported by evidence. O'Neill's friends expected that the Holy See would comply with his request, but in vain. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

pathies. The Protestant preacher, George Wishart, was burned at St. Andrews for heresy (1546); the primate of Scotland, Cardinal Beaton, was assassinated. Protestants, led by John Knox, seized the Castle of St. Andrews; and the duke of Somerset, at the head of an English army, crossed the border and defeated the Scottish Catholics at Pinkie in 1547. The young queen, Mary Stuart, was sent to France by her mother; at the age of sixteen, she married the dauphin, later King Francis II.

At the national council of Edinburgh, the Catholic leaders passed laws to correct the serious abuses which had afflicted the Scottish Church, and to provide for the better instruction of priests and people. Nevertheless, the Protestant movement continued to spread. In 1557 a band of nobles, who called themselves the "Lords of the Congregation," organized a Solemn League and Covenant to promote the new religion, and demanded toleration for Protestant worship; the government, then under the regency of Mary of Guise, refused.

The execution of Walter Mylne for heresy in 1558 was the prelude to a new outbreak, and Knox led mobs in their attack upon churches and monasteries. In the civil war which followed, the French aided the government and the English helped the rebels. In 1560 the queen regent died; and a treaty of peace signed at Edinburgh registered the triumph of the Protestant nobles. Parliament adopted Protestantism as the State religion, abolished the jurisdiction of the pope over the Church of Scotland, and prohibited the saying or hearing of Mass under penalty of death. The nobles then proceeded to appropriate the wealth of the Church—which was considerable—and to destroy churches and monasteries.

On the death of her husband, the king of France, Mary Queen of Scots returned to her native land in 1561 and found herself a storm center of anti-Catholic riots. Unwisely, and perhaps not altogether freely, she married twice—first Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, great grandson of Henry VII of England, and after his murder in 1567, the profligate earl of Bothwell. A rising of the Scottish nobles, instigated by England, forced her abdication. Her infant son, James VI, was crowned at Sterling; her half

brother, Moray, one of her chief enemies, became regent; and Mary escaped from prison in Scotland and took refuge with her cousin, Queen Elizabeth, only to encounter a remorseless foe. During her nineteen years in English prisons, Catholics, financed from Spain, attempted her deliverance, first in one way and then in another. Finally, in the belief that Elizabeth's health was failing, Cecil, the English chief minister, decided to make sure of Mary's exclusion from the throne; and in 1587 she was put to death.⁴¹ Meanwhile anti-Catholic laws had been enacted in Scotland; Archbishop Hamilton, one of Mary's chief defenders, had been hanged; and James VI had signed a profession of belief in the Protestant faith. He was able to suppress the Catholic risings; Catholic leaders fled to the Continent; and Presbyterianism became the accepted religion of the country.⁴²

c. Other Countries

The Netherlands, Switzerland, Scandinavia

The Netherlands: The Spanish rulers suppressed the early manifestations of Lutheranism among the people by edicts of steadily increasing severity; and, when the Anabaptists in 1533 tried to seize Amsterdam, they only succeeded in provoking a more vigorous persecution. It was unfortunate for the Church that the government, hated for its oppressive taxation, was composed of Catholic Spaniards. It was unfortunate too, that the hunting down of rebels and heretics was carried on by Catholic Spanish soldiers. For, as a consequence, the Dutch came to identify patriotism with Protestantism; and the new sects gained numerous adherents—Lutherans in the north, Zwinglians in the south, Calvinists and Anabaptists scattered through various regions.

Philip II placed the government of the country in the hands of his half-sister, the **Duchess of Parma**, and retired to Spain in 1559. During

⁴¹ After an unjust trial, in which the (probably) forged "Casket Letters" were used against the defendant.

⁴² Queen Anne, the wife of James VI, a princess of Danish birth, was received into the Catholic Church about the year 1600 by a Jesuit, Father Abercrombie.

this absentee administration the regent grew less and less popular, and the nationalist party became more and more powerful.⁴³ When the Holy See, at Philip's request, erected three metropolitan sees—at Utrecht, Cambrai, and Mechlin—the Dutch people saw that this ecclesiastical reorganization tended to strengthen the government and they suspected that the Spanish Inquisition would soon be more active in the Netherlands. A petition for religious tolerance presented in 1566 was rejected; and the petitioners were named Gueux (beggars). The nationalists soon found a rallying center in Calvinism—much better organized than Lutheranism. At first the two chief leaders of the movement for independence were the Catholic, Count Egmont, and William of Orange, attached to no church but pledged to enmity against the Spanish. Before long the Calvinists acquired control, and in the riots of 1566 four hundred churches, including the Antwerp Cathedral, were wrecked. The duke of Alva, sent by King Philip in 1567 to quell the patriots, inaugurated a reign of terror; and the contest now developed into a religious war between Catholics and Protestants, complicated by such unhappy incidents as the "Spanish Fury" of 1576, in which a force of unpaid Spanish soldiers mutinied and killed thousands of the people of Antwerp. When the Calvinist leaders captured the city of Gorkum they slew nineteen priests and monks for refusing to renounce the Catholic faith.

The declaration of independence, known as the Pacification of Ghent, drawn up in 1576, contained a clause establishing religious toleration in all the provinces, except in Holland and Zeeland where Catholicism was prohibited. Under the leadership of Prince William of Orange, the Calvinists, aided by Protestant recruits from abroad, seized several of the large cities, including Antwerp and Brussels, and attempted to establish a Protestant state fashioned on the model of Geneva. To protect their own religious and material interests, the Catholic Walloons organized under the name, "The Malcontents"; and, having had their just grievances recognized by Philip's tactful regent, Farnese, they reestablished the royal authority in all of the south except Ostend. In 1579 the northern provinces formed the Union of Utrecht—the future Dutch Republic—and made Protestantism the state religion. Philip had to content himself with placing the ten Walloon provinces under the sovereignty of his daughter, Isabella, and her husband, Archduke Albert of Austria—with the proviso that the

⁴³ The Spanish policy in the Netherlands at this time was shaped to a great extent by Antoine de Granvelle, Archbishop of Mechlin, and son of the prime minister of Charles V. Created cardinal in 1561—a friendly gesture towards Philip II by Pope Pius IV—Granvelle proved to be a worldly-wise prelate, interested more in statecraft than in religion. The king was forced to send him out of the country by the protests of the Dutch nobles, who refused to attend the sessions of the Council of State while Granvelle was present.

country would revert to the Spanish crown if the couple should die childless.⁴⁴

Switzerland: The cantons divided into two groups, Catholic and Protestant. In Zurich and Basle monasteries were suppressed; and Catholics were expelled from the Great Council. In 1529 the Catholic cantons formed a group for self-defense and a war took place. Peace was effected on the basis of mutual toleration; but Catholics were deprived of their rights in Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen. In 1536 the Protestants of Berne seized Lausanne, confiscated Church property and drove the bishop into exile; and in the same year Calvin converted Geneva into a "Protestant Rome."

Scandinavia: The three Scandinavian countries were united in a single monarchy at this time; and, as in an earlier day the Scandinavian rulers had led their people into the Church, so now they led them out. In Denmark, where the higher clergy possessed much wealth but little zeal, Christian III introduced Lutheranism in 1533 as a help to curb the power of the bishops; Danish officials forcibly imposed the new religion upon both Danes and Norwegians. In Sweden, where the clergy and the nobility opposed the nationalist movement, Protestantism was established by the popular hero, Gustavus I Vasa (1523-1560). Throughout Scandinavia Church property was confiscated, monasteries were suppressed, religious were driven into apostasy or exile; and, by the end of the century, the Catholic faith had been practically eliminated.

Denmark: In 1526 Frederick I (1523-1533) made open profession of the Lutheran faith; and a few years later he began the systematic destruction of the old religion, using Lutheranism to increase his own power at the expense of the bishops and the nobles. Under his son, Christian III, Lutheranism was established as the state religion. As no Catholic schools were left in Denmark, a few of the higher nobles sent their sons out of the country to the Jesuit college at Braunsberg.

⁴⁴ Philip arranged the marriage between Isabella and his nephew Albert (who was a cardinal although not a priest) and obtained the necessary dispensation from the Holy See.

Sweden: Sweden affords one more illustration of the way in which the nationalistic spirit favored the introduction of Protestantism. When the country declared itself independent of Denmark in 1501, the archbishop of Upsala and a group of powerful, wealthy bishops who opposed the movement were imprisoned. The pope then placed Sweden under an interdict, and authorized Christian II of Denmark to enforce the decree. After Christian had overcome the Swedish nationalists, the archbishop of Upsala insisted upon their punishment and a large number of them, including two bishops and many nobles, were executed.

In a new uprising ten years later, **Gustavus Vasa**, a Swedish noble who was supported secretly by the Protestants, pretended to be a loyal Catholic until he gained control. Having been made king in 1523, he openly professed Lutheranism, confiscated Church property, expelled the Dominicans from the country, and executed two of the bishops. Many of the clergy apostatized through fear. Assuming ecclesiastical authority, the king then introduced the vernacular liturgy, abolished clerical celibacy, and prohibited communication with the Holy See. The Augsburg Confession was adopted as the official creed of Sweden; and all persons were authorized to take back anything donated to the Church by their ancestors later than 1453. Cecilia, daughter of Gustavus, became a Catholic, but her brothers followed their father; and the separation between Sweden and Rome became permanent. **John III**, who married a Polish princess, was converted to the Catholic faith (by the Jesuit, Father Possevino), but he was unable to win back the country to the Church. His son, **Sigismund**, king of Sweden and of Poland, was deposed in 1599; and in the next reign all converts to Catholicism were banished, and a number of Catholic nobles were executed.

3. AMERICA

A notable chapter of history was written in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the newly discovered Western Hemisphere. Spain laid claim to all America, both North and South, except the region east of the Line of Demarcation; and most of the Spanish colonies came under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain in Mexico and the viceroy of Peru in Lima. Priests arrived with Columbus on his second voyage; Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and secular clergy were soon crossing the Atlantic by hundreds.⁴⁵ They baptized a vast number of

⁴⁵ Between 1513 and 1540 missionaries followed Balboa to the Pacific, De León to Florida, Cortés to Mexico, Pizarro to Peru, Valdivia to Chile, Coronado to New Mexico,

natives and opened numerous schools for children and young people. The Indians as a rule responded readily to the appeal of the missionaries; and, although a number retained their old pagan beliefs even after they were baptized, others lived holy and edifying lives. Before the end of the century, however, for one reason or another both the fervor of the neophytes and the zeal of the missionaries diminished.⁴⁶

Spanish Colonies: The Spanish government gradually came to realize the political importance of the missions and the wisdom of lending them strong support. Nevertheless local officials were chiefly concerned with exploiting the country in behalf of the royal treasury; and the easiest method of doing this was to keep the Indians at forced labor under fear of cruel punishment. One result was that the Indians identified Christianity with their oppressors, assassinated individual missionaries in lonely places at times, and occasionally took their revenge by sudden uprisings in which all foreigners were massacred.⁴⁷ Another consequence was a rift between the commandants and the priests who championed the cause of the native and obtained decrees from the Spanish crown and the Holy See curbing brutality and injustice. It was largely because of these decrees that the record

De Soto to the Mississippi. Conspicuous among the early missionaries was the Dominican, Bartolomé de Las Casas (c. 1474-1566), who attempted to found an Indian colony on the coast of Venezuela in 1519. First as a missionary and later as bishop of Chiapas, he defended the Indians against exploitation by the local Spanish authorities and even carried an appeal to the royal court at Madrid. St. Louis Bertrand (1526-1582), another Spanish Dominican, converted thousands in his seven years of work among the natives along the coasts of Colombia and Panama. The Franciscan, Toribio de Benevente, also called Motolinia (d. 1568), visited Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua. Another Franciscan, Francis Solanus (d. 1610)—canonized in 1726—went to Peru, Argentina, Paraguay.

⁴⁶ Distressing reports were written by Jesuit, Dominican, and Augustinian missionaries, and by Francisco Toledo, royal viceroy of Peru (1569-1581). The curious combination of Christian faith and pagan practice characteristic of the *conquistadores* is naively illustrated in the chronicle of Bernal Díaz, a captain under Cortés. After narrating that twenty Indian women of Tobasco presented to the Spaniards were instructed and baptized, Díaz continues as follows: ". . . these were the first christian women in New Spain; Cortés gave one to each of his captains." One of these women, the celebrated Doña Marina, was given first to a cavalier named Puertocarrero and later, when he returned to Spain, Cortés "took her to himself"; she afterwards married a cavalier named Juan Xaramillo. See *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico, Written in the Year 1568* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1927), pp. 77-79.

⁴⁷ In the present territory of the United States, Dominicans, who settled near Tampa Bay in 1549, and Jesuits, who opened a mission on Chesapeake Bay in 1570, were killed by Indians.

of the *conquistadores* compares so favorably with the English treatment of the Indians of North America.⁴⁸

New Spain: The first sees in the New World were canonically erected in the island of Hispaniola by Julius II in 1504; but his decree never became effective, owing to disputes with King Ferdinand over the question of revenue.⁴⁹ In 1511 Pope Julius created three dioceses, two in Hispaniola (amalgamated into one a few years later), and a third in San Juan of Puerto Rico. Bishop Manso of San Juan—first bishop to reside in the New World—found upon his arrival a congregation of some two hundred white people and more than twice that many native Christians. Franciscans had already established a monastery and a school for boys on the island of Hispaniola. How fast the faith spread on the adjacent shores may be seen by the dates of the sees erected between 1511 and 1545, the year in which three ecclesiastical provinces were established. At the end of the century there were thirty-seven mission centers in Yucatan and more than forty monasteries in Guatemala.⁵⁰

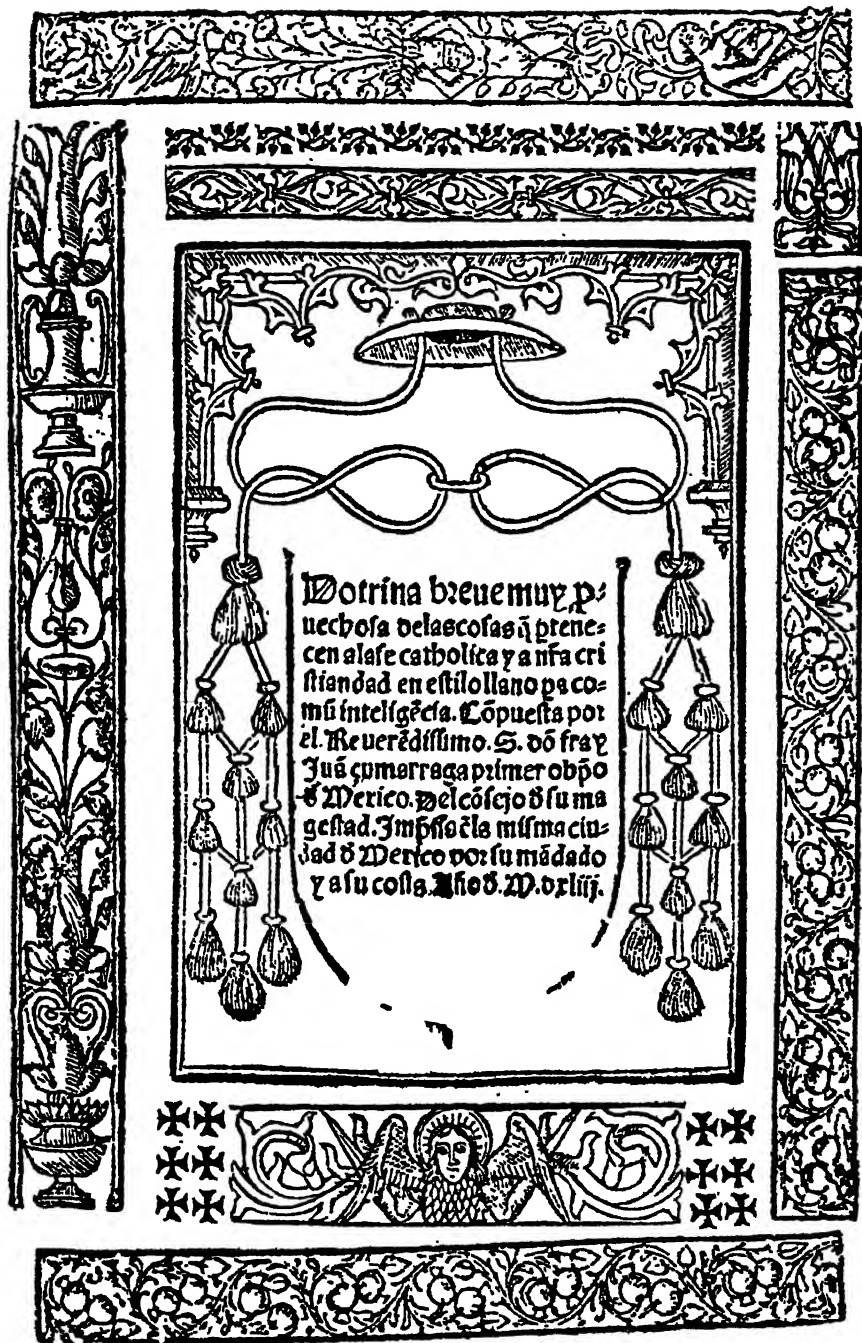
⁴⁸ "The legislation of Spain in behalf of the Indians everywhere was incomparably more extensive, more comprehensive, more systematic and more humane than that of Great Britain, the Colonies and the present United States combined. Those first teachers gave the Spanish language and Christian faith to a thousand aborigines, where we gave a new language and religion to one. There have been Spanish schools for Indians in America since 1524. By 1575—nearly a century before there was a printing-press in English America—many books in *twelve* different Indian languages had been printed in the city of Mexico, whereas in our history John Eliot's Indian Bible stands alone; and three Spanish universities in America were nearly rounding out their century when Harvard was founded. A surprisingly large proportion of the pioneers of America were college men; and intelligence went hand in hand with heroism in the early settlement of the New World." C. F. Lummis, *The Spanish Pioneers*, p. 24.

As already noted, there has been a radical revision of many conventional notions about the early history of Spanish America. 1. A number of authors formerly considered reliable—including Sir Clements Robert Markham, translator of early Peruvian chronicles for the Hakluyt Society—have been discredited. 2. The aspersions cast on De Soto by Las Casas and by "the Gentleman of Elvas" were, at least in part, calumnious. 3. Modern research has destroyed "the traditional legend about the persecution of books"; a high state of culture prevailed. 4. The *encomienda* system was by no means as cruel and unjust as has been commonly supposed. 5. Earlier judgments on the Mexican Inquisition are now rated as "quite unfair." See Francis Borgia Steck, "Some Recent Trends and Findings. . . ." *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (1942), pp. 13-42.

⁴⁹ In 1501 Alexander VI granted to the king of Spain all the ecclesiastical tithes of the colonies, with the understanding that this income was to be used for the spread of the faith. In 1508 Julius II conceded the *Real Patronato*, that is, the royal right of nominating to all benefices in the Spanish colonies—a privilege which made the king practically a vicar apostolic and was among the greatest concessions ever granted by the Holy See to any government.

Later (1514), Leo X granted to King Emmanuel of Portugal a similar right of patronage over all bishoprics and benefices in countries already conquered or to be conquered by him in the Indies or in any parts of the world as yet unknown.

⁵⁰ Influenced by political and commercial motives, the Spanish authorities made several attempts to found settlements in North America. St. Augustine, the first parish



Courtesy of the U.S. Catholic Historical Society

ZUMARRAGA'S "DOTRINA BREVE" (1543)

First book published in the Western Hemisphere



DOMINICAN UNIVERSITY OF SANTO TOMÁS, MANILA (1611)

Oldest university under the American flag; Japanese prison for American captives in World War II



DOMINICAN UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS, LIMA (1551)

First of five universities established by Spain in the New World before 1600.
(Faculty of Law)

Mexico City, the capital of the Aztec civilization, was conquered by Cortés in 1521. It became the seat of the viceroy of New Spain in 1535 and an archdiocese ten years later. Twelve Franciscans who landed in 1524 accompanied the various expeditions which explored the surrounding country. By the middle of the century there were eighty Franciscan monasteries and nearly four hundred missionaries; and their missionary colleges at Queretaro (1531) and Zacatecas (1546) sent priests into northern Mexico and the territory of the present United States.

Hundreds of Dominicans and Augustinians followed the Franciscans. Twelve Jesuits, sent by their general, St. Francis Borgia, in 1572, established numerous missions in the north; and five of them, preaching the faith along the Sinaloa River, baptized some forty thousand Yaqui Indians. By the end of the century there were probably two thousand priests in Mexico, and millions of natives had been baptized.

The early missionaries wrote treatises on the antiquities of Mexico and on the early history of the Spanish settlements, compiled dictionaries and grammars of the Aztec, the Maya, and other languages, and translated the Epistles and Gospels into Aztec.⁵¹

Bishop Zumarraga, a Franciscan, who brought with him two hundred volumes, established the first library on this continent in 1528. In 1534 came the first printing-press. Fragments are still preserved of two books printed in Mexico in 1540 and 1543. The oldest extant book printed on

established in the present United States (1565), became a missionary headquarters; and missions were carried on in the future states of Georgia and South Carolina.

The rapid growth of the Church is indicated in the list below. Santo Domingo on Hispaniola, headquarters of the American missions, was raised to the rank of archdiocese in 1545 with five suffragan sees in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Venezuela, Cartagena, and Honduras. In the same year Pope Paul III, at the request of the Emperor Charles V, erected two other metropolitan sees—Mexico City for the Province of New Spain, and Lima for the Province of Peru. All three were independent of Seville.

Early Sees

1511 Santo Domingo	1534-47-64 Colombia (3 sees)
1511 Puerto Rico	1535 Oaxaca
1518 Cuba	1536 Michoacan
1518 Yucatán	1536-43-77-77 Peru (4 sees)
1520 Panama	1545 Ecuador
1527 Honduras	1546 Chiapas
1527 Mexico City	1547 Paraguay
1527 Tlaxacala	1548 Guadalajara (Compostela)
1530 Venezuela	1551 Brazil
1534 Guatemala	1551 Bolivia
1534 Nicaragua	1561 Chile (2 sees)
	1570 Argentina

⁵¹ Notable among these authors were the Franciscans, Molina, Sahagún, Torquemada, Mendieta, and Benavente. The last named, also known as Motolinia, was a bold champion of the oppressed Indians.

this side of the Atlantic is the *Doctrina Breve* of Zumarraga, published in 1543.⁵²

At the free schools attached to the various Franciscan missions, the natives were taught to read and write. Bishop Zumarraga founded six schools for girls in his diocese of Mexico, bringing six women teachers from Spain in 1530 and six more in 1534. Reading became so common an accomplishment among the natives that the bishop proposed to have the catechism translated into the Indian tongue. The College of Santa Cruz was founded at Tlaltelolco in 1536; and three other colleges were established within twenty years. The University of Mexico, chartered in 1551 and opened in 1553, received the same academic privileges as the University of Salamanca and possessed chairs of Theology, Scripture, Canon Law, Civil Law, Arts, Rhetoric, Grammar, and Medicine.

Peru: Lima, the capital of the vast empire of the Incas, was conquered by Pizarro in 1531; and in 1544 it became the seat of a Spanish viceroy who possessed almost unlimited powers.⁵³ As usual, missionaries set up schools and colleges in many places. The University of San Marcos, oldest university of the New World, founded at Lima in 1551, still remains an important institution.

St. Toribio (1538-1606), Archbishop of Lima in 1580, who covered immense distances in his missionary journeys, built roads, schools, chapels, hospitals, and convents, founded a seminary at Lima in 1591, and is said to have baptized and confirmed almost five hundred thousand persons. Before the end of the century Mercedarians, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits preached the Gospel all along the western coast. In 1582 the Peruvian Province of the Jesuits contained more than one hundred thirty members, fifty of whom understood the Indian language. Many abuses arose, however, due partly to oppression by the Spanish officials, partly to the unstable character of the Indians, and partly to the greed and ignorance of clerics who had come to the New World for the purpose of acquiring riches.

The missions to the Araucanian Indians of Chile were a total failure; and these natives remained hostile to Christianity for three hundred years.

Portuguese Colonies: A Franciscan who accompanied Cabral said Mass in Brazil in 1500; but colonization progressed slowly

⁵² Five of Zumarraga's books with his autograph are now preserved at the University of Texas, which possesses also a copy of the *Doctrina Breve*. Six other copies are extant in European and American libraries. A facsimile of the Mexican edition of 1543 has appeared in the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society.

⁵³ Bogotá became the headquarters (*audiencia*) of the provinces of New Granada, Santa Maria, Cartagena, Popayán, and Guiana in 1549; and it developed into the cultural capital of South America.

and it was not until 1547 that a governor-general established his residence in Bahia. In 1549 came six Jesuits, first members of the Society to appear in the New World; and by the year 1580 Jesuits had established more than thirty Indian settlements.

In view of Portugal's extraordinary powers over ecclesiastical appointments, the government must be held at least partly responsible for the fact that when the first bishop, Sardinha, reached Bahia in the year 1552, he brought with him ill-trained clergy who were more of an obstruction than an aid to the progress of religion.⁵⁴ Men de Sa, the new governor who arrived in 1577, immediately improved conditions, both material and spiritual. Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro became headquarters for mission work; and despite the brutality of white colonists, who robbed and enslaved the Indians, the missionaries reported gratifying success.

French Huguenots, who founded the first Protestant colony in America on the coast of Brazil in the year 1550 and made an ineffectual attempt to convert the natives, were soon driven out by the Portuguese. A few years later more than fifty Jesuits assigned to the Brazilian missions were captured at sea by Huguenots and put to death. After Brazil came under the jurisdiction of Spain in 1580, both colonies and missions suffered from British and French attacks as well as from native uprisings.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Now, if ever, it was imperative that the Church should be ruled by men of exceptional wisdom and holiness. But nearly every one of the seventeen papal elections was complicated by the feuds of great Italian families (Medici, Orsini, Colonna, Borgia) and by the bitter political struggles of the leading European states. During the first half of the century the candidates raised to the papal chair were, as a rule, unequal to the almost superhuman task confronting them.⁵⁵ Engaged in making the papacy independent and secure, Julius II postponed vital re-

⁵⁴ Ferocious tribes lived in the vicinity of Bahia, and the bishop, a few years after his coming, was taken prisoner and eaten by cannibals.

⁵⁵ Compared with contemporary sovereigns, the popes were short-lived too; five of the seventeen popes died within a year of election; and none held office for more than twelve years, except Paul III, Gregory XIII and Clement VIII. In the same century Germany had five rulers, France seven, Spain and England five each.

forms; Leo X, an extravagant spender, deaf to repeated warnings, devoted himself to the securing of revenue through indulgences while the Lutheran revolution was gathering momentum; Clement VII, inadequate and dilatory, saw the new religion extend its control over one-third of Europe.

The dependence of the papacy upon the good will of Catholic princes in those days seems, from a modern standpoint, almost incredible. Sovereigns, hostile to one another or to the reigning pope, made it for years impossible to open the badly needed council, or even to fix the place of meeting; they hindered bishops from attending the council when it eventually convened, and they protested against the discussion of certain dogmatic and disciplinary questions; after the council closed they forbade the promulgation of its decrees within their respective jurisdictions. Only extraordinary tact and persistence enabled Pius IV to bring the Council of Trent to a successful conclusion.

Once the Tridentine plan had been completed and published, a happy change took place. St. Pius V and Gregory XIII directed a campaign along the lines that had been agreed upon by the bishops; later popes, especially Sixtus V and Clement VIII, won back large areas to the faith; and Clement stabilized Catholicism in France. And although the spiritual forces had been mobilized too late to save Christendom from permanent division, at least the end of the century found the papacy stronger than it had been for generations.

Pius III (1503). While Alexander VI lay dying in August 1503, the Italian, French, and Spanish nations were quarreling over the choice of his successor. The Italian cardinals were divided into three factions; France and Spain opposed each other so fiercely that they aroused fears of a simoniacal election, a deadlock, perhaps even a schism.⁵⁶

The conclave adopted a pre-election agreement that a reforming council should be held within two years and a general council thereafter every three years. The favored candidates were Cardinal della Rovere (the future Julius II), Cardinal Caraffa (the future Paul IV), and the French cardinal, d'Amboise. As none of these could secure a majority, the cardinals elected Cardinal Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II, sickly and prematurely old, in

⁵⁶ Caesar Borgia, at the head of 12,000 men, was coöperating with the Spanish party; but the cardinals insisted that he should withdraw his army from Rome before the election.

the anticipation that his reign would not last long. He died within a few months.

Julius II (1503–1513). After the death of Pius III, the Italian candidate, Cardinal della Rovere, by an agreement with Caesar Borgia, secured the votes of the Spanish cardinals and was elected pope in the shortest conclave ever held up to that time. He confirmed the decision of the conclave that a general council should be summoned in two years and that the pope should always consult the Sacred College before declaring war or appointing new cardinals.

Julius placed the government of the Church on a sound basis, reorganized the administrative system, undertook to purify the Roman court and to reform the religious orders. Aware of formidable obstacles to the progress of reform, he devoted himself to the restoration of papal independence; and his success in freeing Italy of French control won for him the title, "Saviour of the Papacy." He heightened papal prestige considerably, although, on the other hand, he involved himself in serious diplomatic and military difficulties, offending the emperor at one time, and the king of France at another.⁵⁷ Worse than that, because of the financial strain of building St. Peter's, he was led to sell appointments and benefices and to authorize the publishing of indulgences on a huge scale, with the proviso that half the proceeds should go to the Holy See.

Julius was able to put an end to assassinations in Rome and to suppress the Jewish counterfeiters. He urged the Inquisition to proceed against heretics with vigor, yet warned the judges against the use of cruel measures. He opened the way for much of the activity which subsequently made Rome a center of aesthetic beauty by the favor he showed to Bramante, Michelangelo, and Raphael—although personally often at odds with the artists, especially with Michelangelo, over the execution of his commissions.⁵⁸

The Emperor Maximilian greatly embarrassed Julius by proposing to reorganize the Church in Germany on a national basis, thus making it

⁵⁷ Julius engaged in several wars. To regain an area appropriated by Venice, he formed the League of Cambrai—allying himself with the king of France, the king of Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian. But as soon as Venice surrendered the disputed territory, Julius signed a separate peace, to the great annoyance of France and Germany. When King Louis XII, with the encouragement of the French bishops, invaded Italy in 1510, Julius allied himself with Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII of England in the Holy League (1511), which aimed to expel the French.

⁵⁸ This was the case notably with regard to the tomb which he ordered Michelangelo to design. Finished after Julius's death, the tomb was erected at last in San Pietro in Vincoli, much reduced from the dimensions originally contemplated. "The curtailment of this noble design in which Michelangelo had hoped to have realized all his loftiest and grandest conceptions, and the money disputes with the Duke of Urbino connected with this, were the occasion of such prolonged misery, and such paroxysms of anger and disappointment to the artist as to make this tomb the tragedy of his whole life." Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 537.

independent of the pope. And in 1511 the emperor and the king of France, with the help of several dissatisfied cardinals, assembled a schismatical council at Pisa. In response to this menacing move, Julius, in 1512, convoked the Fifth Lateran Council; but he died before it had accomplished anything of importance.

Leo X (1513-1521). The schismatical cardinals of Pisa, who had voted to depose Julius II, were debarred from the conclave of 1513 by the joint action of the Sacred College, the Emperor Maximilian, and the king of Spain. On the second day Cardinal de' Medici was elected, largely on the grounds that his family would help to protect Italy against the encroachments of France and Spain. It was an unfortunate selection. Leo lacked almost all the qualities required for the proper fulfillment of his duties as pope; and his blindness to the dangers potential in Luther's revolt proved to be calamitous for the Church.⁵⁹ In 1516 Francis I, the new king of France, invaded Italy and forced the pope to sign a concordat giving the king the right of nomination to all French sees, abbeys, and priories—an arrangement which was to be a frequent cause of discontent and trouble in the years to come. By turns, Leo supported the Emperor Maximilian and the French king against each other; but in 1517 they formed an alliance against him and divided a considerable area of northern Italy between themselves.

After a narrow escape from poisoning in 1517 at the hands of a group of conspirators which included several cardinals, Leo had the leader, Cardinal Petrucci, executed, and imposed a fine of 150,000 ducats on Cardinal Riario. The pope then proceeded to gain control of the Sacred College by appointing thirty-one new cardinals, many of whom presented him with large sums of money; and during the eight years of his pontificate he created a total of forty-two cardinals, choosing them usually for personal or political motives.

It was a tragedy for the Church that Leo's reign coincided with Luther's outbreak. In 1517 an Italian nobleman, Pico della Mirandola, drew a startling picture of the prevalent corruption with the prediction, "If Leo leaves crimes unpunished any longer, God Himself will intervene." But his words fell on deaf ears. So did the warning of the papal legate, Aleander. As if to tempt Providence, Leo proclaimed a new indulgence to 'help pay

⁵⁹ This aristocratic pope, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his wife, Clarissa Orsini, was only thirty-eight years old at the time of his election. Named Giovanni in baptism, tonsured when seven years old and presented with rich benefices, he became a cardinal at the age of thirteen, under the condition that for a while he should not wear the customary robes nor have a seat in the Sacred College. He was a well educated and clever man, a patron of the arts and fond of music, the theater, hunting, and elaborate banquets. Deeply interested in politics, he was not always scrupulous as to the means he employed.

for the building of St. Peter's⁶⁰—a step which gave Luther the opportunity to arouse his fellow countrymen. In 1520, after Luther defied the pope, his errors were condemned—despite German protests—in the bull *Exsurge Domine*. In 1521 Leo excommunicated Luther in the bull *Decet Romanum* and dispatched Aleander and Eck to Germany to put the bull into execution. Aleander reported to the pope that Germany was ripe for schism and that disaster was inevitable unless steps should be taken to end the scandals in Rome and to restore discipline throughout the Church. Even then a vigorous campaign of reform might have saved the day; but the pope was taken up with his art and his amusements, busily engaged in the accumulation of funds to fill his depleted treasury, and more concerned about the political situation than about the spiritual welfare of Christendom. Things drifted from bad to worse.⁶¹

Adrian VI (1522–1523). In the next conclave another Cardinal de'Medici was supported by the Spanish and opposed by the French.⁶² The Medici party then turned to Cardinal Farnese, whose election for a while seemed almost certain; but later the conclave was deadlocked. Finally the cardinal of Tortosa, the boyhood tutor of Charles V, was proposed as a compromise candidate; and he was immediately elected, to the disappointment of King Francis, to the annoyance of the Romans, and apparently to the astonishment of the cardinals themselves.

A native of Utrecht and last of the non-Italian popes, Adrian was regarded by the Romans as an intruding foreigner; and he could secure almost no coöperation from his official family. He found an empty treasury, a large number of worldly cardinals, and politico-ecclesiastical complications which caused grave fears of a coming schism. His plans to uproot the abuses in Rome ran into insuperable obstacles—deep-rooted opposition to financial retrenchment, bitter feuds between Christian princes, the

⁶⁰ This indulgence he renewed and extended; and the proclamation of it in the ecclesiastical provinces of Mainz and Magdeburg was assigned to Albert of Brandenburg, the twenty-seven-year-old archbishop of those two sees. For his confirmation in the two archiepiscopal sees and his nomination as administrator of the see of Halberstadt, Albert had agreed to pay into the papal treasury a fee of 14,000 ducats, plus a special tax of 10,000 ducats for the "accumulation" of bishoprics. He secured this sum (about \$50,000) from the banking house of Fugger, and to help him discharge his debt he obtained the right of proclaiming the indulgence with the understanding that half of the money that came in should go to pay his debt to the Fuggers. The archbishop appointed as his sub-commissary the popular preacher, John Tetzel.

⁶¹ Leo's death left the papal treasury impoverished and the prevalent evils uncorrected; but despite the legends which have gathered about his name, there is no evidence that he was skeptical or immoral.

⁶² King Francis I was said to be willing to spend a million gold thalers to elect a candidate favorable to himself, and to be prepared to leave the Church if de' Medici should be chosen. Cardinal Wolsey was ready to give a hundred thousand ducats for the tiara, and even suggested that the emperor should march into Rome and dictate the vote.

rising tide of Protestantism, and the victories of the Turks who had seized Belgrade, occupied Rhodes, and were threatening Hungary. These conditions and the shortness of his pontificate explain why Adrian's attempts to eliminate simony, to punish delinquents, and to appoint worthy officials brought such meager results. His approval of the future Paul IV, advocate of drastic reform, did not contribute to his popularity; and he had accomplished little when he died, the year after his election.

Clement VII (1523-1534). In the conclave of 1523 the Emperor Charles V supported Cardinal de' Medici—the cousin of Leo X—whose chief rival was Cardinal Farnese. Henry VIII favored Cardinal Wolsey. After a struggle of nearly two months Cardinal Colonna broke away from the French party and threw his support to his old rival, de' Medici, who was unanimously chosen. The new pope, a man of ascetical life, devoted himself to ecclesiastical affairs. Under pressure, however, he proved timid, irresolute, and procrastinating—fatal defects in the grave crisis then existing. Shortly after his election he let himself be drawn into a French alliance, a step which the emperor resented as a betrayal by the man whom he had helped to make pope. After Charles had defeated the French and made himself master of Europe, an imperial army seized Rome and drove the pope into the Castle of Sant' Angelo;⁶³ and savage mercenaries sacked the city, committing indescribable outrages, destroying many precious works of art. The war between the emperor and the pope was a boon to the Protestants, for Charles V, while depending upon the support of the German princes, could not well check Protestantism in their domains. In another respect, too, the pope's anti-Spanish policy was disastrous, for it kept him from convoking a council—a remedy badly needed, but unacceptable to France.

The gravest issue of all during Clement's pontificate was raised by Henry VIII who claimed that his marriage with Catherine had been null from the beginning and requested a papal pronouncement to that effect, petitioning also for dispensation from the impediment of affinity which barred his contemplated marriage with Anne Boleyn. Clement granted the dispensation from the impediment of affinity,⁶⁴ but in March 1534, ended the king's hope of obtaining freedom to marry again by pronouncing the marriage between Henry and Catherine unquestionably valid.

Clement died in 1534. The eleven years of his pontificate had been among the most eventful and critical in history. England, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and a large part of Germany—in all about one-third of Europe—were now occupied by new churches, varying in doctrine and liturgy,

⁶³ The leader of the army, Constable Bourbon, a refugee from France, was killed during the attack.

⁶⁴ The affinity arose from the previous intimacy between Henry VIII and Anne's sister, Mary; and the use of the dispensation was to be contingent upon the nullification of Henry's marriage with Catherine.

frankly national or territorial in constitution and strongly antipapal in sentiment.

Paul III (1534-1549). The conclave of 1534 took place in the midst of circumstances so appalling that many persons believed the disintegration of the Church was at hand. Charles Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, announced that the French cardinals would combine against any candidate friendly to the emperor. Charles V recommended the election of a neutral. Within two days Cardinal Farnese, the most conspicuous member of the conclave (who on two other occasions had been nearly elected pope and who had kept aloof from the Franco-Spanish controversy), was elected unanimously—despite his scandalous life before ordination.

Paul, an able and experienced man, realized the gravity of the religious situation and immediately set about a thorough cleansing of the Church in head and members. From Italy, England, and Germany he gathered together a number of bishops devoted to the cause of reform and organized them into an advisory council. He terminated the immoderate granting of indulgences, prohibited arbitrary sentences of excommunication, and ordered absentee archbishops and bishops to return to their sees and care for their people.⁶⁵ Objections to the papal program caused the pope to show a certain degree of hesitation, yet within a short time so much improvement had been made that bright hopes were entertained for the future. Paul inaugurated a strict policy in the appointment of cardinals, selecting none who were worldly or political-minded. Rarely has the College of Cardinals contained men superior to those who surrounded him—Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoleto, Aleander, Morone, and Reginald Pole. Paul undertook extensive restorations and established Michelangelo as chief architect at St. Peter's in 1535; but he was unable to revive Rome's vanished splendor and his pontificate is regarded as the borderland of artistic decadence.

Paul's attempt at reformation was disturbed by the antagonism between Francis I and Charles V, complicated by the French king's alliance with the sultan, and almost stultified by the emperor's concessions to the Protestants.⁶⁶ Paul said that the emperor gave him more trouble than the Protestant princes themselves. Towards Henry VIII, Paul was forbearing

⁶⁵ They pleaded that they were not in a position to do this with dignity. Individual cardinals and religious orders also objected to certain provisions in the pope's plan of reform.

⁶⁶ The emperor deeply resented the pope's unwillingness to condemn the Franco-Turkish alliance and declared that he would make peace with the Protestant princes if France should again attack him and the pope should remain neutral. When the Council of Trent was transferred to Bologna in 1547 the emperor refused to allow the Spanish bishops to attend, and his protest caused the pope to suspend the council.

After the victory over the Protestant Schmalkaldic League the emperor undertook to settle the religious controversy by composing a theological compromise called the "Interim Religion," but it was repudiated both by Catholics and by Protestants.

until the martyrdom of St. Thomas More and St. John Fisher in 1535; then in July of that year he summoned Henry to repentance under penalty of interdict and deposition. The publication of the Bull of Deposition was delayed by differences of opinion among the cardinals about its opportuneness; and the delay gave Henry time to perfect his plans for the separation of England from Rome. When in 1536 the pope sent Cardinal Pole as legate to France to negotiate the settlement of English affairs, it was too late. Francis requested Pole to leave French territory; and after the publishing of the bull against Henry in 1538, Henry tried to have Pole assassinated. Failing in this, he beheaded Pole's mother, the aged countess of Salisbury. The bull was never effectually promulgated.

Among Paul's more notable deeds were his appointment of the zealous reform commission, consisting of four cardinals and five prelates, whose report on abuses, submitted in 1537 constitutes "a notable landmark in Church history"; the approval of the Society of Jesus; the reorganization of the Inquisition with headquarters in Rome; the attempt to depose Henry VIII; the issuing of the bull, *Sublimis Deus*, in 1537, which absolutely forbade the enslavement of the Indians; the summoning of the Council of Trent. This last event made Paul the pioneer of the Catholic Reformation and marked his pontificate as the transition from one era to another.

Julius III (1550-1555). The conclave of 1549 included an Italian party of twenty-two cardinals friendly to the emperor, under the leadership of Cardinal Farnese, twenty-four French sympathizers under Cardinal Guise, and a few neutral members.⁸⁷ The Emperor Charles V opposed the election of any candidate with French leanings and presented as his choice Cardinal Pole or Cardinal Morone. Cardinal Pole came within one vote of being elected; but his supporters could not quite overcome the determined opposition of the French, and after the conclave had lasted ten weeks Cardinal del Monte was elected in February 1550.

Julius published a comprehensive scheme for the reformation of the clergy which caused great excitement; and, following the policy of Paul III, he used the Inquisition for the suppression of heresy all over Europe. Unlike the earlier Julius, however, he proved to be a vacillating ruler.⁸⁸ To the displeasure of Cardinal Caraffa and others, he forbade the use of severe punishments in cases of heresy, and during his pontificate executions were rare. His war against the Farnese family for the recovery of Parma was a disastrous blunder. His indecision and failure to realize the gravity of the

⁸⁷ In order to allow time for the arrival of several absent French cardinals, Cardinal d'Este contrived to delay proceedings so that the funeral ceremonies for the late pope were not commenced until nine days after his death.

⁸⁸ His adopted son, Innocenzo del Monte—whom he made cardinal at the age of seventeen, despite the remonstrances of Cardinals Pole and Caraffa—led a scandalous life and did much to sully the reputation of the papal court.

situation were responsible at least in part for the unfortunate turn of affairs in Germany, France, and Poland, where during his pontificate the faith suffered serious setbacks.

Marcellus II (1555). In the conclave held after the death of Julius III in 1555, Cardinal Caraffa was the leader of the reform party and Cardinal d'Este headed their opponents. Caraffa and Cervini were the favored candidates, Cervini being regarded as the most able and Caraffa as the most austere member of the College of Cardinals. Although not supported either by the French King or by the Emperor, Cervini was elected after a conclave of five days. He began his pontificate by republishing the decrees of Julius III on reform, and announced his intention of reopening the Council of Trent; but he fell ill and died within three weeks.

Paul IV (1555-1559). In the conclave of May 1555 the French Cardinal d'Este made an effort to secure the papal tiara for himself. Cardinal Farnese at first worked for the election of Cardinal Pole; but when this proved impossible (partly because Pole was accused of holding an unorthodox theory of justification), he turned to Cardinal Caraffa who was then elected. The new pope, co-founder of the order of the Theatines, a man of very ascetical life, not realizing the change which had come upon the world, undertook to restore the ancient authority of the pope; and the unexpected opposition he encountered led him into deeds of violence.⁶⁹ He pressed reform measures vigorously. Looking upon money as the main root of the evils which afflicted the Church, he made financial changes which reduced the income of many cardinals and lessened his own revenue by almost two-thirds. He urged the Inquisition to constant activity, personally attended its meetings, enacted drastic laws, and legalized the use of torture on confessed heretics. He took stern measures against usurers and Jews. With the help of Dominicans, Franciscans, Barnabites, and his own order of Theatines, he restored ecclesiastical discipline and reformed many monasteries. The Jesuits were forced to amend their rule so as to make attendance at choir obligatory and to limit the term of office of their superior general to a definite period instead of life. Paul did not continue the artistic work undertaken by his predecessors, partly because of an empty treasury and recurrent political strife.

Unfortunately, Paul often overlooked the requirements of justice and

⁶⁹ Paul's determination to end foreign control of Italy brought him into open war with the emperor. Despite French aid to the pope, the duke of Alva marched upon Rome and compelled the pope to sign a treaty, moderate enough in terms but definitely ending all hope of keeping the emperor out of Italy. The pope spent an immense sum of money and suffered considerable loss of prestige during this war, and thereafter he confined himself to ecclesiastical affairs. Unfortunately, his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, whom he made a cardinal and placed in control of the Papal States, proved to be an unprincipled scoundrel. When at last the pope's eyes were opened to his misconduct, Carlo and his brother were investigated; over a thousand offenses were charged against them; and the pope expelled them and their families from Rome.

prudence, and on some occasions he went to extremes which occasioned doubt of his sanity. During the war of England and Spain against France, Paul (who favored the French) recalled the papal nuncio from Spain and removed Cardinal Pole from his position as legate to England, thus increasing antipapal feeling among the English. He made repeated efforts to get hold of Cardinal Pole, presumably to punish him; and he had Cardinal Morone imprisoned on suspicion of heresy.

Paul was not greatly concerned about the reopening of the Council of Trent, apparently for the reason that he regarded himself as capable of dealing with the situation. In this he blundered, for his strenuous efforts brought inconsiderable results. His refusal to confirm Ferdinand as emperor alienated the Hapsburgs. In Poland the diet proclaimed that allegiance to the pope was irreconcilable with allegiance to the king. In France, where the Calvinists had become numerous and influential, the Catholics were divided and both the university and the Parlement⁷⁰ opposed reform.

Despite his defects, his mistakes, and his ruthless severity, Paul was a man of exemplary private life and of undeniable sincerity; and perhaps the work achieved by his successors would not have been possible but for the beginnings made by him amid extraordinary difficulties and almost insuperable obstacles. His death was the signal for an outburst of fury in Rome. The crowd tore down his statue, defaced the Caraffa coat of arms, and demolished the buildings of the Inquisition. All the Caraffa family, excepting the two cardinals, were deprived of their civil rights. Cardinal Morone was released from prison.

Pius IV (1559-1565). At the conclave the cardinals were divided into three nearly equal groups—the French, the Spanish, and Cardinal Caraffa's following. The French favored Cardinal d'Este; the Spanish opposed all French candidates as likely to be hostile to Spain;⁷¹ and after the conclave had lasted for nearly four months, a combination of the French and the Caraffa parties finally elected Cardinal de' Medici (of Milan, not of Florence), who had been conspicuous in his opposition to Paul IV's war against Spain.

The new pope, who took the name of Pius IV, proved to be more just, more kindly, and more diplomatic than his predecessor. He called Charles Borromeo to Rome to be secretary of state; and he showed great esteem for Cardinal Morone. But as a rule he gave the cardinals little opportunity to dictate his policy, and he was especially distrustful of all who might be under the influence of secular rulers. He softened some of the harsh decrees of Paul IV and limited the power of the Inquisition; yet he carried

⁷⁰ The highest judicial court which heard appeals taken from the lower courts.

⁷¹ The Spanish representative, Vargas, distributed large gifts of money to influence the election.

on reform with great vigor. Cardinal Carlo Caraffa and his brother, Duke Giovanni, were indicted on charges of murder and treason; and the pope sentenced them and two companions to death.⁷² So drastic and unexpected a punishment startled all Europe, gave a fatal blow to the old tradition of nepotism, checked the aggressive political activities of the Roman nobles, and by its revelation of the pope's unyielding firmness, helped greatly to forward moral reform.

Resuming the traditional role of the Renaissance popes towards art, Pius enlarged the Vatican and with the coöperation of the cardinals effected a notable improvement in the churches of the city.⁷³ He was on good terms with the foreign ambassadors and their sovereigns, notably with the Emperor Ferdinand I, who had never been recognized by Paul IV. Nevertheless he encountered stiff opposition in his efforts to reopen the Council of Trent. King Philip II claimed it would increase the antagonism of Elizabeth; King Francis II did not want the council reconvened, but preferred a new assembly; Emperor Ferdinand I wanted the (new) council held at some other place than Trent; King Sigismund Augustus of Poland arrested the messenger sent by the pope to the czar of Russia. Nine months after the day set for the opening, however, the bishops at last assembled in January 1562; and the sessions continued until the final adjournment in December 1563. Pius confirmed its decrees before his death.

St. Pius V (1566-1572). Not for many years had a conclave been so peaceful as that of 1566. There was little interference by the secular princes, although Philip II worked to exclude French and other candidates who might be antagonistic to Spain; and the French cardinals, despite their increase under Pius IV, were unable to command a majority. So, eventually, the French turned to the Dominican cardinal, Ghislieri, who was on friendly terms with their king; and he was elected with the support of Borromeo, whose first choice, Cardinal Morone, had been defeated by French opposition. The new pope, as inquisitor general under Paul IV, had already restored discipline in northern Italy. He set to work at once on the Tridentine program of reform, instituted courses of religious instruction in Rome, imposed severe punishment on offenders against the moral law, and gave rise to the saying that the Eternal City had become one large monastery. Among his most important acts was the publication in 1568 of the bull, *In coena Domini*, which condemned the interference of civil authorities in ecclesiastical matters, excommunicated all appellants from the pope to an ecumenical council, and forbade laymen, even

⁷² The pope felt that severity was necessary and that his duty forbade him to extend mercy to the culprits, apparently not realizing that the trial was bound to be of a thoroughly prejudiced character.

⁷³ The Villa Pia in the Vatican Garden occupies an important place in the history of architecture as "the only secular building in an almost complete state of preservation belonging to the transition period between the Renaissance and the Baroque style."

kings, to institute criminal proceedings against ecclesiastics or to banish cardinals, bishops, and papal officials. The publication of the bull⁷⁴ aroused opposition both in Spain (where Philip II prohibited its promulgation) and in Venice.

To Pius was due the starting of the movement which under his successors re-established the faith in a great part of Europe. He reorganized the College of Cardinals, the Roman clergy, and the religious orders. In dealing with heresy he returned to the stern policy of Paul IV. He wrote consolingly to Mary Stuart during her imprisonment and he excommunicated Elizabeth. He reopened the case of the Caraffa family, and after a review of the evidence, annulled the sentence of banishment passed upon them by Pius IV. His interference in the courts of justice was not always discreet, and he sometimes passed hasty sentences which had to be revoked; but his zeal and sincerity were beyond question. To support the crusade against the Turks, Pius imposed a tax of 10 per cent on the revenues of all convents; and he organized the expedition which under Don Juan of Austria crushed the Turkish fleet at Lepanto in 1571.

Gregory XIII (1572-1585). In the conclave of 1572 Cardinals Farnese and de' Medici were rival candidates; but the influence of Philip II and the eventual support of Borromeo brought about the election of Cardinal Buoncompagni, greatly to the joy of the Romans who had feared the election of a more austere type of man. Gregory had spent a dissipated youth, yet as pope he led an edifying life.

The problems confronting the papacy called for courage and patient diplomacy; and in both respects Gregory proved to be well qualified. In Germany, by following up the reforms begun by his predecessor, he extended the territory reclaimed by the Church. In Spain, by careful methods, he preserved his freedom of action without alienating Philip II, then at the head of a world-wide empire. In Poland he maintained the Catholic ascendancy by coöperating with King Stephen Bathori. In Russia he secured toleration for Catholics. In Sweden he won King John to the Catholic faith—although the king soon lapsed. In France he tried to persuade the king to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent and in 1582 he obtained the royal permission for the publication of the bull, *In coena Domini*; but he could do no more than lay the foundation of a future restoration; for the Calvinists held their ground, and the government obstinately resisted the pope's plans.⁷⁵ In England where he was least fortunate,

⁷⁴ This bull—a subject of controversy for many years—although a disciplinary decree, has been mistakenly represented as an infallible (ex cathedra) decision. See Pastor, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 35-51.

⁷⁵ Gregory's celebration of a *Te Deum* in Rome after the terrible massacre of the French Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) was due to the fact that the episode had been represented to him as the suppression of a conspiracy to kill the royal family.

having failed to secure the ending of persecution, he vainly attempted to force the deposition of Queen Elizabeth. So actively interested in the foreign mission field that he was called "the pope of the missions," he found his best helpers among the Jesuits to whom he gave exclusive mission rights in China and Japan. In the controversy over the claim of the Jesuits to be classed as "religious" he decided in their favor. In the year of his death he had the joy of welcoming the envoys sent by local rulers in Japan who had been converted to Christianity.

Sixtus V (1585-1590). The conclave of 1585 was peaceful. When it became plain that neither of the two leading candidates, Cardinal de' Medici and Cardinal Farnese, would be chosen, Cardinal de' Medici allied himself with the French cardinals and elected Felice Perretti,⁷⁶ who had been openly unsympathetic to his predecessor, Gregory XIII. Pope Sixtus carried on a successful campaign of reform in Germany, Switzerland, Poland, the Netherlands. Notwithstanding the pressure of Philip II, he refused to intervene in France, as he wished not only to check Calvinism, but also to save French independence and thus to preserve the European balance of power, so important both for Italy and for the Church. A Franciscan from the age of twelve, Sixtus disliked even the name of the Jesuits, and he was planning to alter the Jesuit rule when he died. His new Index, which he left unpublished, mentioned the works of the Jesuit, Robert Bellarmine and of the Franciscan, Johann Wild.

His enthusiasm for gigantic projects recalled the days of Julius II; and he did much to transform the appearance of Rome, constructing streets, avenues, and piazzas, erecting numerous buildings, restoring the Lateran, and completing the vaulting of the dome of St. Peter's a few months before he died. Because of the changes introduced into the Inquisition in 1588, Sixtus is regarded as the real organizer of this congregation in its modern form. As editor he so hampered his biblical commission that his (Sixtine) Vulgate perished with him. Yet, all in all, the short reign of this able pope advantaged the Church more than many a long pontificate.⁷⁷

Urban VII (1590). In this conclave the cardinals appointed by Sixtus V were opposed to the cardinals appointed by Gregory XIII; and the Spanish

⁷⁶ Born near Montalto, and therefore known as Cardinal Montalto.

⁷⁷ His government of the Papal States, however, was not fortunate. He replaced lay officials with ecclesiastics and this arrangement, which involved much maladministration, caused a widening gulf between the laity and the clergy. Shortage of food occasioned serious discontent, finances were in a deplorable condition, and brigandage attained enormous proportions. According to one authority, highwaymen numbered approximately 15,000 at a time when the total population of the city of Rome was not more than 100,000. Within a space of some ten years about 5,000 brigands were executed; but the government was no more successful in the attempt to suppress this type of crime than in its effort to suppress public immorality which flourished in spite of the strict regulations and severe punishments introduced by Clement VIII and confirmed by his successors. These were the days of the Cenci, a family of criminals, whose story has been converted into a romantic legend.

party (possessing the balance of power) formed an alliance with the Sistine cardinals and elected Cardinal Castagna, a Genoese noble, serious, intelligent, and moderate. He died within ten days.

Gregory XIV (1590–1591). In the next conclave the determined attempt of the Spanish to carry the election caused a deadlock which lasted nearly two months. Olivares, the Spanish ambassador, endorsed two candidates, Sfondrato and Facchinetti, and the former was finally elected by a unanimous vote. Gregory, who had made no attempt to secure the tiara for himself, was highly esteemed both by Charles Borromeo and by Philip Neri; but poor health and lack of experience made him an ineffective ruler despite his good intentions. He lived only a year. Unfortunately, he placed the management of temporal affairs in the hands of his ambitious and incompetent nephew, Cardinal Sfondrato, who threw Rome into a state of disorder.

Deeply troubled over the situation in France (where Henry of Navarre for fifteen months had postponed the fulfillment of his promise to return to the Catholic faith), Gregory yielded to the urging of the Catholic League and the Spanish ambassador, and took definite steps to keep Navarre off the throne. He ordered the French cardinals to abandon Henry's cause under penalty of being regarded as abettors of heresy, renewed the decrees formerly issued against the king, and sent a body of papal troops under the command of his nephew into France. At this point Gregory died. The effect of his policy was to intensify a Gallican spirit. The Parlement of Paris declared that Gregory had been invalidly elected, ordered his messages to be burned, and appealed to a future council; an assembly of French bishops declared that this "nullified" the papal message.⁷⁸

Innocent IX (1591). The cardinals were divided into the same parties as in the previous conclave; and Cardinal Facchinetti was elected within two days. For a time the Spanish were alarmed lest he should adopt a friendly attitude towards Henry IV of Navarre; but instead he held aloof. He died in less than two months.

Clement VIII (1592–1605). The conclave took place at a time rendered critical for Christendom by the Franco-Spanish situation.⁷⁹ Days of bitter dispute ended with the election of Cardinal Aldobrandini, son of a Florentine jurist, and by reputation just, kindly, and diplomatic. The choice

⁷⁸ See Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXII, 377. Among the bishops present at this assembly was Bishop Nicholas of Chartres (uncle of the historian Jacques de Thou), who assisted at Henry's abjuration in 1593 and (after a dispute with the archbishop of Bourges) had himself appointed as representative of the archbishop of Rheims and personally crowned the king.

⁷⁹ The Spanish cardinals failed to elect their candidate, Cardinal Santori, because many cardinals were restless under Spanish pressure, and because many feared that he might become another Paul IV. The opposition, led by Cardinal Mark Sittich, nephew of Pius IV and bishop of Constance, would not even enter the same chapel as the other cardinals. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 14–16.

was a happy one. Clement VIII, even though disposed to be overcautious, earned a place among the great popes by his skillful handling of a situation in which he had to avoid the double pitfall of a French schism on the one hand and a break with Spain on the other. His absolution of Henry IV saved the national prestige of France, restored peace, and ensured the preservation of the faith among the French.⁸⁰

On the other hand, Clement experienced disappointment in Sweden and also in England where the Stuart king, James I, continued the anti-Catholic policy of his predecessors; and although the pope made great efforts to aid Hungary, the crusade against the Turks was only partly successful.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The twenty-five sessions of the Council of Trent provide a definite statement of Catholic doctrines denied by Protestants; and nearly all the other official pronouncements of the century are concerned with spreading and enforcing the decrees of Trent.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Leo X (1513-1521)</i>		
1512-17	Decrees of Fifth Lateran Council (Ecum. XVIII)	On the reformation of the Church; the neo-Aristotelians; the taking of interest; the relation between pope and council.
1520	The bull, <i>Exsurge Domine</i>	On forty-one errors of Martin Luther.
<i>Paul III (1534-1549)</i>		
1545-47	Decrees of Council of Trent (Ecum. XIX), First Period, Sessions 1 to 10	On the Creed; Scripture; Apostolic tradition; Vulgate; interpretation of scripture; original sin; justification; sacraments. ⁸¹
<i>Julius III (1550-1555)</i>		
1551-52	Decrees of Council of Trent, Second Period, Sessions 11 to 16	On the Eucharist; penance; extreme unction; episcopal jurisdiction and clerical discipline.
<i>Paul IV (1555-1559)</i>		
1555	Constitution	On the Trinity and Incarnation; against the Socinians.

⁸⁰ The gravity of the crisis in France may be gathered from the statement of the Calvinist leader, Beza, who said that the future of the world depended on the result of the struggle there. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 3.

⁸¹ The question of defining the Immaculate Conception was brought up but deferred.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Pius IV</i> (1559-1565)		
1562-63	Decrees of Council of Trent, Third Period, Sessions 17 to 25	On Holy Communion; the Mass; holy orders; matrimony; purgatory; ven- eration of saints and images; indul- gences; ecclesiastical discipline.
1564	Bull	Tridentine profession of faith.
<i>St. Pius V</i> (1566-1572)		
1567	Bull	On seventy-nine errors of Baius.
1571	Constitution	Against usury.
<i>Gregory XIII</i> (1572-1585)		
1575	Profession of faith for the Greeks	On reunion.
<i>Sixtus V</i> (1585-1590)		
1586	Bull	Fixing number of cardinals at 70.
1588	Bull	On reorganizing Congregations.
<i>Clement VIII</i> (1592-1605)		
1595	Instruction	On Italo-Greek rites; confirmation; schismatical ordinations.

Councils: *The Fifth Lateran.* In May 1511 several cardinals convoked a schismatical assembly to meet at Pisa in the following September. Between the convoking and the assembling of that convention, Julius II convoked the Fifth Council of the Lateran, and fixed April 19, 1512, as the day of its opening.

The schismatical council—which decreed the suspension of Julius II—was favored by Emperor Maximilian I, by the French king, Louis XII, and by a group of cardinals who resented the pope's anti-French policy. The number of these cardinals is uncertain. Only five of the nine whose names appeared in the citation failed to disclaim responsibility; only four (with three proxies) came to Pisa; and the excommunication pronounced by Julius II was addressed to only three, Carvajal, Bricconnet and Borgia.

To the Fifth Lateran came fifteen cardinals, the Latin patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, sixteen archbishops, fifty-six bishops, and representatives of religious orders, of Spain, of Venice and of Florence. In its twelve sessions, the council received from Emperor Maximilian and King Louis, a repudiation of the Council of Pisa; it absolved the French bishops

from the censures they had incurred by attendance at Pisa; it provided for *Montes Pietatis* (pawnshops for the poor); it ratified the concordat of Julius II and Francis I; it decreed a tax on all benefices to support war against the Turks; and it established a censorship over books.⁸²

The demand for a council to define doctrine on points raised by the Protestants and also to reform abuses within the Church became increasingly urgent. In 1518 Luther appealed from the pope to a future general council; and the Imperial Diet twice (1523, 1524) demanded that a council be held in Germany. But Rome opposed the idea of a German council, and Charles V forbade its convocation. In 1530, after his coronation at Bologna by the pope, Charles urged that a council be held as soon as the peace of Europe would permit it; and the Catholic princes of Germany supported his demand. For a while the Lutherans held out for Germany as the meeting place, whereas the Romans insisted on Italy; and when these two parties reached an agreement (subject to the approval of all Christian princes) the opposition of the French king, Francis I, made the assembly still impossible.

Pope Paul III, soon after his election, discussed the question of convoking a council. King Francis I, King Henry VIII, and the German Protestant princes all rejected the proposal to meet in an Italian city. When in 1537 Paul published a bull convoking the Council of Mantua, the Protestant rulers declined to attend; and Francis I declared that his war with Charles would prevent the attendance of the French bishops. At length, after long-drawn-out negotiations, Paul summoned the council to meet at Trent in 1543; but even then Protestant opposition and the feud between Charles V and Francis I caused a series of further postponements.

Trent: First Period (1545-1547). The council opened in December 1545, in the presence of three papal legates, the cardinal bishop of Trent, four archbishops, twenty-one bishops, and five generals of religious orders, in addition to royal legates from Germany and France and about one hundred fifty theologians and canonists. Later the number increased.⁸³

Second Period (1551-1552). When Julius III reassembled the council in 1551, most of the bishops present belonged to coun-

⁸² A bull published by Leo X in 1515 contained the first prohibition on books universally accepted—earlier edicts having been local in their application or else in some regions disregarded. In 1542 the Inquisition took charge of censorship and published the first "Index" in 1559. The Index published in 1564 by order of the Council of Trent (called "Index Tridentinus" or "Index Pii IV") contained the strict "Tridentine Rules" which remained in force until replaced by the decrees of Leo XIII in 1897.

⁸³ The council withdrew to Bologna in 1547 because of strained relations between pope and emperor, the disturbances caused by the Schmalkald war, and the outbreak of an epidemic in Trent; but the attempt to reconvene proved abortive. In 1549 Pope Paul III died; and Paul IV took no steps to reopen the council.

tries under the jurisdiction of the emperor, for the French bishops were kept away by their king. After having discussed some Catholic doctrines, the Fathers interrupted their theological labors to conduct negotiations with the Protestants (now after Luther's death led by the more reasonable Melanchthon). But rumors of a new war broke out and before Melanchthon arrived the council again adjourned.

Third Period (1562-1563): Reconvened by Pius IV after long negotiations with the European rulers, the council began its work again in January 1562, although most of the German bishops were prevented from attending by Lutheran princes, grown much more powerful after the concessions granted in the Peace of Augsburg (1555). Constantly hampered by the contradictory demands of the emperor, the king of France, and the king of Spain, the Fathers continued their labors until the 25th and final session of December 1563; and the thoroughness of their work may be measured by the fact that no other ecumenical council was convoked until the summoning of the Vatican Council more than three hundred years later. The decrees were signed by more than 200 members, and confirmed by Pius IV in the bull *Benedictus Deus*.⁸⁴

Other Councils: As the Council of Trent had emphasized the necessity of effecting reform throughout the Church by means of local synods, groups of bishops met in the chief ecclesiastical centers, Ravenna, Milan, Salzburg, Mainz, Prague, Rheims, Cambrai, Toledo, and many other places, to discuss the most practical methods of correcting abuses and enforcing discipline. Of particular interest was the Council of Toledo (1565-1566) which published a series of decrees that have been described as "an encyclopedia of ecclesiastical law."⁸⁵

⁸⁴ In the words of the Protestant historian, von Ranke, "Thus prosperous was the conclusion: the council so eagerly demanded and so long evaded; twice dissolved, and agitated by so many political tempests; which had even in its third assembly been assailed by dangers so imminent, now closed amidst the universal accord of the Catholic world." *History of the Popes*, I, 238-39.

⁸⁵ This council also placed itself on record as being opposed to bull-fighting, a custom banned by Pope Pius V a year later. Philip II favored it, however, and in 1575 Gregory XIII nullified the prohibition (for Spanish laymen). In 1597 Clement VIII lifted the ban (except on holydays and for clerics). In Spain and Spanish America all clergy and religious were prohibited from attending bull fights.

Organization: Although the need of reorganization had been long recognized, and although at each successive conclave the cardinals had pledged themselves to undertake it, and although England and Germany were drifting farther and farther away from the Holy See, every attempt at reform was blocked until after the middle of the century. It was not until the publication of the Tridentine decrees that a thoroughgoing reconstruction got really under way.

(Before 1563): Under Paul III (1534-1549) the reform movement seemed about to gather strength; for the commission of cardinals appointed to investigate abuses included such vigorous characters as Contarini, Caraffa, Pole, and Sadoletto. They did indeed present a report; but Paul's subsequent attempt to convene a reforming council failed. Then in 1540 Charles V adopted the desperate expedient of organizing a series of conferences which, however, proved fruitless.⁸⁶ During the discussions with regard to the best method of dealing with heresy, it became clear that some cardinals, notably Contarini and Pole, were ready to go to great lengths along the path of conciliation, whereas others, led by Caraffa, showed an uncompromising spirit and insisted that the Church should undertake to suppress heretical tendencies with all the material force at her command. This difference in view not only checked the progress of reform but also led to a feud which had serious repercussions in later years.⁸⁷ Eventually, the Caraffa party triumphed.

About the middle of the century two powerful reforming forces began to operate. One was the Congregation of the Holy

⁸⁶ The cardinals' report which described existing abuses was suppressed in order to avoid undesirable excitement; but a copy of it smuggled into Germany provided the Protestant propagandists with material damaging to the papacy and the Church in general.

The meetings at Speyer, Hagenau, Worms, and Ratisbon revealed the impossibility of changing the Protestant attitude. The net result was the gaining of considerable advantage by the Protestants. Rome was greatly disturbed and for a time feared that the emperor might agree to convoke "a free Christian council within the German nation over which the pope would have no jurisdiction."

⁸⁷ Contarini and Pole seem to have been over optimistic; they erred with regard to the orthodoxy of certain Lutheran teachings. To represent them or Cardinal Morone as Protestants in principle, however, is wholly unjustifiable. The same holds true of Vittoria Colonna, who is sometimes described as a Protestant.

It was the view taken by the Caraffa party which led Paul III to organize the Roman congregation of the Inquisition (Holy Office) as an instrument of reformation.

Office, established by Paul III in 1542 (with substantially the same powers as the Spanish Inquisition) which undertook to suppress heresy by methodical investigation and drastic punishment; its authority was confirmed later by Pius IV, St. Pius V, and especially Sixtus V.⁸⁸ The other was the Society of Jesus, liberated by the Holy See in 1544 from previous restrictions on its activity, encouraged to develop into a world-wide association, and made immediately subject to the pope. Endowed with new privileges, the Society attracted many intelligent and zealous members, adopted an aggressive missionary policy, and by means of sermons, debates, treatises, new foundations, revived the religious energy of priests and people and won multitudes of Protestants back to the faith.

(After 1563): Most important factor in the rehabilitation of the Church was the program adopted at Trent by the unbending majority. The conciliatory party had broken up; Contarini died in 1542; Giberti died in the following year; Cardinals Pole and Morone had to defend themselves against the charge of heterodoxy. In addition to outlining a plan of practical reform, the council defined doctrines denied or misunderstood within recent years; it made assent to the pope's supreme jurisdiction and his right to interpret and enforce conciliar decrees a test of Catholicity; and it thus established an official division of European Christendom into two religious bodies, Catholic and Protestant. With regard to the dogmatic pronouncements of the council, the Catholic countries made no objection; but the disciplinary decrees were accepted entirely only by Poland, by Portugal, and by the Emperor Ferdinand (for his own Hapsburg dominions). Spain and Venice endorsed them with reservations;

⁸⁸ Attention has already been drawn to the criticisms which Catholic historians now commonly pass upon the Inquisition. "Nevertheless, however deplorable the establishment of the Inquisition may have been, from this unfortunate step there followed, almost by accident, one good result, a result which served to counterbalance much of the harm wrought . . . and for which it deserves undying credit. This was its continual and unflinching opposition, in spite of the clamour which filled all Europe, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, to the savage and panic-stricken anti-witchcraft campaign, which seared the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with its trail of most fiendish cruelty and injustice." W. F. Rea, "A Good Word for the Inquisition," *The Month*, CLXXVIII (Jan.-Feb., 1942), 33.

many parts of Germany rejected them.⁸⁹ In France the Parlement nullified those decrees which prohibited lay jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs; and the Queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, told Pope Pius IV that she could not afford to antagonize either the Catholic or the Protestant party by committing herself definitely to one side. Cardinal Guise of Lorraine and other bishops did all in their power to promote the acceptance of the decrees; but many of the clergy and of the religious kept up their opposition—partly because the Tridentine enactments increased the power of the bishops at the expense of other classes.

Despite all drawbacks, however, the last quarter of the century witnessed a general religious and moral improvement. The jurisdiction of the bishops was clarified and their authority strengthened; seminaries were founded to provide a supply of well-trained priests; canon law was enforced; Catholic scholarship revived largely through the influence of the Jesuits; and, under the direction of Palestrina, Church music was regulated.

What made this extraordinary revival possible was the continuity during some thirty years of a uniform and vigorous papal policy. St. Pius V, Gregory XIII, and Sixtus V followed strictly the line marked out at Trent; and in 1588 Sixtus V set up the "Congregation of the Council of Trent" to insure the further maintenance of the same program. Moreover, religious training was made more efficient by the activity of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, founded in Rome about 1560—a society which the Holy See wished to have established in every parish.

Marriage: The reformers attacked the Catholic teaching from many sides ("Marriage is not properly a sacrament," "It conveys no grace," "It is not a matter upon which the Church may legislate"); and they authorized divorce on several grounds, including desertion, brutal treatment, and heresy. Meanwhile, Catholic theologians differed on several points, notably on the relation of the contract to the sacrament and on the question

⁸⁹ In Cologne, for example, the Archbishop Gebhard von Waldburg and three of his canons declared themselves Calvinists, and the archbishop married the Protestant countess, Agnes von Mansfeld. He was driven into exile by the elector of Bavaria who played a prominent part in the saving of Westphalia to the Church.

of classifying the priest as witness or as minister. A few maintained that marriage was indissoluble not by divine, but only by ecclesiastical, law.⁹⁰

The Council of Trent, in its twenty-fourth session passed the celebrated decree "Tametsi" which rendered so-called "clandestine marriages" ⁹¹ null and void for the future. It also anathematized a number of statements among which were these: (1) marriage is not one of the seven sacraments instituted by Christ; (2) polygamy is not forbidden by divine law; (3) the Church may not establish invalidating impediments; (4) marriage may be dissolved through heresy or gross abuse or desertion; (5) subsequent solemn religious profession does not annul a marriage valid but not consummated; (6) the Church errs in denying that adultery dissolves the marriage bond; ⁹² (7) holy orders and religious vows do not constitute an invalidating impediment to marriage; (8) wedlock is to be rated above virginity, and not virginity above wedlock; (9) marriage cases do not fall under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts.

Towards the close of the century (1595) Clement VIII, when regulating the discipline of the Greek Catholics living in Italy, forbade the dissolution of valid marriages on any grounds whatsoever.

Worship: Several liturgical changes were inaugurated. Clement VII simplified the breviary by reducing the Divine Office to a succession of psalms, antiphons, and hymns and suppressing

⁹⁰ Cajetan (d. 1534) held (subject to later decision by the Church) that marriage may be dissolved if husband or wife commits adultery. Catherinus (d. 1553) held a similar opinion.

Trent settled for Catholics the essential doctrines about which Protestants erred; but the theological discussions that preceded the decisions stimulated secondary debates which went on for years. One of the most significant of these debates concerned the theory of Cano who, basing his opinion on an ambiguous passage of St. Thomas Aquinas, maintained that the priest is the minister of the sacrament of matrimony and that without the priest's blessing a marriage may be valid but not a sacrament. Cano was the first to present this view definitely, but it was taken up and defended by a number of theologians.

⁹¹ I.e., marriages contracted otherwise than in the presence of the pastor (or another priest with the permission of the pastor) and of two witnesses.

⁹² This particular formula was selected to avoid giving offense to the Greeks, who in practice recognized adultery as adequate ground for divorce. In the debates at Trent some bishops had suggested that even to define the doctrine of absolute indissolubility would offend the Greek Church, and would reflect upon the orthodoxy of St. Basil.

many traditional features. But when the Clementine edition appeared in 1536 it provoked so much unfavorable criticism that the Council of Trent undertook a revision; and the edition of 1568 restored most of the features which had been eliminated. This new breviary soon came into common use in the European countries, except in France, where it was rejected by the Chapter of Paris (1583).

The new missal, published in 1570 during the pontificate of Pius V, added the Introit and the Confiteor at the beginning of the Mass and the Gospel of St. John at the end.

Of the liturgical reforms of the sixteenth century the world at large is best acquainted with the changes in the calendar devised (or at least completed) by Gregory XIII. As no attempt had been made since the time of Julius Caesar to correct the divergence between the solar year and the conventional year, the two systems were in 1582 ten days out of harmony. This defect was readjusted by "skipping" ten days so that the next day after October 4 became October 15; and the device of introducing Leap Years made it possible to continue the Gregorian calendar permanently. The liturgical seasons and feasts were readjusted so as to conform to this calendar which gradually became universal, although not accepted by England until the year 1752, nor by the Russians and Greeks until the twentieth century.

Art: Artistic activity centered largely in Rome where the popes provided employment for many of the most distinguished artists of the time. But the greatly gifted painters of the *Cinquecento* already showed a lowering of spiritual quality. Michelangelo has been described as "a truly religious soul who by sheer genius forced the dying Gothic content through the medium of classic form";⁹³ Ghirlandaio and Leonardo da Vinci displayed a tendency to worldliness; Raphael sometimes painted like a pagan; Perugino was charged with being at heart an atheist; Veronese was twice haled before the Inquisition for the use

⁹³ Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Morey makes the further comment on Michelangelo: "His powerful inhibited figures reflect the disparity between Christian emotion and the antique ideal."

of irreverent detail; Caravaggio (a pioneer in the field of "naturalistic" art), striving for realism, used a drowned woman as model for his "Death of the Blessed Virgin," now at the Louvre.

Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528), not wholly free from Italian influence, is nevertheless one of the best representatives of German religious art.

Communities: Many religious orders, scandalously relaxed, were in no condition to resist the pressure of Protestantism; and the list of apostates from the faith included a large number of monks and nuns. One of the chief aims of the Catholic Reformation, therefore, was to restore strict discipline in the older communities and to develop new congregations. As to the English monasteries, quite a literature has grown up on the subject of their wealth and its use, their service of the poor, their fervent or lax observance of rule. There is, however, no room to question Henry VIII's brutal disregard of justice and decency in dispossessing over eight thousand monks, canons, friars, and nuns.⁹⁴

Dominican preachers and writers were especially active in the conflict with Protestantism; the order was represented at the Council of Trent by numerous bishops and theologians. Endorsed by the Holy See, by the council, by most of the universities and religious orders, the Thomistic tradition became the recognized standard of Catholic intellectuals; and both Italy and Spain produced a brilliant array of Dominican scholars.

An event productive of lasting good was the reorganization of the **Franciscans** at their *Capitulum Generalissimum* of 1517. The branches which followed the original rule consolidated in one community, under the name of "Observants"; all the other Franciscan communities took the name of "Conventuals." The general of the Observants was made custodian of the ancient seal of the order; and the Observants were given precedence of the Conventuals in all liturgical functions.⁹⁵ The **Capuchins**

⁹⁴ This number includes about 1,300 Benedictines, 1,800 friars, 1,500 nuns. See Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, p. 360.

⁹⁵ Among the good works undertaken by the Observants were the charitable pawn shops which—under the name of *Montes Pietatis*—conferred great benefits on the poor by rescuing them from the hands of usurers. The Franciscan Observants were active in the mission field especially in Palestine, in the Oriental countries ruled by the Turks, and on the west coast of Africa where Christian slave dealers were occupied in seizing and enslaving the natives, including even those who had become Christians.

The Conventuals were dispensed from (observing) the original rule of poverty. In distinction from the original Franciscan brown habit, they wear a black habit; and

developed from the Observants, when an Italian Observant, Matteo de Bassi, in 1526, obtained permission from Clement VII to establish hermitages for those of his brethren who wished to live a more austere life. They became an independent congregation in 1528 and received the name of "Capuccini," because they wore a habit with a long pointed hood (*capuccio*). The Capuchins grew rapidly, and during the sixteenth century rivaled the Jesuits as effective preachers and missionaries. They suffered a great blow when their second vicar general, Bernardino Ochino, the most celebrated preacher in Italy, renounced the Catholic faith and married. But, as the order was in no way involved, the Capuchins soon regained their popularity; and in the year 1587 they numbered nearly six thousand.

A reorganization of the **Hermits of St. Augustine** in Germany, planned by their vicar, Staupitz, and approved by the Holy See, was blocked in 1510 by the resistance of the Saxon monasteries, including Luther's monastery of Erfurt. Link, successor to Staupitz, followed Luther into heresy and married; Erfurt and other monasteries were abandoned; several faithful houses joined the congregation of Lombardy; one of Luther's teachers was among the many Augustinians to oppose the reformers. In Spain a reform led by Thomas of Jesus of Lisbon and Ponce de León, professor of theology at Salamanca, brought about the formation of the **Discalced Augustinians** (Augustinian Recollects), who, with the help of Philip II, founded their first house at Talavera in 1588.

Notable among the efforts to tighten discipline in the mendicant communities was the reform of the **Carmelites** undertaken by St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. As the Carmelite rule did not impose the obligation of strict cloister or of complete poverty, St. Teresa, with the approval of the Holy See, founded a convent of Discalced (barefoot) Carmelites pledged to the observance of great austerity. Coöperating with St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross led a similar movement in the Carmelite monasteries of men, meeting with determined opposition from some of the superiors who endeavored to suppress him by cruel punishments and imprisonment. Nevertheless the reform spread; before the death of St. Teresa, the Spanish province of Discalced Carmelites included seventeen convents of nuns and fifteen monasteries of monks; and the new organization was soon established in Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Poland.

A change in the organization of the **Benedictines** took place when the abbeys of Spain consolidated in one congregation and the monasteries of Portugal and Brazil in another (1560). The **Cistercian** monasteries of Italy

they use birettas and shoes instead of cowls and sandals. At the time of the separation they constituted about one-sixth of the whole order. In Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Denmark, and France, where measures were taken to send them all into the ranks of the Observants, their number soon diminished. In Italy, Germany, and several other countries, however, they gradually increased.

had fallen into so desperate a condition that the Cistercian abbots appealed to the Holy See, and Pope Pius V, in 1570, issued a bull of reform regulating the life of the monks and also imposing certain obligations on the commendatory abbots.⁹⁶ In the case of the order of the *Humiliati* (few in number, but possessed of immense wealth), Pius V authorized Cardinal Borromeo to undertake a reform; then, after three provosts of the order had made an attack on the life of the cardinal, Pius suppressed the whole institute in 1571.

Conspicuous among the young communities was the *Society of Jesus*, founded by St. Ignatius, which differed from the older orders in two notable respects—the members were not obliged to recite the Divine Office in choir, and the professed fathers took a fourth vow of “Special Obedience” to the pope. As early as 1538 the first ten Jesuits were hard at work in Rome, instructing the people, encouraging frequent Communion, and refuting Lutheranistic propaganda. When denounced by his enemies, Ignatius demanded an investigation and (even though the principal accusers withdrew their charges) insisted upon a canonical trial which resulted in the complete vindication of himself and his companions. In 1539 Paul III approved the draft of the new order drawn up by Ignatius and in the following year confirmed the constitutions in a bull. At the bidding of the pope, Ignatius sent three of his subjects to the Council of Trent; and although one of them, Blessed Peter Faber soon died, the other two, Laynez and Salmerón, together with Le Jay, who had preceded them, gave great help at the council. Laynez, who later became second general of the Society, took a leading part in the theological discussions; his teaching on justification was incorporated in the conciliar decree. Invited by bishops into different countries, the Jesuits carried on a well-organized religious campaign in which zeal, courage, and learning brought extraordinary success. Suspected by some and attacked by others, the Society however—due largely to the ability of its third general, St. Francis Borgia—was soon recognized as a most valuable instrument for the reforming of Christendom.

A major difficulty encountered by the Jesuits was the repeated amending of their constitutions—by the Theatine pope, Paul IV, by the Dominican pope, St. Pius V, by the Franciscan pope, Sixtus V. The name “Jesuits” was applied to the first members of the Society to indicate that they had arrogantly appropriated the name of Jesus; and after Gregory XIII, at the request of the general, Acquaviva, had declared that they were entitled to be classed as “religious” (despite the fact that many of their members took only simple vows), the pope had to make a second declaration before his decision was accepted as more than a personal opinion.⁹⁷ In Spain seri-

⁹⁶ A commendatory abbot is an ecclesiastic or layman who holds an abbey *in commendam*, that is, who receives its revenue but does not exercise any authority over inner monastic discipline.

⁹⁷ In the bull, *Ascendente Domino* of 1584.



(H. IV. Bretton)

FIRST HOME OF THE JESUITS IN ROME (1538)



From "Mission Monuments of New Mexico", Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico

FRANCISCAN MISSION AT PECOS

Destroyed in the Massacre of 1680

ous trouble was caused by a discontented minority who wished to form an independent Spanish society; by the celebrated Dominican theologian, Bañez, who attacked the Spiritual Exercises; by the Dominican professor of the University of Salamanca, Melchior Cano, who alluded to the Jesuits as "precursors of anti-Christ"; by the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Quiroga, who held several superiors in prison; and by Chaves, Dominican confessor of Philip II, who laid it upon the king "as a matter of conscience to insist upon the reform of the Jesuits."⁹⁸

Another important new foundation was the **Congregation of the Oratory**, established by St. Philip Neri in 1575. The Oratory introduced, or extended, several missionary activities among the inhabitants of Rome—devotional services in the vernacular, exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, congregational singing of hymns, and concerts of sacred music.

Other communities were the **Theatines** (clerics regular), founded by St. Cajetan and Giovanni Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti (Theate) in southern Italy, afterwards Pope Paul IV. Organized in 1524 to stimulate priests and people to virtue and to check the progress of Protestantism, the Theatines grew rapidly both in the European countries and in foreign lands.

Still another foundation was the **Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God**, which spread from Spain into other European countries and into the colonies overseas, giving devoted service to the sick and afflicted.

Saints: The list of men and women of this century who attained sanctity contains many notable names—Pius V, latest of the popes to be canonized; the great Spanish mystics, Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross; Thomas More and John Fisher; Ignatius, Philip Neri, and other founders of religious orders; several early Jesuits. If the list included the names of those beatified, we should find here Blessed Peter Faber, first disciple of Ignatius, and Blessed John Felton, an English layman hanged in St. Paul's churchyard in 1570 for having fastened to the gate of the episcopal palace in London the bull of Pius V excommunicating Queen Elizabeth. If the list were to include also the names of persons who died for the faith either in Europe or in the foreign mission field, it would be almost interminable. It would mention, for example, the six missionaries and the twenty native converts crucified at Nagasaki in 1597; and the hundreds—bishops, priests, and lay persons—slain for the faith in Ireland and England under Elizabeth. The saints described

⁹⁸ See Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXI, chap. III.

below are to be regarded as only the outstanding figures in a multitude.

St. Ignatius (1491–1556), a Spanish noble, born at Loyola and educated at the royal court, while recovering from a serious wound received in the battle of Pampeluna (1521) resolved to lead a holy life. After a period of retirement at Manresa, he wrote the "Spiritual Exercises" to help other souls to imitate the life of Christ. Obligated by circumstances to give up his plan of converting the infidels, he spent the next eleven years in study at Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris. Then he and six companions—Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, James Laynez, Alonzo Salmerón, Nicholas Bobadilla, and Simon Rodríguez—took vows of poverty and chastity, and planned to devote themselves to the conversion of the Saracens, or in case this project should not be realized, to place themselves at the disposal of the Holy See (1534). Ignatius was ordained in 1537. His great work was the founding of the Society of Jesus which he continued to direct until his death.⁹⁹

Noted early Jesuit saints were: **Francis Borgia** (1510–1572), great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI, duke of Gandia, general of the Jesuits, reviser of the Jesuit rule and editor of the *Spiritual Exercises*, to whose administrative genius the organizing of the young Society and the developing of the foreign missions were greatly indebted; **Francis Xavier** (1506–1552), native of Navarre, "Apostle of the Indies," who converted multitudes in the Far East and became patron of Catholic missions; **Aloysius Gonzaga** (1568–1591), of a noble Italian family, who died before his ordination while caring for the plague-stricken and became, because of his great innocence, patron of Christian youth.

St. Philip Neri (1515–1595), a Florentine, devoted himself to the poor children of Rome while still a layman; and after his ordination to the priesthood undertook an apostolate among the Roman youth. Bitter criticism of his work caused him to be suspended from the hearing of confessions for a fortnight; but he soon regained the confidence of the authorities. His amazing influence over individuals and the activities of his disciples—among whom was the historian Baronius—proved to be a valuable aid to the Catholic Reformation.

St. Charles Borromeo (1538–1584), a Lombard—a cleric at twelve, and an abbot soon afterwards—was made cardinal at the age of twenty-one by his uncle, Pius IV, who also named him secretary of state. As archbishop of

⁹⁹ Among the earliest sources of information concerning St. Ignatius and the Society of Jesus (in addition to his autobiography and numerous letters) are a memorial, or diary, by the Portuguese, Father Gonzalvez, a letter by the Spaniard, Father Laynez, and biographies by Juan de Polanco, Pedro de Ribadeneira, Nicolao Orlandino, and Daniello Bartoli.

Milan he became conspicuous for personal holiness and zeal. One of the most active supporters of the Council of Trent, he set up nearly eight hundred schools of Christian Doctrine within his jurisdiction and prepared two manuals, one for pupils and another for teachers. In view of the existing difference of opinion with regard to the age of First Communion, he established the age of ten as a standard in his archdiocese.

St. Teresa (1515-1582), one of the most extraordinary women known to history, is commonly, although not officially, classified as a doctor of the Church. She established a reform among the Spanish Carmelites in the face of opposition from many sources; and her writings have exercised a profound spiritual influence upon every generation from her own day until the present time.

In the work of reforming the Carmelites, St. Teresa was aided by **St. John of the Cross** (1542-1605). Born near Ávila, he became a Carmelite in 1563 and a priest four years later. His mastery of mystical theology caused him to be proclaimed a doctor of the Church in 1926.

St. Thomas More (1478-1535), an outstanding figure in the political and religious history of England and successor of Cardinal Wolsey in the office of Lord Chancellor, opposed Henry VIII in the matter of the royal divorce, and also refused to recognize the king as head of the Church. He was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1535 and canonized precisely four hundred years later.

Among the other well known saints were:

Benedict of San Philadelpho (1526-1589), a Negro, commonly known as St. Benedict the Moor, born in Sicily of two Ethiopian slaves. He lived first as a hermit and then entered the Franciscan Order of Recollects. His extraordinary virtue led to his elevation to the position of superior of the monastery of Santa Maria in Palermo while he was still a lay brother. He was beatified in 1743 and canonized in 1807.

Jerome Emiliani (1481-1537), founder of the Congregation of Clerks Regular; **Cajetan** (1480-1547), co-founder of the Theatines; **John of God** (1495-1550), founder of the Order of Charity for the Service of the Sick; **John of Ávila** (1500-1569), Father of the Spanish mystics; and the Jesuit novice, **Stanislaus Kostka**, who died in 1568 at the age of eighteen. Saints elsewhere mentioned in this chapter are: **Angela**, **John Fisher**, **Joseph Calasanctius**, **Peter of Alcántara**, **Peter Canisius**, **Robert Bellarmine**.

Education: The total number of universities was now about eighty. In educational opportunities England ranked next after Italy and before France and Germany. Christ's College was founded at Oxford in 1505; Dean Colet reorganized St. Paul's School in 1512. At Alcalá, which had developed under the patron-

age of Cardinal Ximenes, the great Complutensian Polyglot Bible appeared in 1522.¹⁰⁰

The Protestant revolt had a harmful effect on education: the prevalent disturbances naturally reduced the number of students; confiscation of Church funds crippled endowed schools; the "reformers" dismantled many intellectual citadels of the old religion. Protestantism helped to take control of education away from the Church and make it a function of the state; yet the development of a new state system of schools was necessarily slow. The situation in England was particularly bad. Universities were nearly emptied; libraries and precious collections were destroyed; the dissolution of the monasteries involved the closing of numerous grammar schools. Despite revivals under Henry's immediate successors, there were less than half as many schools in England at the end of the century as there had been at the beginning.

Education fared better in Ireland where, outside the Pale and especially in Ulster, monastic schools lasted on until the following century.¹⁰¹ But the old professional Bardic schools with their high standards, their long years of training, and their profoundly Irish spirit, began to decline when Henry VIII broke the power of their chief supporters, the Irish and Anglo-Norman lords, and set up schools of his own to spread English, not Irish, culture. Trinity College, Dublin, established in 1595 by Protestant England was of course unacceptable, both from the Catholic and the Irish viewpoint.

A unique and highly important movement—which began in the sixteenth and continued into the seventeenth century—was the establishing of schools and seminaries on the Continent by refugee scholars from the British Isles. As early as the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI—but more frequently during the reign of Elizabeth—these exiles in the Netherlands, France,

¹⁰⁰ This Bible was in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Chaldaic. The Hebrew text was edited by Jewish converts. Two copies of the original edition of six hundred may be seen in the New York Public Library.

¹⁰¹ "And outside the Pale, wherever the religious question was likely to create a political crisis, the issue was avoided by the tactful obtuseness of the government to the disregard of its laws." Robert Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland*, p. 77.

Italy, and Spain, taught in schools already functioning or founded new institutions; and they made their mark on the intellectual life of their own nation and of their adopted countries, both in their own and in succeeding generations. Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits, seculars, labored in this field; English, Irish, Scottish, all participated; colleges were set up at Rome, Douai, Louvain, Paris, Valladolid, Salamanca, Seville, Prague, and elsewhere.

The decree of Trent, ordering the establishment of elementary schools, was re-echoed in provincial and diocesan synods; and a number of religious orders were founded to supply the lack of teachers. The Jesuits, formally dedicated to the work of preaching and educating, organized grammar schools and colleges in many parts of continental Europe, enrolled numerous Protestants among their students and, as a rule, exacted no fee but supported the schools by endowment. By the end of the century there were two fairly well-defined attitudes towards education, the Catholic and the Protestant. Under a superficial similarity they involved many important differences which became obvious as years went on. Among the Protestants, the Calvinists were conspicuous as educators; among the Catholics, the Jesuits were foremost.

In the field of clerical education, St. Charles Borromeo was especially zealous. So was Pope Gregory XIII. At Rome Gregory founded the English College to provide priests for the English missions; he reorganized the German College for the education of noble clerics; he made the Roman College an international seminary to which students came from all over Europe to study under such celebrated Jesuit professors as Toletus, the theologian, and Bellarmine, the controversialist. In places where the local ordinaries failed to carry out the educational decrees of Trent, Gregory himself established seminaries. He intervened thus in Austria, Bavaria, Bohemia, Transylvania, Dalmatia, Prussia, and Lithuania, placing Jesuits in charge of most of the clerical seminaries. Graduates of these institutions played an important part as priests and bishops in the spiritual and intellectual reconstruction of Christendom. Sixtus V (d. 1590), in his reorganization of the Curia, established the Congregation of Studies to supervise Catholic schools and universities.

Pius IV and Philip II coöperated in the establishment of a university at Douai to foster intellectual opposition to the Reformation. Among its

first professors were a number of Catholic exiles from Oxford; and one of these, William (later Cardinal) Allen, founded a college which trained more than three hundred priests for the English mission in this century, and sent more than one hundred sixty forth to martyrdom during the course of the persecution. Temporarily transferred to Rheims in 1578, on account of a local disturbance, the college returned to Douai in 1593, and added a preparatory school.

In 1535 St. Angela Merici founded the Ursulines, the first modern teaching order of women. Cesar de Bus founded the Fathers of Christian Doctrine in 1592. St. Joseph Calasanctius began his apostolate in 1597; and his first school (St. Dorothea's, Rome) soon had over one thousand small boys in attendance.¹⁰²

Writers: Among the forces which helped to promote the Catholic Reformation, theological writing should be included. In this field, during the first half of the century, Dominican authors were most prominent. In the second half appeared a galaxy of Jesuit theologians, chiefly Italian and Spanish.

Several elements contributed to the development of historical writing at this time—the revived interest in antiquity, the awakening of a critical sense, the circulation of knowledge through printed books, the active religious controversy. Protestant writers, inspired by Luther's suggestions, undertook to show that Catholic teaching was a tissue of novelties unknown to primitive Christianity; and (after several minor books had appeared) the Centuriators of Magdeburg, having made a diligent and not uncritical search of the libraries of Europe, produced a work which formed a new departure in the field of history.¹⁰³ Faced with this

¹⁰² This was the first large free public school in Europe.

¹⁰³ This group of Lutheran scholars (known as the Centuriators because they divided their work century by century) published in 1559 the first three volumes of a work on ecclesiastical history in order to provide Protestants with historical weapons in their attack upon the papacy. The leader of the Centuriators was Matthias Vlacich (Flacius), a native of Istria and professor at the strongly Lutheran University of Jena. He had already written an antipapal work entitled *A Catalogue of Witnesses of Truth* and had quoted statements from about four hundred writers including St. Gregory the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas who, according to the author, defended truth against "the Papal Antichrist." First planned in 1552 and published between 1559 and 1574 in thirteen volumes, each dealing with a different century of the Christian era, *Centuries* carried a complete title of sixty words. The work was controversial in spirit and accumulated facts, quotations, stories, and legends. "No crime is too monstrous, no story too incredible, provided it furnishes a means of blackening the memory of the occupants of St. Peter's Chair." (Edward Myers, "Centuriators of Magdeburg," *Cath. Encyc.*, III, 535.) The answer by Cardinal Baronius filled twelve folio volumes.

snarl of truth, prejudice, and misstatement, hard to disentangle, Catholics were thrown on the defensive. St. Peter Canisius, St. Robert Bellarmine, several writers in Germany, Belgium, France, and most of all Cesare Baronius, prepared replies; and in this new phase of religious controversy historical study assumed an importance previously unknown.¹⁰⁴

The English Catholic controversialists entered the historical field only incidentally; but their writings illuminate contemporary events; and many of their statements, long discredited, have been placed beyond question by modern research—particularly with regard to conditions during the reign of Elizabeth.¹⁰⁵

Spiritual writers were numerous and distinguished. The works of the Spanish Carmelites, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, everywhere recognized as classical sources of mystical science, have been translated into almost every European language.

Notable also were the scholarly accounts of newly discovered lands and of aboriginal peoples, sent back to Europe by foreign missionaries—Dominicans in America, Franciscans in India, Augustinians in the Philippines, Jesuits in all quarters of the world. Some of these writings remained the chief authorities in geography until the late eighteenth century; others are highly valued by students of ethnology even today.

Vernacular literature was not without religious significance. The pioneers in this field loved to mock sensual prelates and worldly monks; and their popular tales contributed to the spread of disaffection. People, already restless under burdens for which they held the Church responsible, were often stirred to a dangerous degree of resentment by half-malicious, half-humorous stories about the luxury of churchmen and the trickery of the

¹⁰⁴ Of the factors which affected the developing science of history some, as indicated above, were of contemporary origin; but others may be traced back to earlier centuries. Dr. Gamble's monograph on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* provides adequate clues to many converging trends and indicates the pertinent literature.

¹⁰⁵ Of the writings of the Catholic exiles at this time Dr. Code, after drawing attention to their polemical aim, writes, "Hence, from the standpoint of critical history, the greatest caution and control must [be] exercised in the examination of their writings. . . . It is all the more remarkable, therefore, to find that many of their assertions have been discovered as true, the result of the findings of certain modern historians using different and fully authenticated sources of information." Joseph Bernard Code, *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Historians*, p. 77.

ubiquitous friars. As for the Humanists, although few of them except Melanchthon and von Hutten became formal Protestants, many showed little respect for Catholic doctrine or discipline and at times seemed to waver in their allegiance to the Church. On the other hand, Reuchlin, John Colet (Dean of St. Paul's in London), and St. Thomas More wrote constructively. Yet Humanism, an essentially classical movement, was intellectual rather than religious and paid too little account to the vital spiritual needs of the time.

Theological Writers: **Thomas de Vio Cajetan** (1469-1534), master general of the Dominicans, cardinal, leading Thomist of his day—not to be confused with the Theatine, St. Cajetan, or the Benedictine, Constantino Cajetan—was a bold thinker, a tireless student, and author of over one hundred works. He defended papal rights at Pisa in 1511, played an active part in the fifth Lateran Council, disputed with Lutherans, Franciscans, and other Dominicans, sent missionaries to America.

Another Dominican—who discarded many minor metaphysical subtleties and discussed theology in a literary fashion more acceptable to the Humanists—was **Francisco de Vitoria** (1480-1546), professor at Salamanca, the leading university of Europe. On the basis of fundamental moral principles, he condemned the European invaders of America, championing the rights of the Indians as “the juridical equals” of the Spaniards. Many of his disciples played honorable parts at the Council of Trent; his teaching on international law was re-echoed in the theological schools of subsequent generations; and many distinguished writers on problems connected with peace and war have depended largely upon him.

Three other Dominican professors at Salamanca were: **Melchior Cano** (1509-1560), successor of Vitoria, author of the celebrated *De Locis* (on theological method) and a conspicuous figure at Trent; **Dominic Soto** (1494-1560), successor to Cano, also influential at Trent, able Thomist and prolific writer; **Dominic Bañez** (1528-1604), “a figure of unprecedented distinction in scholastic Spain,” zealous champion of Thomism, foremost opponent of Molinism and author of numerous works. Bañez was confessor and faithful friend of St. Teresa.

Most distinguished of the Jesuit theologians was **Francisco Suarez** (1548-1617), who taught in the last quarter of the century at Valladolid, at the *Collegio Romano*, at Alcalá, at Salamanca. Attacked by Dominican writers and also condemned at Rome for his teaching on the lawfulness of confession by letter, he nevertheless ranks high both as philosopher

and as theologian. One of his works was banned in Paris and burned in London because of its democratic spirit. Noted in theology as the founder of a theory called "Congruism," he was also one of the pioneers of international law.¹⁰⁶

St. Peter Canisius (1521-1597), in reply to the Centuriators of Magdeburg, produced a volume which deeply impressed the great theologian, Salmerón. According to J. Neville Figgis, who commented upon certain limitations of Canisius, his gentleness, zeal, and self-denial achieved a missionary success that "has hardly a parallel in history."¹⁰⁷ He was canonized and declared a doctor of the Church in 1925. The Saint's famous "triple catechism" was adapted for little children, older pupils, and advanced students. The complete list of his writings in the official Jesuit Bibliography fills thirty-eight pages.

St. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), who gained distinction as a teacher at Louvain and at the Jesuit *Collegio Romano*, was the spiritual guide of St. Aloysius, the friend of Baronius and of St. Francis de Sales. Primarily a polemical theologian, he published the earliest systematic refutation of current heresies in *De Controversiis*—a work of immense learning which profoundly influenced his own and succeeding generations. The positive basis of his work is contained in three smaller books, more strictly historical, *Chronologia Brevis*, *De Scriptoribus* and *Compendium de Haeresi*, which show that he had mastered the best learning and the best methods of his day. He possessed a complete knowledge of the Fathers and was acquainted with valuable medieval sources. Bellarmine opposed those who advocated severity towards Galileo; he wrote against the political principles of the English king, James I, who upheld the divine right of kings; he taught the democratic principle that authority comes from God to the people, who intrust it to duly appointed rulers.¹⁰⁸

Gabriel Vasquez (1549-1604), who taught at the *Collegio Romano* and at Alcalá, was especially devoted to St. Augustine. In some respects he departed from the common teaching of the scholastics, and he was sometimes looked upon as too independent. He carried on a lengthy dispute with Suarez whom he regarded as too modern.

¹⁰⁶ Classes established for the study of the text of Suarez in the universities of Salamanca (1720) and Alcalá (1734), were suppressed in 1768 by Charles III who forbade professors to use any Jesuit text.

¹⁰⁷ See "Petrus Canisius and the German Counter-Reformation," *English Historical Review*, XXIV (Jan. 1909), 42-43.

¹⁰⁸ The first volume of *De Controversiis* was placed upon the Index by Pope Sixtus V, because of statements concerning the temporal power of the popes; but after the death of the pope, Bellarmine's name was removed. Bellarmine was canonized in 1930, and was declared a doctor of the Church a year later.

For a scientific study of Bellarmine as historian, see E. A. Ryan, S.J., *The Historical Scholarship of St. Bellarmine*.

Other distinguished Jesuits were **Leonard Lessius** (1554-1623), author of a great treatise, *On Justice*, who engaged in one controversy on grace and another on the inspiration of Scripture; **Louis de Molina** (1535-1600), whose theory on the relation between grace and free will ("Molinism") occasioned an especially bitter dispute; **Alonzo Salmerón** (1515-1585), companion of St. Ignatius and papal delegate to the Council of Trent, who aroused opposition by affirming that the Immaculate Conception was not an article of faith and by supporting Soto's mild view concerning the duration of the sufferings of purgatory. His commentaries on the Gospel are still highly regarded.

Historical Writers: **Cesare Baronius** (1538-1607), disciple of St. Philip Neri and priest of the Oratory (declared Venerable by Benedict XIV in 1745), merited the title "Second Father of Ecclesiastical History" by his *Ecclesiastical Annals from Christ's Nativity to 1198*—a refutation of the *Centuries of Magdeburg*. Courageous, sincere, indefatigable, he utilized the nascent science of historical criticism in the construction of this monumental book which, even at the present day, continues to be, in the words of Bishop John B. Peterson, "an inexhaustible storehouse for research." It was continued and corrected by his fellow Oratorians, Laderchi and Theiner. Baronius, made cardinal in 1596, came within three votes of being elected pope in 1605. Among his collaborators was the Benedictine, **Constantino Cajetan** (1560-1650), Custodian of the Vatican Library and prolific writer, who claimed the authorship of the *Imitation of Christ* for the Benedictine, John Gerson, and challenged the Ignatian authorship of the "Spiritual Exercises"—attributing it to the Benedictine abbot of Montserrat, **Garcias de Cisneros** (1455-1510), in a work placed on the index in 1646.

Among notable writers who labored in the American mission field were the Franciscan, **Bernard de Sahagún** (1500-1590), and **Bartolomé de Las Casas** (1474-1566).¹⁰⁹

Spiritual Writers: The best known of St. Teresa's writings are her *Letters* and her *Autobiography*. St. John's works form a complete treatise on mysticism in four volumes: *The Ascent of Mt. Carmel* (the road to contemplation), *The Dark Night of the Soul* (the trials of contemplatives), *The Living Flame* (the effects of mystical prayer), and *The Spiritual Can-*

¹⁰⁹ De Sahagún, who spent sixty years in Mexico, wrote an Aztec grammar and dictionary, a history of the Aztecs, a history of the Franciscans in Mexico, and a history of New Spain so objectionable to the Spaniards that it was not published until 1800. Las Casas wrote *Historia de las Indias* and a report on Spanish abuse of the Indians (*Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*), which became a source book of data for anti-Spanish writers, but was denounced as calumnious by the Franciscan, Motolinia. The *Relacion* is accessible in *Bartholomew de las Casas* by F. A. MacNutt, Putnam's, New York, 1909; and Motolinia's rebuttal is in *The Encomienda in New Spain*, by L. B. Simpson, University of California Press, 1929.

ticle, which summarizes in poetic form the chief features of mystical experience.

Two other Spanish writers who published valuable spiritual works were the Franciscan, **St. Peter of Alcántara** (d. 1562), for years the spiritual director of St. Teresa, and **Francis of Osuna** (1497-1540), author of a book highly prized by St. Teresa, *Abecedario* (alphabet) *Espiritual*.

Worthy of mention also are two Dominicans, the Spaniard, **Luis of Granada** (1504-1588) and the Portuguese, **Bartholomew of the Martyrs** (1514-1590), Archbishop of Braga. The works of the Benedictine, **Blosius** or **Louis of Blois** (1506-1566), translated into English by Father Wilberforce, have become extremely popular within recent years.

John Lanspergius (1489-1539), a Carthusian monk of Cologne, wrote a book similar to the *Imitation* called *Colloques of Christ with the Faithful Soul*, and also edited the first Latin version of the *Revelations of St. Gertrude*.

Laurence Surius of Lubec (1522-1579), a Carthusian, published *Lives of the Saints*, a work more pious than critical, and also translated some of the sayings of the German mystics.

The works of **Dionysius the Carthusian** were first published by the Carthusians of Cologne in 1530.

English Exiles: Noted Catholic scholars at Louvain and Douai were Cardinal William Allen, Nicholas Sander, Thomas Stapleton, and Robert Persons. Others well known, but less active in the controversial field, were Edmund Campion, Robert Southwell, Edward Rushton, William Watson, Richard Bristow.

William Allen (1532-1594), fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, ordained after his flight from England in 1565, and founder of the English colleges at Douai and Valladolid, wrote a number of controversial works and, in collaboration with other scholars, began the Douai translation of the Bible.¹¹⁰ He was made cardinal at the request of King Philip in 1587. In the attempt to carry the papal bull of deposition into effect against Elizabeth, Allen and Persons headed the so-called Spanish party, but they aroused weak response from the English Catholics.

Nicholas Sander (1530-1581), Oxford graduate, ordained in Rome, presented a report on England to the Holy See in 1560, attended the Council of Trent, taught theology at Louvain, and became chief leader of the effort to restore order in the absence of a hierarchy. He was among the writers who answered the *Apologie* of the Anglican bishop, Jewel. He

¹¹⁰ The "Douai Version" of the New Testament was first published at Rheims in 1582 (nearly thirty years before the "Authorized," or "King James," version); and the complete Bible in two volumes was issued at Douai in 1609-10, publication of the Old Testament having been delayed by lack of means.

wrote (in Latin) a book, *On the Visible Monarchy of the Church*, and a smaller, better known work on the Anglican Schism, which was translated into English. In 1579 he accompanied Fitzmaurice's ill-fated expedition into Ireland and died there.

Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598), fellow of New College, Oxford, co-founder of Douai and professor of Scripture at Louvain, was best known for his vindication of the foreign policy of Philip II and his forthright condemnation of Elizabeth. He was high in the favor of Clement VIII, attained distinction in the theological world by his scholarship, and wrote numerous works, most of them controversial.

Robert Persons, or Parsons (1546-1610), fellow of Balliol College, convert and a Jesuit, temporary rector of the English College in Rome, re-entered England in company with Campion, set up a press to print controversial literature, and narrowly escaped capture when Campion was seized. He went to Spain to secure armed aid for the English Catholics from Philip II; and in England he drew criticism upon himself by intervening on the side of Blackwell in the Appellant controversy. He edited Sander's book on the Anglican Schism, wrote the popular *Christian Directory*, *Why Catholics Refuse to Go to Church*, and *Memorial of the Reformation in England*; and, answering the charge that Catholics were traitors, he published the *Responsio* (1591) in which he assailed Elizabeth and declared that the pope's power to depose sovereigns was an article of Catholic faith. He was most helpful in the missionary field; but his political activity is commonly regarded as having been unwise and hurtful to the Catholic cause.

Miscellaneous Writers: **St. John Fisher** (c. 1459-1535), Cardinal of St. Vitalis and Bishop of Rochester, was graduated from Cambridge in 1487 and later became proctor of the university and then master of Michael House. As chaplain and confessor to Margaret Beaufort (mother of King Henry VII), he advised her in the founding of St. John's and Christ's Colleges and the Lady Margaret chairs of divinity at Oxford and at Cambridge. He preached the funeral sermons of Henry VII and the Lady Margaret. He persuaded Erasmus to come to Cambridge, and Erasmus credits him with being responsible for the good standing of Greek at that university. Fisher was the author of twenty-six works, most of them ascetical or controversial in character. Among the best known are *A Treatise on the Seven Penitential Psalms* and *A Spiritual Consolation*.

Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), one of the most conspicuous figures of the Renaissance and the leader of the German humanists of Rotterdam,] at the age of nine became a pupil of the celebrated Hegius at Deventer and then (according to himself) wasted two years at the monastery school of Hertogenbosch. Urged by material necessity and with no belief in his vocation, he became a priest—an unfortunate step. His prodigious

learning, ready wit, and graceful style made him a model for his contemporaries. At Paris in 1496 he developed a deep dislike for scholasticism. Two years later at Oxford, he came under the influence of Colet and Thomas More and began to study Scripture. Sensing the need of a critical revision of Catholic texts, especially in the field of Scripture and patristic theology, he undertook the first scholarly modern edition of the New Testament. Among his writings were a collection of Greek and Latin proverbs, a complete edition of Aristotle's works, a celebrated and widely circulated satire, *In Praise of Folly*. Erasmus freely expressed his contempt of Lutheranism, criticized severely the medieval philosophers and theologians, and wrote with bitterness against ecclesiastical abuses. He condemned the religious life, and although he neither repudiated the Catholic faith nor denied the authority of the Holy See, he did much to spread the spirit of mockery and irreverence.

Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), a distinguished lay educator who in 1531 wrote one of the finest treatises in the history of pedagogy, was a caustic critic of decadent scholasticism, an advocate of the inductive method, and a consistent Catholic. He was tutor to Princess Mary at the English court, a lecturer at Oxford, and a friend of Erasmus and More. Henry VIII banished him for his defense of Queen Catherine, to whom he had dedicated his celebrated treatise on the education of women.

Among the most influential of the Renaissance writers was **Niccolò de Bernardo Machiavelli** (1469-1527) of Florence. He held diplomatic office under the Florentine government until the Medici came into power in 1512, when he was imprisoned, tortured, and banished. The author's theories of political science and statecraft are contained in his great work, *The Prince*, written in exile, and his *Discourses*. Machiavelli charged the papacy with responsibility for the spiritual deterioration of the Church and for the miserable condition of Italy, attacked the medieval ideal of the relationship between Church and State, and taught that the secular state is wholly independent of religious authority.

As the Council of Trent had called for a new edition of the Vulgate, Sixtus V produced the Sixtine Edition in 1590; but it was so imperfect that Gregory XIV destroyed it in the following year. A corrected edition, which appeared in 1592 during the pontificate of Clement VIII, was called the Sixto-Clementine edition.

Among the numerous missionaries who composed works of scientific value were the Hieronymite, **Fray Roman**, whose study on the inhabitants of the West Indies has been called "the cornerstone of American Ethnology"; the Dominican, **de Castello**, who explored the volcanoes of Nicaragua in 1538; the Augustinian, **de Mendoza**, who drew the first practical map of China in 1585; and the Jesuit, **d'Acosta**, who described Peru in 1588.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: The relationship between the civil and ecclesiastical powers grew more complicated with the advent of Protestantism. Sovereigns who accepted the new religion repudiated the medieval ideal of the Church-State relationship as a matter of course; and Catholic rulers, for one reason or another, were often under the almost irresistible necessity of going part way with the Protestants. A growing number began to look with favor upon Machiavelli's theories that the fundamental principle of statesmanship is expediency, that justice is determined by the will of the stronger power, that religion and morality are primarily useful checks upon revolutionary tendencies.

The divergence between Luther and Calvin in their attitudes towards the state became a major factor in the political history of the next four centuries. Luther, who relied upon the mystical sense more than upon the intelligence and regarded the natural law as non-rational, emphasized obedience to the established government; and the net result of his influence was a spirit of general political subservience. Calvin laid more stress on the supremacy of the enlightened conscience which sees the will of God expressed in the natural law; and his teaching that the elect have the right to resist monarchs and to rule the sinful world, laid the foundation of a system of spiritual aristocracy which carried within itself the seeds of democracy. Lutheranism found a congenial atmosphere in Prussia. Calvinism thrived in Switzerland, Scotland, Holland, England.¹¹¹

The incipient democratic tendency to check the power of the ruler found support in the teaching of two distinguished Jesuits. Suarez, recognizing that the medieval empire no longer existed, argued that an international code, based upon the principles of the natural law and interpreted by the pope, should regulate the relationship between sovereign states; and he

¹¹¹ See Christopher Dawson, "The Religious Origins of European Disunity" in *The Dublin Review*, vol. 207 (October, 1940), pp. 142 ff.

In connection with this, however, one must take account of contradictory elements in Luther's policy. "Luther in fact saved the Reformation by cutting it adrift from the failing cause of the peasants and tying it to the chariot wheels of the triumphant Princes." A. F. Pollard, "Social Revolution and Catholic Reaction in Germany," in *The Cambridge Modern History*, II, 194.

also taught that political order and civil authority are based on the consent of the people. About the same time Bellarmine defended the theory of "indirect power," which holds that papal decisions on spiritual issues may indirectly limit the sovereign's freedom, and that if he refuses to recognize this limitation his subjects in some cases are entitled to depose him and choose another ruler. But the atmosphere of the times was not conducive to the acceptance of such ideas. Belief in the divine right of kings was gaining ground; and, in their opposition to civil absolutism, the popes lacked the support of the people and of the clergy.

We should note the significant fact that the progress of the Tridentine Reform was hindered not only by hostile Protestant powers, but also by Catholic rulers—concerned more about national interests than about the welfare of Christendom—who exploited the papacy to further their own plans. The German emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain—all made use of the so-called "ballot of exclusion"¹¹² to prevent the election of papal candidates unfavorable to themselves.

Heresies: The first episodes of the revolution which transformed the religious character of Europe stood out against a background of antipapal feeling, stirred up by the Romeward stream of alms-offerings for indulgences and by other grievances. Popular resentment was already in an acute stage when two young priests, the German, Martin Luther, and the Swiss, Huldreich Zwingli, published their defiance of the pope and announced the outlines of a new religion. The characteristic doctrine of that new religion was justification by faith alone;¹¹³ and its fundamental difference from Catholicism lay in its novel rule of faith, which fixed the truths of Christian Revelation not by the decisions of a divinely established Church, but by individual interpretation of the Scripture. As time went on the adherents of this new form of Christianity showed more and more clearly that however they might diverge from one another in the field of dogma, they were united in their repudiation of papal authority.

As to doctrine, several schools soon arose. The two main

¹¹² The "ballot of exclusion" united more than one-third of the voters against the candidate, thus making it impossible for him to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority.

¹¹³ In practice, of course, the theory was modified by an admission of the necessity of good works; and private judgment came to mean the judgment of a like-minded group rather than of an individual.

groups, the Calvinists and the Lutherans, agreed on the theory of justification by faith alone; but they disagreed in their teaching on predestination and on the Holy Eucharist, and still more in their theory of church government—for Calvin abolished the episcopate. At Torgau in 1576, an attempt to draw up a common "Formula of Concord" failed, and several creeds remained in use, most of them nearer to Calvinism than to Lutheranism. The development of Protestantism was profoundly affected by internal conflicts; by the vigorous Catholic "Counter Reformation"; by political trends which favored Lutheranism in Germany, Calvinism in Switzerland, Scotland, France; and by England's twofold movement towards and away from Calvin's principles.

Lutherans: Strictly speaking, Lutheranism began in 1518 when John Eck, vice chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, denounced the "Hussite spirit" of Luther's theses, and a council of archbishops declared them heretical. Having been summoned to recant or to face the penalty, Luther announced himself as the champion of the German people against Roman oppression and papal corruption, and aroused both laity and clergy to an outburst which resulted in personal insult to the papal legate and public burning of the papal bull. The emperor placed Luther under the ban; but several German princes entered into the dispute, transformed the religious quarrel into a political issue of the first magnitude, and at the Diet of Speyer in 1526, demanded the suppression of religious orders and the prohibition of the Mass. Fearful of provoking internal dissension during the Turkish war, the diet, in its "Recess,"¹¹⁴ decreed that no further religious innovation should be introduced until the convoking of a council which should be assembled within eighteen months at most; and "with regard to the Edict of Worms, the princes and the cities pledged themselves in a common agreement so to live, govern, and comport themselves as they should answer for their conduct to God and His Imperial Majesty."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ The name given to the closing resolutions which presented the most important decisions of a diet.

¹¹⁵ See Eyre, *op. cit.*, IV, 84.

Availing themselves of the opportunity presented by this loosely worded pledge, several "Lutheran" princes (including Philip of Hesse and Albert of Brandenburg) suppressed religious orders within their domains and abolished or substantially altered the ritual of the Mass.

When the diet met at Speyer in 1529, the emperor was at liberty to exert more pressure, and the assembly, having repudiated the Recess of 1526 and condemned the innovations that had been introduced during the three-year interval, decreed that Catholic worship should be free everywhere and that the new religion should be free only in places where it had already been to some extent adopted. The protest of the Lutheran princes against this Recess of 1529 caused them to be known as "Protestants."

In 1530 the task of formulating Protestant belief was entrusted to Melancthon, professor of Greek at Wittenberg and next in rank to Luther among the leaders of the movement. Melancthon prepared the Augsburg Confession, signed by seven princes including the Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse—a campaign document which omitted all criticism of Catholic teaching and undertook to show that the new doctrines were not necessarily opposed to any dogma of the Church. The Confession misled some Catholics to whom it seemed orthodox; but the trained theologians detected its animus and rejected it unanimously. It was at this time that the emperor informed the pope that the one effective means of restoring religious unity would be the convoking of a general council.

Calvinists: Concurrently with the German movement took place a revolution in Switzerland, where Huldreich Zwingli got control of the state council of Zurich in 1525, set up a national church, seized ecclesiastical property, prohibited the celebration of Mass, and won five other cantons over to the new religion. An attempt to force the five Catholic cantons into the movement brought on an inconclusive civil war, in the course of which Zwingli was killed (1531). Swiss Protestants then effected the separation of Geneva from Savoy and made it their religious capital; and John Calvin, at that time their leader, gave the

new religion a systematic theology and organized a stern theocracy, imposing church attendance as a civil obligation, punishing moral transgressions severely, inflicting sentences of imprisonment, banishment, and death upon nonconformists. From Switzerland Calvinism spread into the Rhine provinces of Germany, into Hungary and Poland, into the Netherlands, and into France, where, in the form of a powerful political party, it had gained control of a large part of the country when the conversion of Henry IV ended the hopes of the "Huguenots." Under the leadership of John Knox, who visited Geneva in 1554, Calvinism became the national religion of Scotland.

Anabaptists: Among the early offshoots of Protestantism was the Anabaptist movement. The Anabaptists made Luther's teaching on the private interpretation of the Scriptures and the inner leading of the Holy Spirit the basis of a repudiation of infant baptism and also of an attempt to "share the wealth" which led to clashes with the civil authorities. Riots developed into armed conflict in many places; and in 1525 a force of Anabaptist peasants, led by Münzer, a Lutheran preacher, and Pfeifer, an apostate monk, fought and lost a battle at Frankenhausen against the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Brunswick. The Anabaptists of Westphalia, under the Lutheran, Bernard Rottman, an ex-priest, and John of Leyden, a Dutch tailor, organized a reign of terror, introduced communism of goods and polygamy,¹¹⁶ and seized the city of Münster to make it the capital city of the "New Jerusalem." Francis von Waldeck, the Protestant-minded bishop of Münster, at the head of an armed force stormed the town; and the leaders of the movement were captured, tortured, and executed. A more moderate group of Swiss Anabaptists developed into the sect known as the Mennonites, which still exists.¹¹⁷

Unitarians: The first leader of the anti-Trinitarian Protestants was Laelius Socinus (Sozzini), a lawyer of Padua, who fled from Italy in fear of the Inquisition, lived for a while in Switzerland, and visited Poland about the year 1556. His nephew, Faustus Socinus (1539-1604), organized the anti-Trinitarians of Poland into a sect known as the "Polish Brethren." Socinus regarded Christ as "a subordinate God to whom the supreme God gave over the command of the world." The Socinians, like the Anabaptists, opposed the establishment of state churches. The name "Unitarian," first used about the year 1570 to designate the anti-Trinitarians of Transylvania, was later applied to all sects which denied the Trinity of God.

¹¹⁶ Rottman took four wives and John of Leyden sixteen.

¹¹⁷ The Anabaptist teaching with regard to the refusal of baptism to any but adults was incorporated in the religious system of the English and American Baptists.

Anglicans: In England Henry VIII—who had been the brilliant young rival of Charles V for the imperial office—finding himself hampered by the strict marriage laws of the Catholic Church, published the Act of Supremacy (1535) making the crown supreme in religious affairs. Thus emancipated from the control of Rome, Henry formulated Ten Articles rejecting the Catholic doctrine on the papacy, purgatory, relics, and images; but also promulgated Six Articles defending the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Mass, and confession. Under Edward VI (1547–1553) appeared the Book of Common Prayer which in its first edition, 1549, was moderately Protestant and in its second edition—prepared by William Cecil, Secretary of the Council, and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury—was thoroughly Calvinistic, repudiating the Mass and the Real Presence.¹¹⁸ After the Catholic reaction under Mary, the Protestant party returned to power; and Elizabeth restored the second edition of the Book of Common Prayer, devising amendments, however, to make it acceptable both to the moderate (Episcopalian) and to the extreme (Calvinist) parties. In 1570 the attempt of the pope to depose Elizabeth unified the different Protestant groups in support of the queen and in hostility to the Holy See; and the creed formulated in the Book of Common Prayer took on the character of a test of patriotism.

The Three Protestant Pioneers

Martin Luther (1483–1546), born at Eisleben, Saxony, entered the Augustinian novitiate at Erfurt in 1505, was ordained priest in 1507, and became a Doctor of Theology in 1512. He soon attracted attention by his lectures on the Scriptures, in which he paid special attention to the Epistles of St. Paul.

When the Dominican, John Tetzel,¹¹⁹ came to the little town of Jüterbog to preach sermons recommending indulgences on All Hallows Eve (Octo-

¹¹⁸ The often quoted "black rubric" at the end of the Communion service affirmed that belief in the real or essential presence of Christ's natural body and blood is "idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." The word "Mass" was deleted from the Prayer Book; Mass vestments were forbidden; and the minister was directed to wear a surplice. "This book, which apparently had a parliamentary sanction only and was never approved by Convocation, is the high-water mark of Prayer Book Protestantism. All subsequent revisions have been in the direction of toning down its robust Protestant complexion. . . . It remained in use but few months; for the boy king died during the following summer, and the mass was restored." Humphrey J. T. Johnson, *Anglicanism in Transition*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ Tetzel went far beyond the authority granted by the papal indulgence bulls and presented notions of purgatory never really taught by the Catholic Church—views which were later actually condemned. His appeal was substantially the same as that of the doggerel verses which have sometimes (although inaccurately) been ascribed to him:

"As soon as the gold in the basket rings,
The rescued soul to heaven springs."

ber 31), 1517, Luther, then attached to the Augustinian monastery in nearby Wittenberg, following an ordinary academic procedure, nailed to the door of the castle church (the official bulletin board of the university) ninety-five theses which he was prepared to defend. These particular theses, which denied the validity of indulgences, caused such excitement that Luther felt it necessary to send letters of explanation to the archbishop of Mainz and the bishop of Brandenburg.

Tetzel replied to Luther's attack with a series of counter-theses defending the Catholic doctrine of indulgences; and the controversy spread. Condemned by the papal legate, Cardinal Cajetan, who came to Augsburg to investigate the trouble in 1518, Luther was protected by his own sovereign, the elector of Saxony, by the electors of Brandenburg and of the Palatinate, and by the landgrave of Hesse.

The excitement increased in 1519 when in a disputation at Leipzig with Dr. Eck, a professor at Ingolstadt, Luther denied the divine origin of the papacy and the infallibility of general councils. The following year he published three writings: one, *The Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*, against the Church; another, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in which he rejected all the sacraments except baptism and the Eucharist; and a third, *Liberty of the Christian Man*, in which he represented himself as a leader in the cause of German freedom.

In 1520 Pope Leo X published a bull, *Exsurge Domine*, condemning Luther's teaching and demanding a retraction; in reply, Luther called the pope "Antichrist" and publicly burned the papal bull. Summoned at the Imperial Diet of Worms (1521) to recant his teaching, he refused;¹²⁰ and his friends carried him off to the Wartburg Castle near Eisenach where he spent nearly a year translating the New Testament into German in a vigorous popular style; this translation with its interesting illustrations proved to be a splendid advertisement of Lutheranism.¹²¹ Luther also devised a liturgy and a simple method of catechetical instruction, and composed hymns which have retained their popularity for centuries.

Luther's marriage to Katherine von Bora, an ex-Cistercian nun, in 1525, brought criticism from some of his associates and during his last years his psychopathic bursts of anger alienated his best friends. At first sympathetic towards the Jews, he later turned against them, for unknown reasons, urging rulers and preachers to persecute them, and repeating the old

¹²⁰ The legend of Luther standing before the diet and affirming, "Here I stand. I can do no other. So help me God," has been discredited by Protestant scholars.

¹²¹ In later years some of the more ignorant of Luther's followers came to believe that he had actually discovered the Bible, or that he was the first to translate it into German. In reality, three years before his birth, in 1480, a vernacular German Bible was published at Cologne expressly for the use of the unlearned and simple persons, clerical and lay. Before 1518 there were fourteen translations of the Bible in high German and five in low German. See Janssen, *History of the German People* . . . II, 301.

charges of well-poisoning and child murder.¹²² Luther died in 1546 and was buried at Wittenberg in the castle church.

It is not easy to obtain a just and objective estimate of Luther, who was a complex and enigmatic individual and at the same time a conspicuous figure in a tremendous world-shaking movement. To qualities of near genius, he added vital defects, combining rugged strength with fickleness, and practical wisdom with puerile superstition. Because his religious crusade coincided with cosmic events, historians have often transferred to him a significance which was really due to the operation of incredibly powerful forces, political, intellectual, and economic, quite unlike anything in earlier periods. No direct and immediate improvement of religious and moral conditions resulted from his influence and he lived long enough to see that his teachings were injuring the cause he professed to serve—supernatural Christian faith and personal liberty of conscience.¹²³

Huldreich Zwingli (1484–1531), a Swiss priest of Einsiedeln, a student of Greek and Hebrew, appointed to the Great Münster in Zurich in 1518, became a preacher of the new religion with the support and approval of the civil authorities at Zurich. Both clergy and people were in a deplorable moral condition, and Zwingli himself had been guilty of serious lapses.

He first came into prominence as an anti-French leader by helping to keep Zurich out of the alliance with France in 1521. Soon afterwards he took up the new religious views and proclaimed the Bible to be the only source of faith. Supported by local authorities, he carried through a program which called for the abolition of the Mass, the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, indulgences and pilgrimages; and for the destruction of relics, altars, pictures, sacred vessels. Celibacy was denounced; monks and nuns were encouraged to marry; church property was appropriated by the State. Zwingli married in 1524.

Fighting in a civil war undertaken to impose Protestantism on the Catholic cantons, Zwingli fell in battle in 1531. He was succeeded by Bullinger, one of the authors of the first Helvetic Confession, the profession of faith of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. The Zwinglians could

¹²² In 1543 he appealed for kind treatment of the Jews; the following year he wrote two books attacking them fiercely.

¹²³ Although according to a recent Catholic writer on Luther, "Time does not dwarf the stature of the man" (Joseph Clayton, *Luther and His Work*, Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1937, p. 261), there have been many modern corrections of earlier extravagant estimates—some of which have been enumerated by H. Ganns, in *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* (XXVI, 1901, 582 ff.) and in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (IX, 1910, s.v. "Luther"). However, in 1917 the torrent of literature occasioned by the fourth centenary of Luther's challenge to Tetzel showed it is still true that few men in history have been the subject of more general contradiction. Among Catholic scholars who have discussed Luther in the present century, most notable are Janssens, Denifle, Grisar, Paulus and Paquier, whose article in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie* . . . (X, 1926, s.v. "Luther") runs to nearly a hundred columns.

not come to an agreement with the Lutherans, but reached an understanding with Calvin in 1545.

John Calvin (1509–1564), a doctor of law from Picardy, France, and an industrious student of Greek and Hebrew, took up the “reformed” doctrines in 1533, and a few years later wrote his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. In Geneva he became leader of the reform, published catechisms in Latin and French, composed a new liturgy, introduced congregational singing of the Psalms, and organized a theocracy which imposed conformity under severe penalties. In 1552 the Spanish physician, Michael Servetus, was burned at Geneva as an unbeliever; and in 1556 the Italian, Gentile, a Unitarian, was decapitated at Berne.

Calvin was a skillful organizer and an industrious worker, and in addition to an enormous correspondence he was the author of numerous sermons, some twenty-three hundred of which are extant in manuscript form. He founded a college which developed into the University of Geneva. The Presbyterians of Scotland, the Huguenots of France, and the Puritans of England were his theological offspring.

Other Disputes: *Appellant Controversy*. The English Catholic body in these years included various groups: the so-called “seminary” priests, educated at Douai, Rome, Valladolid, and other continental colleges; older clergy who had survived from Mary’s reign; religious, among whom the Jesuits were most active; the Catholic laity, which still included a number of important persons.¹²⁴ These groups were divided by bitter controversies over several questions: Should the Catholics recognize Elizabeth as legitimate queen? Should they have recourse to armed force? Should they encourage Spain to invade England? Should they respect the authority of the archpriest Blackwell? Most acute of the several quarrels was the “appellant” controversy, occasioned by the appointment of an archpriest after the death of Cardinal Allen. A number of priests protested and appealed to the Holy See; but a papal brief confirmed the appointment in 1599. The archpriest Blackwell charged the appellants with schism; the University of Paris and the English government were drawn into the quarrel; and, during a pamphlet war, two English

¹²⁴ A considerable literature is available on the different parties above mentioned. See Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, and J. H. Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth*, and *The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell*.

priests, Bagshaw and Watson, made particularly violent onslaughts on Blackwell and the Jesuits. The controversy was officially terminated by a papal bull in 1602; but it left an aftermath of resentment and suspicion.

Baianism: Michael Baius, or de Bay (1513-1589), of Louvain University, and his friend, John Hessels, attended the Council of Trent as theologians of the king of Spain. They attracted unfavorable attention there, by their novel doctrines on grace. Baius's errors, which concerned chiefly the relations between divine grace and the primitive nature of man, included several principles taught by Pelagius, Calvin, and Socinus; and it contradicted the teaching of the Council of Trent on original sin and on justification. From doctrines taught by Baius, Jansenism sprang in the following century.

In 1567 Pius V issued a bull condemning 79 errors concerning original sin and justification without, however, naming Baius; and the Baianists responded with a series of objections and quibbles, including the celebrated argument over the position of a comma, thereafter known as the *comma Pianum*.¹²⁵ The orthodox doctrine was made clear a few years later (1579) by Gregory XIII, who exacted an abjuration from Baius.

Molinism: The Catholic doctrine on divine grace, as defined by the Council of Trent, gave rise to discussions concerning the precise nature of the relationship between the grace of God and the free will of man. The theory, evolved by the Jesuit, Molina, was denounced by theologians of the Thomistic and Augustinian tradition, who thought that Molina gave too much value to human coöperation at the cost of the efficacy of the divine action. The controversy raged through the intellectual centers of Europe.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ According to the usage of the papal curia, the document contained no punctuation and question arose as to the proper place of a comma needed to clarify a sentence which ran substantially as follows: "These opinions although some of them to a certain extent could be tolerated in the strict sense intended by the proponents are to be condemned as wrong."

¹²⁶ In contrast with the Calvinist theologians, who were disposed to favor predestination at the expense of free will and to exalt faith at the expense of reason, the Catholic Church emphasized the freedom of the will and the rights of reason, insisting upon the harmony between the supernatural and the natural.

In 1598 Clement VIII appointed a commission under the name of *Congregatio de Auxiliis* to investigate the merits of the dispute between Molinists and Thomists. After several years of work it was adjourned by Paul V, who forbade either side to call the other heretical. Practically this was a victory for the Jesuits, who were now free to teach Molina's theory without danger of being called semi-Pelagians as in the past.

The Moslems: Early in the century the Ottoman Turks took possession of Syria, seized control of Egypt from the Mamelukes, and by a series of conquests, almost doubled the extent of the Mohammedan empire. Under Solyman the Magnificent, the Turkish threat to Christendom became serious. In 1521 the Turks took Belgrade, the key to Hungary, and in the following year the island of Rhodes, Europe's bulwark in the Mediterranean. In 1529 they laid siege to Vienna; and by 1534 they were supreme both in eastern Europe and in the Mediterranean. The Turkish capital, set up at Buda in 1540, lasted for more than a hundred years; and Turkish centers were established in Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia. Then in 1571 came the crushing defeat of the Turks by Don Juan of Austria, at the battle of Lepanto.

In the greater part of India, except in the far south, Islam had displaced Hinduism; but contests between the Mohammedan kings and the Hindu rajahs opened the way for an invasion by Babar, a great Turco-Mongol chieftain, descendant of Tamerlane. He seized the throne of Delhi, founded the Mogul empire, and united the whole country politically. Under Akbar,¹²⁷ who reigned during almost the entire second half of the century, the Mogul empire made great progress. Art and learning developed; various features of the old popular religion—including child marriage, animal sacrifice, and torture of suspected criminals—were forbidden by law; and Hinduism lost influence.

The Jews: The Jews who had been banished from Spain and Portugal received the name "Sephardim," distinguishing them from the "Ashkenazim," or German Jews; and this distinction has been perpetuated in modern Jewish history. Generally speak-

¹²⁷ Akbar was the owner of the Kohinoor Diamond which was placed in his tomb.

ing, the Sephardim possessed more education, although often they were less attached to the Talmudic tradition.

Most of the refugees from Spain and Portugal settled in the Turkish empire, where many of them attained positions of wealth and influence. The largest colonies were at Constantinople, Salonica, and Jerusalem. Next to Turkey the favorite country of the refugees was Holland—especially after Holland separated from Spain. From Holland many crossed the Atlantic to settle in Brazil.

The Sephardim exiles founded colonies in Italy; but Spanish influence brought about their expulsion from Naples in 1541, from Genoa in 1550, and from Milan in 1597. In other parts of Italy they were well treated on the whole, although Venice constructed the first Italian Ghetto in 1516 to limit competition between the Jews and the native merchants. Towards the middle of the century the accusation of child murder was renewed. In 1555 Pope Paul IV prescribed the wearing of the badge by the Jews, and revived ancient laws which forbade them to practice medicine, to own real estate, or to engage in other specified commercial activities. The Jews were expelled from the Papal States by Pius V in 1569, tolerated by Gregory XIII, banished again by Clement VIII.

4. MISSIONS

In this "Age of Colonization," empires established overseas were blending the history of Europe inextricably with that of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. Portugal, by right of discovery and in accord with the "Line of Demarcation," laid claim to all Africa, to Brazil, to the East Indies; and Portuguese traders, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, carried on steady commerce with India, Ceylon, China, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and the neighboring islands. Inexact notions of geography brought on a clash with Spain; but the dispute lost all practical importance when Spain annexed Portugal in 1580. Soon afterwards the Netherlands, now independent, began to appropriate part of the old Portuguese possessions.

Although all missionary activities were to some extent hampered by the religious wars,¹²⁸ Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits labored zealously in the fields opened up by explorers. Paul III proclaimed the Indians' God-given title to full human rights; St. Pius V and Gregory XIII ordered missionaries to instruct the Indians in the doctrines of the faith; Pius V created a Congregation for the Conversion of Pagans; Clement VIII established a Congregation for the Missions in 1599.

Letters and reports written by the missionaries at this time form a fascinating and inspiring literature, filled with first-hand accounts of adventures, persecutions, escapes, martyrdoms; thousands of volumes of still unpublished material are preserved at Rome in the archives of the Vatican, the Propaganda, and the religious orders, as well as in libraries situated in the mission countries.¹²⁹

Asia

India: Franciscan missionaries came to Calicut in 1500 and Dominicans to Cochin in 1503. The "Thomas Christians" of the Malabar coast, although Nestorians, coöperated to some extent with the missionaries.¹³⁰ Converts were numerous. In 1533 Goa was made a see. Its first bishop, a Franciscan who ruled over the whole area from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, established a seminary for the training of native clergy at Goa in 1541.

St. Francis Xavier, in 1542, opened a new chapter in the history of the Indian missions. Cochin became a diocese suffragan to Goa (1558); and Goa became an archdiocese with eighty churches dependent upon it. Missionary centers were established in Mylapur, Madura, and Bengal; and colleges were founded at Cochin and Diamper. Serious obstacles, however, prevented the progress which had been anticipated. The Church suffered

¹²⁸ Catholics were reproached by Erasmus for their lack of zeal; and the first Protestant reformers gave no evidence of concern for the conversion of the pagans. Protestant missions undertaken in Lapland and Brazil were political rather than religious in character.

¹²⁹ The sending home of reports at regular intervals was an established custom. The Jesuit rule, for example, prescribed a letter to the general of the order once a month from superiors in Italy; every four months from superiors of houses in Europe outside of Italy; once a year from superiors in missionary lands. The *Jesuit Relations*, properly so called, were intended for publication. The best known series is the *Relations of New France*, begun in 1616; the letters for 1632-72 are of immense value to historians.

¹³⁰ The "Thomas Christians" claim descent from the converts of St. Thomas the Apostle.

from being identified with the hated Portuguese. There was also the nearly insuperable difficulty of overcoming caste prejudice.¹³¹

China: The Portuguese entered China in 1517 and established their headquarters on the island of Macao in 1557. The first missionaries—Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans—fared badly; but in 1583 the Jesuit, Ruggieri, with his companions, Ricci and Pasio, succeeded in founding a permanent Chinese mission. Ricci, whose skill as an astronomer made him especially welcome, translated Euclid into Chinese, assumed the status of a Mandarin (scholar), adopted a Chinese name and Chinese dress, and followed all native customs which did not conflict with Christian faith. He succeeded in breaking down many of the prejudices of the upper classes and in making a number of converts; and in 1598 he traveled, under the escort of the viceroy of Nanking, to the (forbidden) city of Peking.

Japan: Portuguese explorers arrived in 1542 and St. Francis Xavier followed them seven years later. When he left Japan in 1551, he had made several hundred converts and had translated a catechism into Japanese. The missions of Japan soon brought in tens of thousands of converts, including many members of the higher class and a number of local rulers (Daimios). Nobunaga, who gained control in 1573, showed great favor to the Christians. Nagasaki became a mission center for the sixty-three principalities of the island; and ten years later there were twenty-six priests in Japan ministering to a multitude of converts.¹³² Two seminaries and a college were established; missionaries arranged the sending of an embassy from the Christian princes to the Holy See; and the envoys, who reached Rome in 1585 after a voyage lasting more than three years, made a profound impression upon Gregory XIII, the clergy, and the people of Rome. The pope hoped for the conversion of all Japan.¹³³

In 1586, Hideyoshi (otherwise Taikosama) established a military dictatorship over the whole island. At first sympathetic towards the Christians, he declared he would be willing to become a Christian himself, if dispensed from the obligation of monogamy; but later he inaugurated a per-

¹³¹ With regard to the number of converts made by St. Francis Xavier there has been considerable discussion and some exaggeration. The only exact information contained in his letters is the statement that at Travancore he converted 10,000 pagans in a month. Moving rapidly from place to place, the Saint had to leave his converts to be instructed by others; and although his disciples were not unsuccessful, the results at the end of the century were so disappointing that some of the Jesuits advocated removal to a more promising field. They were kept in India by order of the general, Laynez. Daniello Bartoli, S.J., cited in Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

¹³² Some say that at this time Japanese Christians numbered 150,000; others say 200,000.

¹³³ Gregory's brief of 1585, reserving Japan to the Jesuits, was to some extent disregarded by Franciscans and by Dominicans, on the ground that the insufficient number of clergy nullified the prohibition. Gregory's successor, Sixtus V, granted concessions to the Franciscans in all parts of India. The East was opened to all the Mendicants in 1600, to the other orders in 1633, to the secular clergy in 1673.

secution. Missionaries were banished, churches burned, converts martyred; and in 1597 on the Sacred Mountain near Nagasaki twenty-six Christians, including six Franciscans and three Jesuits, were crucified.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, at the end of the century more than sixty priests, over seventy brothers, and some eight hundred catechists were ministering to about three-quarters of a million Christians; and three native Japanese had been ordained priests.¹⁸⁵

The Malay Peninsula: The Portuguese reached Malacca in 1511 and from this center missionaries spread the faith, often at the cost of their lives, in the surrounding regions, both on the mainland—in Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Burma—and in the neighboring islands. Malacca became a diocese in 1577.¹⁸⁶

Oceania ¹⁸⁷

In the islands that lie south of continental Asia, on or near the equator, Portuguese settlements became mission centers early in the century. In Sumatra, Java, Celebes, thousands of natives were converted, and several kings accepted baptism. In the Moluccas, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits (including St. Francis Xavier) made hundreds of thousands of converts. The Dutch invasion ended this promising chapter of mission history.¹⁸⁸

In 1521 Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, rounded Cape

¹⁸⁴ They were canonized as martyrs in 1862. Among them was Gonsalo Garcia, India's only canonized saint. See *Ecclesiastical Review*, XLIX (1913), 673.

¹⁸⁵ The quick disappearance of this flourishing church under the later persecutions is attributed by some, at least in part, to faulty missionary policies—extreme conservatism, exaggerated Europeanism, and failure to instruct catechumens thoroughly, to develop a native clergy, to establish a solid hierarchy. On the other hand, it is pointed out that the first three bishops died before arriving, and that the missions suffered through English and Dutch intrigues with the Japanese, through the revival of national spirit and native culture in Japan, through obstacles set by the *Real Padroado*, through the decline of Portugal and the rise of Spain. For the disputes and for literature bearing on them see "Victory and Persecution of the Missions in Japan," Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 338 ff.

¹⁸⁶ In Ceylon—where descendants of the ancient "Thomas Christians" were still to be found—missionaries began their labors in 1518, erected many churches, and baptized thousands of natives, including several kings.

¹⁸⁷ The name Oceania is here applied to all the Pacific Islands, including Australasia and Malaysia. The native tribes scattered through these areas include: the primitive Negritos, rather timid black dwarfs; the wild Malaysians, cannibals and headhunters; the civilized Malaysians, ancestors of the present Filipinos; the Papuans (negroes of New Guinea); the Maoris. Various languages of the Malay-Polynesian family have spread through the greater part of the region. The European newcomers found Islam already well established, for Malaysians, converted by Arabs, had propagated Mohammedanism far and wide. Mohammedan natives are called "Moros."

¹⁸⁸ Missions were established in the three islands named above in the first quarter of the century, and in Borneo some sixty years later. The Dutch expelled the missionaries from Java in 1596 and from Sumatra in 1599.

Horn and discovered the Philippines.¹³⁹ Mass was celebrated on the island of Mindanao where some Filipinos were baptized. Later expeditions established permanent settlements; and Manila, on Luzon (largest of the islands), became a Spanish center for religious and commercial activities in the neighboring regions.¹⁴⁰ Successful missions were founded by the Augustinians (1559), the Franciscans (1577), the Dominicans (1579), and the Jesuits (1581); and half of the parishes were soon being served by native priests. In 1579 Manila became a bishopric; and in 1595 it was made an archbishopric with three suffragan sees. The missionaries built roads and bridges, taught farming and textile work to the natives, opened churches, schools, and hospitals; and, within a century of the discovery of the Islands, they had baptized about two million.

Africa ¹⁴¹

Much information about the early missions in Africa is preserved in the correspondence which was carried on by the king of the Congo and by the emperor of Ethiopia with the king of Portugal and the Holy See.¹⁴² In the Congo a number of native princes became priests, including a king's son, who about the year 1520 was consecrated bishop and commissioned to

¹³⁹ Having intervened in a tribal war, Magellan was killed, and his companions, sailing westward, completed the circumnavigation of the globe—one ship out of five and 18 men out of 234 reaching Portugal three years after their departure.

¹⁴⁰ The Spaniards helped to eliminate a number of evils—for example, the incessant tribal raids. They organized several provinces under a central government at Manila, trying to retain the old social order of the Filipinos in so far as was practical. On the other hand, as we learn from a letter to the king of Spain in 1583 written by Salazar, first bishop of Manila, they often oppressed the natives, forcing them to labor in the forests, in the mines, and at sea, and thus provoking revolts and massacres. In contrast with Spanish America, where a royal edict limited the number of serfs on any one estate to 300, a single master (*encomendero*) in the Philippines often held three or four times that number. The total population of the *encomiendas* was "over 660,000."

"At the close of the sixteenth century the Spaniards had been in possession of the Philippines for a generation. In these thirty-five years the most striking of all the results of the long period of Spanish occupation were accomplished. . . . All of the large islands, except Palawan and the Moro country, were, in that day, under *encomiendas*, their inhabitants paying tributes and for the most part ready to embrace the Catholic faith. . . . We are fortunate to have a review of these *encomiendas*, made in 1591, about twenty years after the system was introduced into the Islands." David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, pp. 132-33.

An exhaustive account of Philippine conditions from original documents has been published in 55 volumes under the title, "Philippine Islands, 1493-1898: Explorations by Early Navigators . . ." ed. Blair and Robinson.

¹⁴¹ The old Christian civilization of Africa, which had given so many saints and scholars to the Church and which at one time included as many as six hundred bishoprics, had been destroyed by the invading Vandals, Arabs, and Turks, and most of the surviving Christians had gone over to one or other of the schismatic Oriental rites.

¹⁴² The emperor of Ethiopia (the Negus) was probably the legendary Prester John (or Prestekan) about whom marvelous tales are circulated.

evangelize his native country. On the whole, however, the clergy were lax and inefficient; converts received little instruction; and the progress of the faith was slow. Although the Jesuits baptized thousands of natives and planned the founding of a college, lack of support from Portugal and the dwindling of missionary recruits resulted in the gradual disintegration of the missions. In Angola, south of the Congo, where the faith was first preached in 1526, missions were more successful; and the bishop of Massagan near Loando presided over some twenty thousand Christians in 1596.

Franciscan missionaries who accompanied Cabral to East Africa in 1500 gained some success there. Jesuits baptized hundreds of natives in Mozambique and along the Zambesi about the year 1600; but the Moslems of this region stirred up trouble and many converts relapsed. Missions established in the island of Madagascar early in the century by Dominicans were destroyed by a massacre in 1540.

The West

The missions in the European colonies of the Western Hemisphere are described above in the section on "America."

SUMMARY

The later religious revolution was related to events that occurred early in the century: the laying of the foundations of the new St. Peter's by Pope Julius II; the accession of Henry VIII to the throne of England; the formation of the anti-French Holy League (by the Papacy, the Empire, Spain, Venice, and England); the concordat of 1516 which gave the victorious Francis I control over Church property in France; Luther's publication of his theses on indulgences; the election of Charles V to the imperial throne.

During the pontificate of Clement VII (1523-1534) the pope quarreled with the emperor; the Lutheran princes organized the League of Schmalkalden; King Henry's divorce suit was recalled to Rome; Calvin began to rule in Geneva; Cranmer, a married priest, became archbishop of Canterbury; Ignatius Loyola entered upon his apostolate. Within a year of the accession

of Paul III came the execution of More and Fisher by King Henry, now supreme head of the Church of England.

Soon after the opening of the Council of Trent the emperor banned the Schmalkaldic League; but the Protestant princes, supported by the French king, Henry II, obtained religious freedom at Passau and at Augsburg. The decrees of Trent, when published, were received unconditionally in Italy, Portugal, and Poland, but not in France, Spain, Switzerland, and Germany. In England the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth was followed by the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and the destruction of the Spanish Armada. In France a series of religious wars led to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, the conversion of Henry IV, the Edict of Toleration at Nantes.

Bulla contra Erro res Martini Lutheri et sequarum.



Courtesy of Thomas J. McCormack, C.S.P.

LEO X'S BULL, *EXSURGE DOMINE* (June 15, 1520)

Condemning the errors of Martin Luther

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

	1502 Maximilian I emperor (not crowned)
1506 <i>Julius II</i> begins new St. Peter's	
	1509 Accession of Henry VIII
1511 <i>Julius II</i> vs. France	1511 Anti-French Holy League
Antipapal Council of Pisa	
1512-1527 Eighteenth Ecumenical Council (Lateran V)	
1516 Concordat of <i>Leo X</i> and Francis I	
1517 Polyglot Bible	1517 Luther's ninety-five theses
	1518 Luther summoned to Rome
	Zwingli in Zurich
	1519 Charles V, Emperor
	1521 France vs. Hapsburgs
1522 St. Ignatius at Manresa	
1523 <i>Clement VII</i> , ally of France	
1526 <i>Clement</i> and Charles V quarrel	1526 Turkish victory at Mohacs
	Sweden breaks with Holy See
	1527 Imperial army sacks Rome
1529 Henry VIII's divorce suit recalled to Rome	1529 Swiss civil war
	Turks attack Vienna
	Lutherans "protest" decision of Speyer ¹⁴³
	1530 Protestant Schmalkaldic League
	Augsburg Confession
1531 Inquisition in Portugal	
	1532 Peace of Nuremberg ¹⁴⁴
1533 Henry VIII excommunicated	1533 Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
	1535 Henry VIII head of Church of England
1535 More and Fisher martyred	Turks sweep Mediterranean
<i>Paul III</i> threatens Henry VIII	Bp. of Brandenburg abolishes clerical celibacy
	1536 Calvin's <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i>
1537 Bull, <i>Sublimis Deus</i>	
1538 Holy League of Nuremberg	
1539 English monasteries dissolved	
1540 <i>Paul III</i> approves Jesuit rule	

¹⁴³ The decision to annul the decree of toleration of 1526 and renew the ban on Luther of 1521.

¹⁴⁴ General religious toleration until meeting of general council.

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1542 Inquisition in Italy</p> <p>1543 Archbishop of Cologne deposed
as Protestant</p> <p>1545 Council of Trent opens</p>
<p>c. 1547 <i>Chambre Ardente</i> in Paris</p>
<p>1551 <i>Julius III</i> reopens Council of
Trent</p> <p>1552 Treaty of Passau</p>
<p>1555 Religious Peace of Augsburg</p> <p>1556 Charles V abdicates
<i>Paul IV</i> rejects Ferdinand as
emperor</p>
<p>1559 Heretics burned in Seville</p>
<p>1563 <i>Pius IV</i> closes Council of Trent
Disciplinary decrees of Trent</p>
<p>1569 Jews expelled from Papal States</p> <p>1570 <i>Pius V</i> excommunicates Eliza-
beth</p>
<p>1582 <i>Gregory XIII</i> reforms calendar</p>
<p>1588 <i>Sixtus V</i> reorganizes Inquisi-
tion</p>
<p>1595 <i>Clement VIII</i> reconciles Henry
IV of France</p> | <p>1546 Emperor bans Schmalkaldic
League</p> <p>1547 Edward VI king</p> <p>1548 Sigismund II favors Protestants</p> <p>1549 First Prayer Book of Edward VI</p>
<p>1553 Accession of Mary Tudor
Turks active in Mediterranean</p>
<p>1556 Burning of Cranmer
Accession of Philip II
Protestantism imposed on Pala-
tinate</p> <p>1558 Accession of Elizabeth</p>
<p>1562 Massacre at Vassy</p> <p>1563 Thirty-Nine Articles</p>
<p>1566 Calvinist Dutch Republic</p>
<p>1571 Battle of Lepanto</p> <p>1572 St. Bartholomew's Eve</p> <p>1574 Elizabeth attacks Catholics</p> <p>1576 "The Spanish Fury" in Holland</p> <p>1579 Union of Utrecht</p> <p>1580 Calvinism in Palatinate</p> <p>1582 England outlaws Puritanism</p> <p>1587 Mary Queen of Scots executed</p> <p>1588 Armada destroyed</p> <p>1592 Scotland, Presbyterian</p> <p>1593 England banishes Catholics</p>
<p>1598 Accession of Philip III
Netherlands divided
Edict of Nantes</p> <p>1599 Henry of Navarre divorces Mar-
garet of Valois</p> |
|---|--|

CHAPTER XVII

(The Sixteen Hundreds)

Secularization of Europe

PREVIEW

EVENTS that shaped this century were the rise of Prussia, the progressive enfeeblement of the empire, the spread of Gallicanism in France, the religious and political upheaval in England, the general practice of shifty diplomacy. When the Treaty of Westphalia terminated the Thirty Years' War in 1648, it also completed the destructive work begun at Augsburg nearly a century earlier; it barred the further spread of the Catholic Reformation; it excluded religious authority from the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs; it endorsed the un-Christian principle that civil government may interpret both divine and natural law, allowing no right of appeal.¹ The spirit embodied in the treaty encouraged the development of a "Court" religion which, while insisting upon external conformity to some type of Christianity, required neither fidelity to New Testament principles nor observance of the Ten Commandments. This grotesque distorting of religion would in time open up channels for a current of unbelief strong enough in many regions to sweep away the ancient Christian tradition and substitute either the will of the state or the natural law.

Out of the storm and stress of these turbulent years sprang the beginnings of religious tolerance, motivated by political

¹ This was (in the later words of John Quincy Adams), "the grossly immoral and dishonest doctrine of despotic state sovereignty, the exclusive judge of its own obligations, and responsible to no power, on earth or in heaven, for the violation of them." *The Jubilee of the Constitution, 1839*, quoted in *The State and the Church*, by Ryan and Millar, p. 100.

aims and extended grudgingly by one Protestant sect to another. Spreading slowly, with frequent setbacks, and finding support at first chiefly among the scattered advocates of naturalism, it yet made considerable progress before the close of the century; and gradually the whole world became aware of an amazing change in the attitude of Europe towards the Christian principles inherited from antiquity.

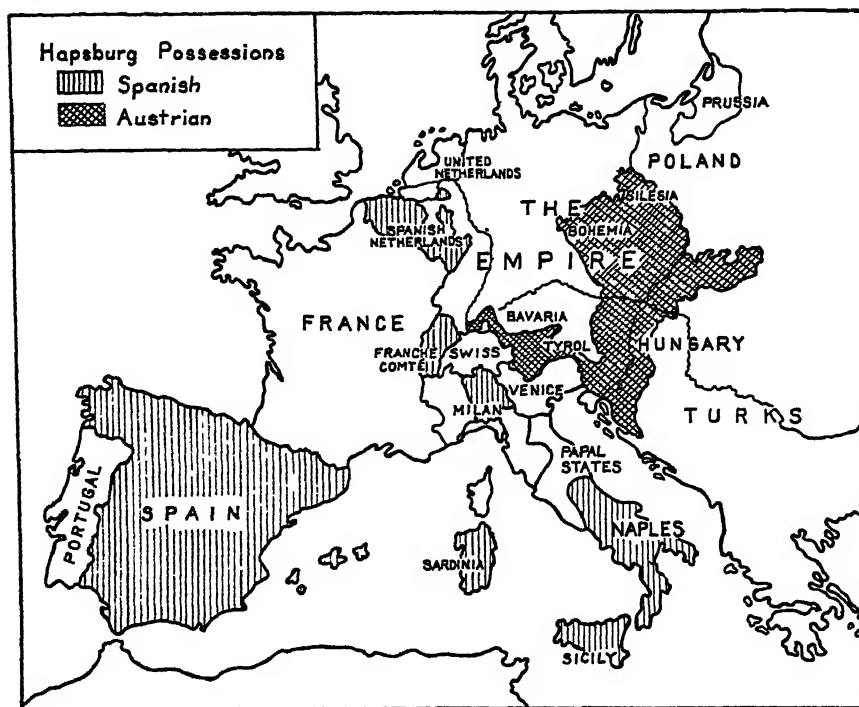
I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Remote causes of the politico-religious struggle known as the Thirty Years' War are to be found in recurrent violations of the Peace of Augsburg (1555), especially of the clause dealing with "ecclesiastical reservation."² Immediate occasion of the outbreak was the refusal of the Bohemians to accept Ferdinand II, a foreigner, as their ruler. In the war—which involved all continental Europe—the Catholic armies won the earlier campaigns; but they were badly beaten by the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, and finally France tipped the scale in favor of the Protestants.

During the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Peace Treaty of 1648, the great continental powers ignored the protests of the Holy See, took supreme jurisdiction over political and religious affairs into their own hands, and agreed unanimously that their decisions would be subject to no appeal. Emperor Ferdinand III—anxious both to save his own hereditary possessions and to protect Germany—placated the victorious Protestant states by agreeing to their appropriation of certain ecclesiastical lands; and he made further concessions damaging to the rights of the Church.³

² Lutheran princes had secularized a number of bishoprics, including Magdeburg and Bremen, and had confiscated Church property there. As a rule Protestant rulers applied the principle *cujus regio eius religio* strictly, suppressing religious freedom within their jurisdiction; and by the year 1618 a series of "unhappy incidents" had embittered the populations involved in these disagreements. Eyre, *op. cit.*, IV, 291.

³ One clause renewed the Passau agreement and the Peace of Augsburg (1552 and 1555); another confirmed all secularizations which had taken place previous to Janu-



The territorial arrangements confirmed by the treaty determined in large measure the later political history of Christendom. They opened an era of expansion to the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg who quickly laid the foundation of the future kingdom of Prussia. France acquired the Austrian part of Alsace, a legal title to Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and other strategically important concessions. Switzerland and the Netherlands gained recognition as independent powers. The gradual development of the typical modern state was illustrated in different ways by Prussia, absolutist and narrowly Lutheran; by France, claiming theological support for the divine right of kings; and by England, building up parliamentary government on a basis of administrative indifference to the common people and of intolerance towards the Catholic religion.

ary 1, 1624; another provided for the maintaining of the ecclesiastical reservations in future; another provided that Lutherans in Catholic countries and Catholics in Lutheran countries should enjoy public liberty to the same degree as in 1624 and all should enjoy private liberty. A provision added to one of the articles gave Calvinists the same rights as Lutherans. *Ibid.*, IV, 313.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Poland, Russia

The Empire: At the beginning of the century the empire was still a group of individual monarchies under a feudal centralizing power. The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) transformed it into a loose confederation of some three hundred fifty German states, distinguished from one another by geographical boundaries, differences of speech, independent political and economic organization—each with a guarantee of sovereignty and each free to choose its own religion. In addition to this radical change of character, the empire suffered frightful losses. During the long war an immense area was devastated and thousands of villages disappeared; and the political decentralization decree of Westphalia barred recovery.⁴ Besides its political provisions, the treaty contained large concessions to Protestant rulers which gravely offended the Holy See.⁵

Germany and Bohemia: Protestantism made considerable progress in Germany during the reign of the easy-going Rudolf II (1576–1612), partly because of a quarrel between the emperor and his brother Matthias. Rudolf's "Letter of Majesty" granted religious liberty to Bohemia; another letter extended the same privilege to Silesia; the Protestant "Union" and the Catholic "League" organized in opposition to each other; and the closing years of Rudolf's reign were taken up with disputes over the imperial succession in which Paul V intervened.

The next emperor, Matthias (1612–1619) left affairs in the hands of his minister, Klesl, whose concessions to Protestants evoked strong censure from the Holy See. Irritation on both sides heightened; and it was gen-

⁴ Some authorities estimate that the empire had lost more than half its population. In certain regions the population had decreased by 50, 60, or even 70 per cent. In the city of Augsburg, for example, it dropped from 80,000 to 16,000, and in the kingdom of Bohemia from 3,000,000 to less than 1,000,000.

⁵ Warned by Urban VIII and by Innocent X of papal opposition to the Swedish demands for the religious freedom of Calvinists and Lutherans and for the surrender of certain ecclesiastical lands, the diplomats engaged in drawing up the treaty carried on the final negotiations at Osnabruck, about thirty miles away from the residence of the papal nuncio at Münster. Trauttmannsdorff, the imperial minister, undertook to save the Hapsburg possessions by giving away pieces of the ecclesiastical territory which he regarded as "the great cloth from which all concessions must be cut." Among the lands alienated from the Church were the sees of Minden, Verden, Bremen, Magdeburg; and it was agreed that the see of Osnabrück should be held alternately by a Catholic and a Protestant.

erally understood that the death of Matthias would precipitate a crisis.

When the imperial electors chose as Matthias' successor his cousin, the strongly Catholic king of Bohemia and Hungary, Ferdinand II (1619-1637), the Protestant nobles of Bohemia proclaimed his dethronement as their king and elected in his place Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, chief of the Protestant Union. Supported by the Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria, Ferdinand then invaded Bohemia, defeated Frederick at the White Mountain, and gave the Palatinate to Maximilian. Thus began the Thirty Years' War.⁶

In the second period of the War (1625-1629) Christian IV of Denmark came forward as Lutheran champion; but he was completely defeated by the imperial armies under Tilly and Wallenstein. Immediately after these victories the emperor issued the Edict of Restitution in which he gave an official interpretation of the religious Peace of Augsburg, nullifying privileges which the Protestants had enjoyed for many years.⁷

In the third period of the War (1630-1635) Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden (d. 1632), with the encouragement of Richelieu, fought on the side of the German Protestants until death ended his campaigns. France then provoked a renewal of the war; and, in its fourth period (1635-1648), the French generals, Condé and Turenne, crushed the imperial armies and set France on the way to supremacy. In the peace discussions of 1648, the policy of Ferdinand III (1637-1657) displeased the pope.

Outstanding was Frederick William, the "Great Elector," who ruled in Brandenburg from 1640 to 1688. By clever diplomacy, military skill, and unscrupulous tactics, he formed the scattered possessions of the Hohenzollerns into well organized states which developed within a few years into the kingdom of Prussia. Shifting from side to side in the contests between France and Austria, bargaining with Sweden and with Poland for the possession of Prussia and forcibly establishing his supremacy there, welcoming the Huguenots driven from France and the Calvinists expelled

⁶ Trouble had broken out even before the accession of Ferdinand; and the representatives of his predecessor, Matthias, had been thrown out of windows (in the so-called "Defenestration of Prague") for their opposition to Protestants. The Estates of Bohemia voted for the deposition of Ferdinand as "a pupil of the Jesuits and arch-enemy of the religion of the Gospel."

⁷ The edict provided for the restoration of abbeys, monasteries, and other Church property taken from Catholics in violation of the agreements embodied in the Treaty of Passau and the Peace of Augsburg; and it also provided for the execution of the *cuius regio eius religio* by the Catholic estates in precisely the same way as by the Protestant estates. Although technically correct, the edict was a hazardous piece of legislation, for it harked back to an agreement seventy years old, called for the invalidation of *de facto* ownership in many cases, and involved the exclusion of certain Protestant members from future meetings of the Imperial Diet. It occasioned widespread disturbance, divided Catholic opinion, and weakened the military efficiency of the imperial forces which at the time included a large proportion of Protestants. See Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 249-52. The attitude of the Holy See towards the edict was one of great reserve.

from the Lutheran states, he rivaled Louis XIV as dominant power.⁸

Invading Turks, although aided by anti-Hapsburg Hungarians, were defeated at Vienna by Sobieski, in the reign of **Leopold I** (1658-1705).

Hungary: Under Emperor Matthias the Catholic revival continued. Peter Pázmány, Jesuit cardinal, primate of all Hungary (d. 1637), made numerous converts.⁹ In Transylvania, where Protestants had destroyed churches and expelled religious, disorder lessened after the Turks left Buda in 1686; and the Hapsburg sovereignty was again recognized. Emperor Leopold I established toleration of four different religions—Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian. The Turks renounced their claims to this region in the Peace of Carlowitz (1699); yet local dissensions continued.

Poland: With internal divisions, obstructionist nobles, a king more Swedish than Polish, the nation faced encircling enemies.

Sigismund III (1587-1632) leaned towards Austria, showed absolutist tendencies, alienated his best adviser, Zamoiski, had to abandon badly needed reforms. He antagonized Sweden by claiming the Swedish crown, and Russia by invading that country. The murder of St. Josaphat, Archbishop of Polotsk by an Orthodox mob in 1623, was a bad omen. **Ladislav IV** (1632-1648) set up Orthodox alongside Uniat sees; and **John Casimir** (1648-1668)—before coronation a Jesuit cardinal and after abdication an abbot—made concessions that came too late. Led by Cossacks, the Orthodox Ukrainians revolted. During "The Deluge" (1654-1667), Poland, overrun by Muscovites, Ukrainians, Tatars, Swedes, Prussians, gave up Smolensk, Kiev, Chernigov, yielded East Prussia to Frederick William, the Great Elector, saw Sweden, with the help of Polish traitors, take Warsaw and Cracow. A brief flash of splendor came with **John III Sobieski** (1674-1696), who crushed the Turks at Vienna in 1683. But in 1697 after electing a French candidate, the Poles were forced to accept as king, Frederick Elector of Saxony. Renouncing Lutheranism for Catholicism, he ruled as **Augustus II**.

Russia: As leading champion of the Orthodox Church, Russia undertook to undo the work achieved at Brest-Litovsk in 1596. Anti-reunionists found their chance in the conflict between Ukrainians and Poles and in the annexation of Kiev to Moscow.

⁸ In those regions where Catholics formed the great majority of the population, he permitted Catholics the practice of their religion: elsewhere he forbade it and expressed the hope that this discrimination against Catholics would continue forever.

⁹ Pázmány founded an ecclesiastical seminary at Vienna and a university at Tyrnau. As a writer he occupies an honorable place in the literary history of Hungary.

The plans of the Holy See, therefore, rested upon the conversion of the Russians. But every attempt proved ineffectual. The so-called "False Demetrius," a pretender to the throne, who became a Catholic in 1604, aroused hopes; but he died in 1606. Czar Alexis, who sent a Catholic ambassador to Pope Clement X to secure aid against the Turks, showed no interest in reunion; and he exiled a Croatian missionary, George Krizhanitch (one of the pioneers of pan-Slavism), to Siberia for his efforts to convert Russia to Catholicism. Greek monks and the Patriarch Joachim stirred up anti-Latin feeling; Peter the Great, although he exchanged messages with the Holy See on several occasions, made no further concession than to permit the building of a Catholic church in Moscow in 1691; the Jesuits who had established a school in that city were expelled.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

The Protestant states, Prussia, England, Holland, were expanding; not so the Catholic countries. Spain lost both power and prestige; Portugal, acquiring nominal independence, could not, however, win back her old status; Italy remained a prize contended for by stronger nations; France, in her quest of additional territory, exhausted herself by constant war.

France: For one hundred twenty-six years, only three kings reigned in France. Henry IV (1589-1610), intensely anti-Hapsburg, and tricky in his dealings with the papacy, worked successfully with the aid of his minister, Sully, to make France prosperous; but his large concessions to the Huguenots enabled them to organize a state within a state and, when he fell under Ravillac's dagger, he left a difficult political problem to Louis, his son and successor.

Unable to put down the Huguenots, Louis XIII (1610-1643), had to sign a treaty with them in 1615. In that same year he married Anne of Austria, Infanta of Spain, and adopted a friendly policy towards the Hapsburgs. The Catholic Reformation became effective in France later than in other countries; and the brief golden age of French Catholicism dawned. Among the notable features of the religious revival were numerous saintly bishops and priests, new religious communities, fast-growing older orders (Barnabites, Benedictines, Capuchins, Carmelites), the important spiritual center in the Jesuit College of Clermont. Cardinal Richelieu,¹⁰ member of

¹⁰ Richelieu (1585-1642), consecrated bishop in 1607, became cardinal in 1622, minister of France in 1624, and prime minister in 1629.

the royal council and real ruler of France, negotiated the marriage of Henry IV's daughter, Henrietta Maria, with Charles I of England, centralized the government at the expense of the great nobles, and, by his seizure of La Rochelle in 1628, destroyed the political power of the Huguenots. Assisted by his able confidant, the Capuchin, Père Joseph (François Leclerc du Tremblay), founder and director of important missions in France, Egypt, and the East, Richelieu undertook to make the Bourbon monarchy supreme by playing the Protestant princes and the Hapsburgs against each other. He intervened on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War; and the Treaty of Westphalia embodied many of his aims, although he had died six years earlier.

During the minority of Louis XIV (1643-1715) who succeeded his father at the age of five, the country was ruled by his mother, Anne of Austria, with the aid of Mazarin.¹¹ France was prosperous, politically supreme, and the cultural center of Europe during these years; but, towards the close of the century, burdensome taxes, entailed by constant warfare and military reverses, brought on economic decline. Louis succeeded in making the French monarchy more absolute than ever; but his ambition to dominate Europe involved too heavy a drain upon the national resources. His influence on religion was disastrous. Regarding himself as head of the Church in France, he encouraged bishops to defy the pope; and he forbade the promulgation of papal bulls, unless endorsed by the Parlement. Insisting upon the official practice of Catholicism, while at the same time carrying on notorious amours, Louis fostered hypocrisy; and the court of France gained an unenviable reputation for brazen immorality and secret unbelief.¹² In 1685, under the illusion that he could effect religious unification with little difficulty, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, destroyed the churches of the Huguenots, closed their schools, banished their pastors, and ordered the forcible baptism of their children.¹³ In consequence, some two hundred

¹¹ Mazarin (1602-1661), an Italian cleric in minor orders, was sent as papal nuncio to France in 1634. He became a naturalized French subject, attached himself to Richelieu, and served as prime minister under Louis XIII and Louis XIV, continuing Richelieu's policy. He negotiated a favorable treaty with Spain in 1659.

¹² " . . . the seventeenth century, at least that part meriting the best of our attention, is not the century of Louis XIV . . . at the moment of the apotheosis of *le grand roi*, the French Counter-Reformation was already no more than a memory and a distant one. . . . When the young son of Louis XIII began his personal government in 1661, our great reform in the priesthood was practically drawing to its close." Brémond, *A Literary History of Religious Thought in France*, I, Introd., XVI-XVII.

¹³ Under the Edict of Nantes the Huguenots had enjoyed religious freedom and civil equality for nearly a century. The motive for its revocation was mainly political; the Huguenots had taken advantage of their freedom to embarrass the government, and the king would tolerate no opposition. The persecution was carried out by a series of Dragonnades—bands of dragoons harassed the Huguenots, especially in the mountains of the Cevennes, where the Protestant peasants organized resistance under the name of Camisards. Without sufficient evidence it has been asserted that clerical influence brought about the revocation; as a matter of fact the revocation probably

thousand Huguenots—many of them most energetic citizens—emigrated to Prussia, Holland, Switzerland, England, and America.¹⁴

Spain: Religious but weak, Philip III (1598–1621) followed the general policy of his father, particularly in his stern attitude towards the Moriscos. Politically and spiritually, Spain declined. The treaty of 1609 recognized the practical independence of the northern Netherlands; and some ten years later Philip sent Spanish troops into the Palatinate to aid his Hapsburg relative, the emperor, in the Thirty Years' War.

The empire of Philip IV (1621–1665) crumbled rapidly. Catalonia, Naples, and Sicily rebelled; the Spanish fleet was almost destroyed in 1639; Portugal declared independence in 1640. Spain's minor role in the framing of the Treaty of Westphalia showed that she was no longer one of Europe's leading powers. Catalonia annexed itself to France in 1640.

At the age of four Charles II (1665–1700) became king and his mother, Mariana, acted as regent. Her Austrian confessor, Father Nithard—Jesuit and later cardinal—unpopular as a foreigner, but leading member of her council, undertook a badly needed financial reform and provoked much opposition. The country was going from bad to worse. Spain's enemies discussed the advisability of dismembering the whole peninsula; and Louis XIV would have invaded it, had not England, Holland, and Sweden intervened and forced him to sign the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. Don John, illegitimate son of Philip IV, got possession of Madrid in 1676, expelled Nithard, and made himself viceroy for Aragon. The French invaded Aragon in 1691 and held Catalonia for several years. Despite the wealth drawn from the American colonies, Spain, at the end of the century, was a poverty-stricken, maladministered country under a corrupt government and a feeble-minded king.¹⁵ The aristocracy was profligate, the clergy (excepting the religious orders) ignorant, and the mass of the people half starved and thoroughly wretched. In view of the rivalry of French, Austrian, and Bavarian candidates for the succession, Charles II, in a deathbed will, named as his heir, Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. Thus, in 1700, the House of Bourbon replaced the Hapsburgs on the throne of Spain.

occasioned more harm than benefit to the Catholic cause. Innocent XI expressed his disapproval of the royal policy in such strong terms that he was even accused of being a friend of the Calvinists. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 330 n, and 341.

¹⁴ A number settled in the future states of the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and New York.

¹⁵ In 1690 Charles married as his second wife Princess Maria Anna, sister-in-law of Emperor Leopold. "With the help of a Capuchin, Gabriel Chiusa, and a German lady of her court, the Queen obtained absolute control of the Government. . . . During this disgraceful reign everything went to ruin in the Government and in the social order. A stupid despotism was ending in anarchy. There was corruption that knew no bounds, and everything was bought and sold. Law and justice were impotent." Dom Henry M. Leclercq, in Eyre, *op. cit.*, VI, 95–96.

Portugal: Heavy taxes imposed by the Spanish Crown helped to provoke a revolution which was supported by the clergy; and the duke of Braganza assumed the title of King John IV in 1640. In order to obtain recognition from the Holy See, he sent his nephew, the bishop of Lamego to Rome; but, with Spain opposing and France supporting the king's request, both Urban VIII and Innocent X maintained a neutral position, despite the king's persistent pressure. As a consequence of Rome's refusal to confirm the king's nominations, the hierarchy of Portugal for more than ten years consisted of only one bishop.¹⁶ At war with Spain and menaced also by the increasing sea power of the Dutch, Portugal under Alfonso VI (1651-1667) became virtually an English protectorate.

Italy: None of the Italian states was of great importance at this time except the Venetian Republic. A series of disagreements over the violation of ecclesiastical rights led to the placing of a papal interdict on Venice in 1606 and the republic came to the verge of war with the Holy See: the Venetian envoys were withdrawn from Rome and the papal nuncio left Venice. The Servite, Paolo Sarpi, "the terrible monk," aided by agents of the English government, tried to establish Protestantism in Venice, and for a while it seemed possible that he might become an Italian Luther; but through the intervention of France and Spain a reconciliation was effected and the interdict was lifted. At war with the Turks during most of the century, the republic received valuable aid from Pope Innocent XII; nevertheless the Venetians were forced in 1699 to restore nearly all the territory previously won from the Ottoman empire.

b. The British Isles

England, Ireland, Scotland

The British Isles: In both the political and the religious order, this was a fateful century for the English-speaking world. In 1603, through Cecil's influence, James VI of Scotland (son of Mary Queen of Scots and great-grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII, wife of James IV of Scotland) ascended the English throne at a critical moment in the evolution of English Protestantism, when Calvinism had suffered a setback in popular esteem. James soon disclosed his preference for absolutism in politics and for episcopacy in religion; and through most of the century the Stuart dynasty fought consistently against the

¹⁶ This bishop is said to have ordained some 20,000 priests and to have confirmed 1,000,000 persons before his death at the age of 109.

Calvinists in defense of the old prerogatives of king and bishop. That fight they lost.¹⁷

During the struggles between the Stuarts and the Parliamentarians, between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Catholics were always scapegoats. It was so when hot-heads planned the "Gunpowder Plot" of 1605; when Charles I discriminated against Catholics, despite his promise to the French king; when Charles II signed the death warrant of Archbishop Oliver Plunket and others, after the so-called "Popish Plot" of 1678; when the Catholic James II provoked resentment by his overzeal. After the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 had displaced James and brought in the Protestants, William and Mary, England took the form of a Protestant plutocracy; and the Act of Toleration extended freedom to dissenters—excluding Catholics and Unitarians. Catholics, poisoned by the atmosphere of general suspicion and weighed down by heavy civil and political disabilities, dwindled to a small minority.

In Ireland meanwhile, the reign of the Stuarts brought almost unrelieved disaster. Priests were exiled; the bishop of Down and other prelates were killed; the people were driven off their lands; Ulster was colonized with Anglicans and Scotch Presbyterians; education was prohibited. Deprived of all legal opportunities of education, the Irish instituted the celebrated system of hedge schools in which for two centuries they continued to absorb learning despite the law.¹⁸

England: The strongly episcopal policy of James I (1603–1625) aroused suspicion that he was planning to make England Catholic again. The dis-

¹⁷ "The great experiment of the Cromwellian Commonwealth, short-lived though it was, by the momentum of its religious impulse opened the way for a new type of civilization based on the freedom of the person and of conscience as rights conferred absolutely by God and Nature. . . . Taking a broad view, therefore, it is impossible to deny the importance of the Calvinistic-Free-Church tradition in the development of the Anglo-Saxon liberal democracy." Christopher Dawson, "Religious Origins of European Disunity," *Dublin Review*, no. 415 (Oct., 1940), 154.

¹⁸ "Even under the Commonwealth, education was continued, though the schoolmaster was liable to be punished with the greatest severity; his life was at stake, as well as his freedom. . . . Schools were set up in remote and mountainous districts where danger of detection was least likely to be incurred, and where instruction might be carried on without serious or prolonged interruption. These illegal schools, the Hedge Schools of Ireland, were destined to be the channel of all surreptitious education in the country till almost the beginning of the nineteenth century." P. J. Dowling, *The Hedge Schools of Ireland*, pp. 17, 20.

covery that several Catholics were implicated in the Gunpowder Plot (1605) caused an outbreak of anti-Catholic violence and the execution of two Jesuits, Father Greenway and Father Garnet, the provincial; and thereafter Catholics, although they formed about half the population, were commonly regarded as disloyal subjects, pledged to a foreign sovereign, the pope.¹⁹ Popular prejudice was heightened by England's fear of Catholic Spain; and considerable opposition was manifested to King James's proposal that his son, Prince Charles, should marry the Spanish Infanta. The plans for this marriage failed; and then Charles married Henrietta Maria, daughter of the French king, Henry IV, promising (with his father's endorsement) to extend toleration to Catholicism in England. Under Protestant pressure, Charles I (1625-1649) not only failed to keep this promise but, in violation of his agreement, dismissed most of the Catholics in the queen's retinue, thus antagonizing France. At home he stirred up hostility by ignoring the constitutional limitations of his power and by attempting (through the Anglican Archbishop Laud) to impose High Church practice upon England and Scotland. In the civil war which followed (1642-1646), he was opposed by the Puritan middle classes and the Scotch Presbyterians, and supported by the nobles, the country gentlemen, the Anglicans, and the Catholics.

At the head of a parliamentary army, Cromwell defeated the royal forces; the king was executed in 1649; and, under the title "Lord Protector," Cromwell ruled as military and religious dictator. Commanding a well disciplined army, and successful in his commercial and political strategy, he was able to crush all opposition and to pursue a policy of unrelenting hostility towards Catholics, especially the Irish and the Scotch.

The reaction which followed Cromwell's death in 1658 expressed itself in the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne and the drafting of the Clarendon Code which required all officers of corporations to conform to the Church of England, and all ministers in England and Wales to use the revised Book of Common Prayer. Although Charles II (1660-1685), who had been educated at the court of Louis XIV, admired the Catholic Church and married the Catholic princess of Portugal, Catherine of Braganza, he weakened under pressure and allowed Catholics to be cruelly treated. His reign was one long series of religious and financial quarrels, fomented by those who disapproved of royal absolutism and by those who dreaded the return of Catholicism to England. The application of the Protestant Test Act of 1673 forced James, Duke of York (who in 1669 had announced his conversion to his brother, the king) to resign his office of Lord

¹⁹ Father John Gerard, S.J. (1564-1637), whose adventurous life as a missionary included traveling in disguise, imprisonment, torture, escape, wrote a fascinating autobiography and also (in 1607) *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*. The Narrative and most of the autobiography have been edited under the title, *The Condition of Catholics under James I*.

High Admiral. Charles, however, became a Catholic on his deathbed.²⁰

Crowned king in 1685, James II had been almost kept from the throne by the Exclusion Bill, which passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. His Declaration of Indulgence (1687)—establishing freedom of conscience for all English subjects, yet distorted into an attack on the Church of England and on the property of Englishmen—caused great excitement. Seven bishops who refused to publish it in their churches were imprisoned in the tower but acquitted after trial. At this critical moment the queen gave birth to a son, thus destroying the anticipation of a Protestant successor to the throne. Within a few days negotiations were on foot to dethrone the king, and within a few months the prince of Orange had landed with an army in England. The king was deposed in favor of the former heir presumptive, his eldest daughter, Mary, who had been married to the prince of Orange at the age of fifteen, eleven years before. A bill of rights, drawn up at the accession of William and Mary in 1689, provided that the sovereign of England must "belong to the Anglican Church," and that the religious freedom allowed to other dissenters should not be extended to Catholics.²¹

Meanwhile events of vast future significance were occurring overseas. English pioneers settled Virginia in 1607; the "Pilgrim Fathers" began the colonization of New England in 1620; English Catholics founded Maryland in 1634; and English Quakers occupied Pennsylvania in 1681.

In Wales Protestantism was imposed by force; and all priests were banished. Owing to racial jealousy, no supply of clergy able to speak the Welsh tongue came from the English College at Rome; and, by the end of the century, the only remnants of the

²⁰ "Save for his death as a professed Catholic, all that concerns the King's beliefs is an enigma; probably incapable of solution . . . in the years of exile, between 1651 and 1660, Charles II was undoubtedly opposed to Queen Henrietta's crude attempts to force her younger sons to accept Catholicism and he was permanently alienated by the pietism with which her religion was presented. It is, however, suggested that it was during this period that the King found his own very different way towards the Church. The date and extent of any such change of attitude remains conjectural. Certainly he was already a confirmed sensualist, an important factor." David Mathew, *Catholicism in England*, p. 92.

²¹ To justify the expulsion of James, Whig propagandists fabricated stories of his cruelty and insincerity; and these practically baseless charges developed into the Whig tradition commonly repeated in textbooks and given vogue by Macaulay in the nineteenth century. In reality the downfall of James seems to have been occasioned by three facts—he inherited the Stuart tradition of royal absolutism; he assumed that the justice of his policy would insure success; and he was a "papist." The classical picture of "King James, the bloodthirsty tyrant" has been subjected to critical examination by Malcolm V. Hay in *The Enigma of James II*.

In a pamphlet entitled *Winston Churchill and James II*, published in 1934, Mr. Hay pointed out examples of Mr. Churchill's unfairness to James II. See Christopher Hollis, "Mr. Hay and Mr. Churchill" in *Dublin Review*, no. 409 (April, 1939), 370-85.

once fervent Welsh Church were a few old Catholic families and some scattered missions, chiefly at Holywell in the north and at Monmouth in the south.

Ireland: Hugh O'Neill's submission in 1603 and the flight of the earls to Rome (where the tomb of O'Neill and O'Donnell may still be seen) was followed by James I's persecution of the Catholic Irish. The Confederation of Kilkenny, formed to secure civil and religious freedom, supported Charles I in the Parliamentary War; and Owen Roe O'Neill, aided by the pope and the king of Spain, won a victory at Benburb in 1646; but the marquis of Ormonde, friend and representative of King Charles, by his hatred of Catholics and by his military blunders, ruined all chance of winning the war. In 1649 Cromwell crossed into Ireland with an army of ten thousand men and, through a combination of ruthlessness and military skill, gained complete control of the country. In 1658 he planted Ireland with ex-soldiers of his own and transferred an enormous area to Englishmen who had subscribed money for the war. This gave rise to a system of absentee ownership which caused much suffering to the Irish for more than two hundred years.

On his accession to the English throne, James II found that two-thirds of Irish land was owned by aliens. He suspended the penal laws; and his viceroy, the duke of Tyrconnell, an aggressive Catholic, began to replace Protestant with Catholic appointees. The Protestant bishops of Ireland defied him. In 1689 James, already dethroned in England, entered Ireland to fight for his kingship there; but his defeat at the Boyne in 1690 and the fall of Limerick in 1691, ended resistance to King William. Under the new king, despite the promise of toleration in the Treaty of Limerick, legislation was enacted excluding Catholics from parliament, from the army and navy, from the bench and the bar, from local and national civil offices.

Scotland: In the early part of the century, Scottish Protestants successfully resisted attempts made by the Stuart kings to impose episcopacy and the Anglican prayer-book upon Scotland. The so-called Bishops' Wars (1639-1640) were followed by the Civil War; and the Scottish army was largely responsible for the

defeat and execution of Charles I. The Puritan victory over Episcopalianism in England soon led to persecution of the Scottish Catholics; and before the end of the century the Church had been reduced to a condition of helplessness—described in a report to the Holy See made by a vicar apostolic to Scotland appointed in 1694.

c. Other Countries

The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Scandinavia

The Netherlands: The Dutch navy played a decisive part on the Protestant side in the later phases of the Thirty Years' War; and the Treaty of Westphalia recognized the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands as the independent kingdom of Holland. In the middle of the century the Dutch admirals, Van Tromp and De Ruyter, disputed control of the seas with the English admirals, Blake and Monk. The Dutch took the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, seized most of the Portuguese possessions in India, set up thriving colonies in Malacca, Ceylon, Java, Brazil, and North America. Both at home and abroad they were aggressively Protestant. In 1689 their Stadholder, William III, and his wife Mary, daughter of James II, became king and queen of England.

Belgium: During the reign of Albert and Isabella over the southern (Catholic) provinces, Ostend was recaptured; a truce was made with the northern provinces; and the country grew prosperous. On the death of Isabella, Belgium reverted to Spain. Thereafter, until the Peace of Utrecht in the following century, recurrent Franco-Spanish wars devastated the country.

Switzerland: Endless political and religious quarrels agitated the country, especially in the largest and most easterly canton, the Grisons. Independence came to Switzerland in 1648; but the cantons were divided into two antagonistic groups, and in 1656 the suppression of a Protestant colony in the Catholic canton of Schwyz brought on a religious war in which the Catholics gained a temporary advantage.

Scandinavia: Partly in the hope of securing new territory,

Gustavus Adolphus entered the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side. Since 1648, no Swedish ruler has ever been a Catholic and Queen Christina, daughter of Gustavus, when about to embrace the faith, first abdicated the throne (1654) after a reign of ten years. Feuds between the crown and the nobility greatly impoverished Sweden; and the country was almost destroyed by a hostile coalition of Denmark, Russia, Prussia, and Poland.

About the middle of the century the Holy See appointed a vicar apostolic for Scandinavia. Later this office was taken over by the bishop of Hildesheim, and still later by the bishop of Paderborn in Prussia. But, except for a few scattered missions, Catholicism disappeared from the three Scandinavian countries. The law forbade Catholic priests to officiate under penalty of death, and prohibited conversions under penalty of confiscation and banishment.

3. AMERICA

Except for English settlements along the North Atlantic seaboard and comparatively small groups of Dutch and Swedes, the New World was under the political control of three Catholic powers (Spain, Portugal, and France) which, for one reason or another, set up a mission center in each new colony. By fearlessly defending the helpless natives against white oppression, some of the missionaries incurred the enmity of influential colonists and governors; others, however, who had traveled overseas for love of gain rather than from motives of zeal, not only failed to protect, but even helped to exploit, the Indians. More than once the Holy See had to issue instructions for the correction of abuses. Obstacles to the spread of the faith came also from Protestant English settlers and from Indian tribes in the service of England. The Dutch, although officially intolerant, were on the whole less harsh towards Catholics.

a. Latin America

Spanish Colonies: Here the hierarchy was solidly established. In 1620 a diocese was erected at Durango; and by the middle of the century the hierarchy of Mexico included six archbishops

and thirty bishops, nearly all of Spanish birth.²² Ecclesiastical revenues were large, the churches richly furnished, and monasteries so numerous that the local government petitioned the crown to permit no more monastic foundations.²³ Hundreds of missionaries from Europe joined those already in the mission field; the work of evangelization extended to all the easily accessible parts of the country; the frontier moved far northward; and millions of pagans became Christians. In the Sonora Valley, Jesuits baptized almost the entire native population.

From time to time disputes occurred between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, and also within the Church itself. In 1620 the archbishop of Mexico undertook to bring the viceroy to terms by placing the City of Mexico under an interdict. In 1647 Bishop Palafox of Puebla, who had previously come into conflict with Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, denounced the Jesuits to the Holy See for actions "destructive of his episcopal authority." These controversies reacted unfavorably on the missions. Moreover, no adequate efforts were made to educate a native clergy. Much backsliding took place; and local Indian uprisings often caused the death of all Spaniards in the vicinity—soldiers, civilians, and priests.

Despotic civil authorities and avaricious colonists nullified much of the work of the missionaries. Furthermore, some of the pastors made no attempt to learn the Indian language and neglected their duty to instruct the neophytes. The Indians, forced to labor in mines and on plantations, naturally identified the Christian religion with the Spanish race as a single object of hatred; some lapsed from the faith and became secret idolaters; others committed suicide to escape their miseries.²⁴ On the other hand, in many places the number and piety of the converts bore witness to the devoted work of bishops and priests.²⁵

In Colombia material and spiritual progress was retarded by the attacks

²² During the first century and a half, all but twelve of the three hundred sixty-nine bishops were born in Spain.

²³ Mexico City contained fifty-five religious houses.

²⁴ Reports were sent to the Holy See urging the sending of a papal nuncio to revitalize the missions. The Augustinian, Laíosa, reported that when the priests taught that suicide would be punished in hell, the Indians replied "they did not wish to go to heaven if any Spaniards were there, because the Spaniards would torment them even worse than the devils in hell." The Franciscan, Gregory Bolívar, writing in 1625, lamented the lack of well-trained missionaries, the avarice of the bishops, the gambling habits of the priests, and the various immoralities involved in the practice of slavery. For an account of these distressing conditions see Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 503 ff.

²⁵ Among them were Archbishop Guerrero of Lima, the Dominican bishop of La Paz, the Augustinian bishop of Mérida, the bishops of La Plata and Puebla.

of English and French pirates, by friction between the bishops and the civil government, and by domestic quarrels over jurisdiction, involving the episcopal authorities and the religious orders. Nevertheless, from their headquarters in Colombia, missionaries made expeditions into the surrounding regions with good results, especially in the second half of the century. The Franciscans converted thousands of natives in the valley of the Orinoco; the Capuchins established missions and settlements among the Caribs of the coast; in **Guatemala** a hundred Dominican missionaries took charge of one hundred fifty towns; the Jesuits organized missions in **Ecuador**, where some of the Fathers suffered martyrdom. The faith spread in northern **Chile** too; but in the south the warlike Araucanians destroyed the Spanish settlements and maintained both their racial independence and their hereditary pagan religion.

Most interesting and significant of religious foundations in South America were the famous "Reductions" of **Paraguay**, founded by Jesuits from Asunción in the year 1609.²⁶ These settlements, made up exclusively of Christian Indians, were organized into a model theocratic state which at one time included almost two hundred thousand people.²⁷ The natives were armed and drilled to defend themselves against attacks by the neighboring pagan tribes and to fight off the raiding "Mamelukes"—Portuguese slave hunters from São Paulo.

Spain recognized no northern boundary to her territory until the year 1670 (when the Savannah River became the line of demarcation between Spanish Florida and English Georgia); and missionaries radiating from Mexico labored within the territory of the present United States—in **Florida**, **Louisiana**, **Texas**, **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, **California**. At St. Augustine twelve Indian chiefs were baptized in 1609; and by the middle of the century the entire Apalachee tribe of Florida was Catholic. As an aid to the instruction of the natives, a catechism in the language of the Florida Indians was printed at Mexico City in 1612; and an Indian grammar was published in 1614. Farther west, the Spanish took possession of the whole country from El Paso to Zuni and reorganized the old missions destroyed in the Indian uprisings of the preceding century. In 1630, near the present

²⁶ The catechism was translated into the Guaraní language by a Franciscan who had accompanied one of the early exploring expeditions, and a number of publications in the native tongue were later issued from the mission press established by the Jesuits. See *Cath. Encyc.*, VII, 45-48.

²⁷ "The plan adopted was not novel. . . . In most of its main outlines, it was the programme followed by missions of several orders in many parts of the Spanish possessions. The purpose was the conversion of the Indians and their protection against the vices and exploitation of the colonies. The essence of the system was the collection of the Indians into villages under the supervision of the missionaries. Here the aborigines were afforded protection, were given Christian instruction, were taught to work, and were organized into a closely regulated communal life. . . . Cattle-raising and agriculture were carefully nurtured and supervised, and the Indians were taught various handicrafts." Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, III, 154-55.

site of Santa Fé, they set up as capital San Juan, the oldest city in the United States except St. Augustine. Santa Fé became the capital in 1639; and there were more than fifty friars and fifty thousand converts in the surrounding pueblos when the Indian revolt of 1680 destroyed them all. Still farther west, the Tyrolese Jesuit, Eusebio Kino, apostle of the region between Sonora and Tucson, visited the banks of the Gila in 1684. The earlier missions of Lower California had been abandoned; but in 1697 the Jesuit, Juan Salvatierra, founded a permanent station at Loreto in California which served as the beginning of a mission system of sixteen separate foundations.

Portuguese Colonies: The enormous area of Brazil, thinly populated, difficult to explore, inhabited partly by savage cannibal tribes, passed out of the control of the Spanish into the hands of the Dutch in 1640; then in 1654, it came back to the Portuguese. A solid foundation of missionary work had been laid in the previous century by the Jesuit, Anchieta, "the Apostle of Brazil"; and from their headquarters in Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Pernambuco, almost two hundred Jesuits carried on missions in the surrounding country, baptizing about one hundred thousand Negro laborers in the sugar plantations and seventy thousand Indians. Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Mercedarians, and Oratorians also made many converts among the natives and among the Negro slaves, thousands of whom had been imported from Africa when the supply of Indian laborers proved inadequate.

When Urban VIII in 1639 re-enacted Paul III's bull prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, the enslavement or the sale of Indians whether Christian or non-Christian, he encountered a storm of protest. Yet the missionaries kept close to the path marked out by the pope. To protect the Indians from being forced to labor as slaves on the large estates and in the mines, and to guard them from other hardships and dangers, they were, when possible, gathered together in reductions like those of Paraguay. Vieira, the Portuguese superior of the Jesuit missions in Maranhao, called the "Great Father," was a second Las Casas in his fearless denunciation of official misconduct; and in 1661 he and several other Jesuits were sent as prisoners to Lisbon. After his return to Brazil, Vieira served as provincial; he is cred-

ited with having founded one hundred fifty Indian towns north of the Amazon and with having baptized sixty thousand pagans in seven years.

French Colonies: After the foundation of Quebec in 1608,²⁸ Champlain invited the Franciscans to settle there. Members of the St. Denis Province of Franciscan Observants (Recollects) came at once; Jesuits and Sulpicians soon followed. Bishop Laval, the first bishop of Quebec, who landed in 1659, possessed jurisdiction over all North America, excepting the English and the Spanish settlements. In Maine—where the first Mass in the present area of New England was celebrated on De Monts Island in the St. Croix River in July 1604, by Father Aubry, a member of Champlain's expedition—British soldiers destroyed the Jesuit mission on Mt. Desert Island in 1613. But missionaries worked successfully among the Algonquins of Maine and the Hurons of the Ontario region. Father Daillon, a Recollect, came as far as the banks of the Niagara River in 1626; and the Jesuits established a line of missions stretching across the present State of New York. Among the many Indians converted were Garacontie, an Onondaga Chief, and Kateri Tekakwitha, "the Lily of the Mohawks." About the middle of the century the Iroquois destroyed many missions and killed several Jesuit missionaries, including Jogues, Daniel, and Brébeuf. Rivalries and wars caused the Iroquois missions to decline; not one remained when the British took over that region early in the following century.

Missionaries visited the Great Lakes in 1641. The Jesuit, Marquette, and the Franciscan, Hennepin, were on the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers in the seventies. A few years later missionaries were with La Salle when he died at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

²⁸ Earlier unnamed explorers probably preceded Cabot who discovered Canada in 1497. He was followed by Verrazzano in 1522. Then took place the three voyages of Cartier (1534-1542)—and Mass was said on the Gaspé peninsula by a priest who accompanied him on the first voyage. In Acadia and Nova Scotia, settled first, missionaries worked among colonists and Indians.

b. British America ²⁹

The English settlements reflected the history of the mother country at this time—in strife between Episcopalians and Congregationalists; in readiness to associate Catholicism with conspiracies, assassinations, Stuart absolutism, and England's foreign foes; in the united opposition of all Protestants to the Catholic Church. Catholics suffered from oppressive laws and also from hostile propaganda circulated by means of histories, schoolbooks, pamphlets, tracts, and almanacs. Practically all the early colonial writers attributed an evil and even a pagan character to Catholicism; and they helped to establish a tradition which condemned Catholics to social, political, and intellectual degradation. The anti-Catholic crusade was led by the Puritan clergy, a class powerful enough at times to coerce even magistrates and courts and to accomplish such cruel deeds as the hanging of Quakers and the drowning of "witches." Their expressions of horror for the Church may still be read.³⁰

Massachusetts was the headquarters of intolerance. The Pilgrims, who landed at Plymouth in 1620 seeking religious freedom for themselves,

²⁹ The English colonies were of three types—Charter, Proprietary, and Crown. South Carolina became a colony in 1729 and Georgia in 1733. Territory purchased by Massachusetts in 1652 became the state of Maine in 1820. The colonies established in the seventeenth century were as follows:

Northern	Middle	Southern
Plymouth (Mass.) 1620	New York (1614, Dutch) 1664	Virginia 1607
Rhode Island 1636	New Jersey (1617, Dutch) 1664	Maryland 1634
Connecticut 1638	Delaware (1638, Swedish) 1665	The Carolinas 1663
New Hampshire 1679	Pennsylvania 1681	

³⁰ Evidence of this prejudice is preserved in the sermons, journals and correspondence of the colonial clergy which fill some one hundred fifty volumes of the records of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (transcripts and photostats in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.); also in the Boston edition (1685) of *The Protestant Tutor*, and in *The New England Primer* which has "moulded the intellectual outlook of generations of Americans" more than any book except the Bible; also in the earliest American histories; Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*; Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*; Winthrop's *A Short History of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines That Infected the Church of New England*; Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*.

Valuable works for students of this subject are, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America* by Sanford H. Cobb; *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* by Sister Mary Augustina Ray; *Catholicism in New England to 1788* by Rev. Arthur J. Riley; *The Ark and the Dove* by J. Moss Ives; *Catholics in Colonial Days*, by Rev. Thomas P. Phelan.

showed no willingness to extend it to others; the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, who regarded tolerance as "an abomination," banished Episcopalians, jailed Baptists, and in 1659 actually executed four Quakers who refused to keep away. Priests were prohibited from entering the colony, under penalty of death for a second offence; and the sheltering of a priest was punishable by a fine of two hundred pounds. Quakers and Baptists secured a measure of toleration through their own persistence, backed up by the intervention of Charles II; the Episcopalians obtained freedom after the king in wrath had revoked the charter of the colony in 1685 and Andros, the first royal governor, had made a show of military force; but Catholics were not so fortunate, for King William's Charter of 1691, which united Plymouth and Massachusetts, extended religious liberty "to all Christians, except Papists." Yet at least the new charter did away with the Puritan theocracy—though the Congregational Church was still supported by public taxes.

Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island—founded by Protestant dissenters from the rigorous theocracy of Massachusetts—were less intolerant. To be sure, New Hampshire enacted penal laws which resulted in the practical suppression of Catholicism there and Connecticut excluded Catholics from public office; but, on the other hand, Roger Williams, founder of the Baptist Church in America, included Catholics in the Rhode Island program of complete equality for all.³¹

In the proprietary province of Pennsylvania—a tract of 48,000 square miles granted by Charles II to the Quaker, William Penn, to balance a debt of \$80,000—Catholics at first possessed complete liberty; but in 1693 they were debarred from holding office by a test oath which required a denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass.³²

The story of New York is rather complicated. Founded by the Dutch West India Company as the colony of New Amsterdam, it included Dutch

³¹ In public he maintained a tolerant attitude towards Quakers and Catholics, although in private he denounced both groups and referred to the Church as the "Romish Wolf" gorging herself with "huge bowls of the blood of the saints." See Sr. M. Augustina Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 101. It is generally understood that Rhode Island never passed a law prohibiting religious freedom; yet Cobb records two "doubtful exceptions"—one denying citizenship to Roman Catholics, which (according to Bancroft) was not sanctioned by the legislature, but interpolated in the statutes by a committee. J. Moss Ives (*op. cit.*, 193) does not concur in this view.

³² The tolerance of Pennsylvania was less broad than is commonly supposed, as the right to vote was confined to Christians, and the right of residence in the colony was confined to theists. William Penn entertained certain fears with regard to Catholics and wrote a pamphlet entitled "A Seasonable Caveat Against Popery."

Delaware (settled by the Swedes without title in 1638) was seized by the Dutch of New Amsterdam in 1655, taken over by the English in 1665, and purchased by William Penn from the duke of York in 1682. During the seventeenth century, therefore, it had no independent religious history.

Calvinists, German Lutherans, French Huguenots, Scotch Presbyterians, and refugees from Massachusetts. The Dutch Reformed Church was established by law. Although some harshness was manifested towards Jews, Quakers, and Lutherans, especially during the administration of the redoubtable Peter Stuyvesant, a spirit of limited toleration prevailed.³³ When the English took over the colony in 1664 the Articles of Capitulation stipulated religious freedom for members of the Reformed Church; and the duke of York (the future James II), proprietor of the colony, in his instructions to the Catholic governor, Thomas Dongan, took steps to establish general toleration. After the revolution of 1688 Catholics were discriminated against here as elsewhere.³⁴

New Jersey too, had been settled by emigrants from several countries; and an attempt made by the Puritans of New Haven to get religious control of the colony melted away before the opposition of original Dutch colonists, Scotch Presbyterians, refugee Quakers. Here, as in New York, religious freedom was established for a brief period by the duke of York. In 1699 "the Jerseys" petitioned for union with New York on condition that all Protestants should be exempt from "penal laws relating to religion"; and when the province was joined to New York three years later, the crown provided for "liberty of conscience to all persons (except papists)." ³⁵

In Virginia, where the Church of England was established by law, the colony encouraged the entrance of Protestant immigrants, but excluded Catholics. The Jesuits regarded this Virginia mission as one of especial danger and more than once the missionaries were fired at. Virginia reproduced the illiberal statutes of English law with regard to Catholics and even went further, requiring every priest to leave the colony on five days' notice. "Not even England herself sought to crush, humble, and degrade the Catholic as Virginia did." ³⁶

Maryland ³⁷ was first settled by Catholic colonists who crossed the ocean

³³ The Dutch settlers of Fort Orange (Albany) and of New Amsterdam helped to rescue St. Isaac Jogues from the Indians in 1643; and they performed a similar service for several of his brethren, making it plain, however, that this was done by way of favor. "The policy of religious repression pursued in the province of New Netherlands on the outbreak of organized dissent, was not merely local or temporary in character or personal to Stuyvesant." Frederick J. Zwierlein, in *Catholic Historical Review*, IV, 216 (1918).

³⁴ Episcopalians who tried to have the Church of England established by law, secured only a decree of the colonial legislature (1693) providing for the appointment of six Protestant ministers in four of the counties of its jurisdiction.

³⁵ Cobb, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

³⁶ Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 410, and *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* . . . II, 87.

³⁷ Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore—a convert to the Catholic faith and a personal friend of King James I and King Charles I—applied for a royal patent to the

in "The Ark" and "The Dove"; and two Jesuits, Fathers White and Alt-ham, offered Mass on St. Clement's Island in the Potomac on March 25, 1634. Most of the Catholic immigrants to the English colonies came to Maryland; and, throughout the period of Catholic domination, there was no instance of religious bigotry—an unusual situation which provoked criticism both from Protestants and from Catholics. Toleration was endangered when the crowding in of newcomers from Virginia and New England gave Protestants a large majority in the colony; and in 1649 Lord Baltimore had the legislature pass an Act of Toleration which established religious freedom for all believers in the Trinity. After the execution of Charles I in England, the Puritans got control of the legislature of Maryland, repealed the Toleration Act, and substituted a law which declared that "none who profess the exercise of the popish religion, commonly known by the name of Roman Catholic Religion, can be protected in the Province."³⁸ When the change was reported to Cromwell, "he directed commissioners of the colony not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government"; and the new act was repealed. Protestant agitation against toleration continued, however; and in 1692 King William voided the Charter of Maryland, established the Church of England, and outlawed Catholicism.

In the Carolinas the first immigrants were chiefly Scotch Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Huguenots, and Dutch Reformed. The proprietors construed the charter as establishing the Church of England; but they granted religious freedom to all, and this concession was endorsed in a second charter issued by Charles II in 1665. The celebrated Fundamental Constitutions, "the most singular and fantastic instrument of government ever devised," limited the protection of the law to persons belonging to a "Church or profession,"³⁹ (recognizing, however, the right of any seven or more persons to constitute a church or profession). In 1696 the members of the Church of England—more numerous than before although still a minority—substituted for the existing law an Act to extend religious toleration to all Christians (Papists alone excepted), and began to pave the way for the establishment of a religious oligarchy and the disfranchisement of all nonconformists, with resulting disturbances which continued into the following century.

country north of the Potomac; and after his death it was issued to his son, Cecil, in 1632. The patent contained an ambiguous clause which on its face might be interpreted to mean that the Church of England was to be established in Maryland. Lord Baltimore, however, interpreted the clause otherwise.

³⁸ The religious revolution in Maryland was "produced by shameful falsehoods and misrepresentations." It was promoted by Puritan bigotry against the Church of Rome, and by "frantic hatred of Roman Catholics" on the part of Episcopalians. Cobb, *op. cit.*, 384-385.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 119.

TIME CHART

AMERICA

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

1604 Mass celebrated on De Monts Island in St. Croix River	1607 Jamestown founded
	1608 Quebec founded
1609 Indians baptized at St. Augustine	
1610 Reductions of Paraguay	
1613 Jesuit missions on Mt. Desert Island destroyed	
	1614 Dutch in Manhattan
1615 Peter Claver in Cartagena	
	1620 Plymouth founded
	1623 New Hampshire settled
	1625 Maine settled
1626 Fr. Daillon (a Recollect) reaches Niagara River	
	1630 Boston founded
1634 Mass celebrated on St. Clement's Island in the Potomac	1634 Maryland settled
	1634 Connecticut settled
	1636 Rhode Island founded
	Harvard founded
	1638 Delaware settled
1641 Missionaries on the Great Lakes	
	1643 New England Confederation
1646 Jogues martyred	
1648-49 Iroquois kill Jesuits	
	1649 Maryland Act of Toleration
	1656 The Carolinas settled
1659 Bp. Laval in New France	
	1663 Eliot's Indian Bible
	1664 New Amsterdam becomes New York
1668 Rose of Lima beatified	
1680 Destruction of New Mexico missions	1682 Philadelphia founded
1684 Fr. Eusebius Kino in Tucson	
	1692 Maryland a royal province
	Witchcraft in New England
1697 Jesuit mission in California	1697 Ryswick Treaty restores Acadia to French
	1699 French in Louisiana

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

The papacy suffered a series of setbacks. The pope was unable to prevent the Bohemian contest from developing into a general war; he could not keep the French from coming to the support of the Protestant side; he found himself excluded by general agreement from the congress of European sovereigns. Both Catholic and Protestant rulers affirmed the principle of secular supremacy, ignored the pope's traditional position, treated him as a petty prince who could, when necessary, be forced to submit. In addition to being thus relegated to a status of political insignificance, the papacy was involved in the feud between France and Spain, which disturbed every papal conclave and created new problems after each election.⁴⁰

Among the especially painful experiences of the Holy See in this trying period were France's wrecking of the partly restored religious unity by her intervention in the Thirty Years' War, Austria's decision at Westphalia to save her political possessions at the cost of religious interests, Spain's signing of an agreement with Holland hurtful to the Church. Even more fateful were the Gallican Declaration of 1682, in which the French clergy claimed practical independence of papal jurisdiction, and the "Glorious Revolution," which deposed the Catholic King James II and set the Protestants William and Mary on the English throne.

Leo XI (1605). On the death of Clement VIII the French king, Henry IV, although opposed by the Spanish king, Philip III, secured the election of Alexander de' Medici, who, as Leo XI, lived less than a month.

Paul V (1605-1621). In the next conclave, after long and bitter debates, Cardinal Borghese was elected. A member of no political party, he ruled the Church sternly and justly and sent away to their own dioceses the

⁴⁰ Early in the century (1605) Spain claimed the right to disqualify a candidate for the papacy by classifying him as "undesirable"; and this "Right of Exclusion" was exercised in two conclaves (in 1644 and 1655) despite protests made against its validity. The leading Catholic powers continued to veto undesirable candidates until the custom was abolished by Pius X in 1904.

bishops residing at Rome in disobedience to the decree enacted at Trent. He laid an interdict on the republic of Venice, which had violated clerical immunities and had expelled the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and the Theatines for supporting the pope. Paul's interdict was ignored by many of the local clergy and notably by the famous Servite monk, Paolo Sarpi. When the quarrel was settled through the intervention of the French king, Henry IV, the Capuchins and the Theatines were permitted to return; but the Jesuits remained under the ban for half a century. Paul condemned the Oath of Allegiance imposed by King James I on English subjects; and in 1608 he deposed the superior of the English missions, Archpriest Blackwell, for having signed the oath.

Profoundly interested in missions, Paul V encouraged several religious orders to attempt conversions in Persia; he maintained a good understanding with the shah (to whom he sent an envoy); he carried on a friendly correspondence with Armenians, Maronites, Chaldean Nestorians and Copts; and he secured the support of France for the Jesuits laboring in Constantinople. He also legislated to correct abuses among the missionaries of the New World. He dealt cautiously with the Japanese envoys sent to Rome in 1615 by the intriguing Prince Masamune; and he wrote a letter of condolence to Japanese Christians during the persecution.

Gregory XV (1621-1623), who became pope at the age of sixty-seven through the Borghese influence, won certain concessions from James I and was able also to lessen the power of the Huguenots in France. For more than a century the Holy See had been gravely concerned over the scandals connected with papal elections caused by the interference of the great powers, especially Spain and France; and Gregory formulated new rules of procedure.⁴¹ He organized the Congregation of the Propaganda to take charge of the foreign mission field; and in 1623 he issued the last papal decree against witchcraft, mitigating the severe punishment prescribed by earlier legislation.

Urban VIII (1623-1644), a member of the Barberini family, was elected in a conclave (unattended by any French cardinal) which lasted through eighteen days of skirmishing by four groups of electors⁴²—although the activities of royal agents had been curtailed by Gregory XV's regulations. Hailed as a friend by France and under suspicion in Spain, Urban helped to negotiate a treaty between those two countries which left the French government free to concentrate on the suppression of the Huguenots. Urban, reigning during most of the Thirty Years' War, was obliged to exer-

⁴¹ Among the rules were these: election was to be by secret vote; each cardinal might vote for only one candidate; and no one might vote for himself. The procedure established by Gregory remained practically unchanged until the twentieth century.

⁴² Cardinals created by Gregory XV; cardinals created by Paul V; older cardinals; four cardinal princes.

cise the utmost circumspection. To avoid offence to France he refused to support the emperor Ferdinand and the Catholic League when they were fighting the Protestant princes; on the other hand he declined to make Richelieu a papal legate. Richelieu's followers went so far as to propose the holding of a national council and the electing of Richelieu as patriarch.

During the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, Urban VIII opposed the surrender of any papal rights or the cession of any ecclesiastical lands. To a request from King Charles I of England for aid, he replied that he would comply if the king would promise to become a Catholic. Urban's name is associated with several memorable episodes: in 1627 he founded the Collegium Urbanum, an international Roman seminary under the Propaganda, to train priests for the missions; in 1633 he imprisoned Galileo for having broken a promise given at the first trial in 1616 (but sent his blessing to Galileo before the latter's death); in 1633 he abolished exclusive missionary rights in China and Japan enjoyed by the Jesuits and by some other communities, and opened these lands to all the orders; in 1639 he republished the prohibition against enslaving Indians in Paraguay, Brazil, and the West Indies. Although Urban's private life was beyond reproach, his relatives, the Barberini, acquired wealth through his appointments; and his nephews involved him in a costly, unsuccessful war with the duke of Parma.⁴³

Innocent X (1644-1655). After several weeks of wrangling, the French party prevented the election of a Spanish candidate by throwing their support to Cardinal Pamfili, who became pope under the name of Innocent X. Immediately involved in grave difficulties over the terms of the peace treaty then being discussed by the warring states, he instructed Cardinal Fabio Chigi, papal nuncio at Münster (later Pope Alexander VII), to consent to no agreement prejudicial to Catholic interests; and the diplomats avoided the embarrassment of Chigi's presence by carrying on most of their discussions in another city, Osnabrück. Upon the signing of the treaty, Innocent protested against the injustices done to the Church in a letter, *Zelo domus Dei*, which he sent to all the rulers; but few of them allowed it to be published in their domains.

Innocent established friendly relations with the Venetians who, in return for his aid against the Turks, allowed him freedom in the appointment of bishops. An episode of importance was the pope's condemnation of Jansenistic errors extracted from the book *Augustinus* in 1653. Innocent X widened the activity of the Propaganda which at the middle of the century

⁴³ The bull against astrologers published by Urban VIII in 1631 was occasioned by the custom of using astrology and magical arts to procure the death of enemies.

had more than three hundred missionaries under its jurisdiction; but his plan to appoint bishops to missionary countries was blocked by the opposition of Portugal.⁴⁴

Alexander VII (1655-1667)—opposed by Cardinal Mazarin, his old antagonist in the negotiations preceding the Peace of Westphalia—was elected after a long and stormy conclave of eighty days. Personally virtuous, he proved to be a weak ruler; and he allowed his relatives to enrich themselves and to influence the government of the Church. He suffered no little embarrassment from the unfriendly attitude of Louis XIV, Mazarin, and the French ambassador in Rome. When the French Jansenists raised a question as to the precise doctrine which had been condemned by Innocent X, Alexander in 1656 declared that the condemnation applied to the actual text and meaning of the book, *Augustinus*; and he transmitted to France an anti-Jansenistic formula to be signed by the French clergy. Alexander strengthened the authority of the Propaganda, decreed that the alumni of the papal colleges should serve in the mission field for life, and founded the Paris Seminary for Missions, thus promoting the participation of secular priests in the mission field. By nominating vicars apostolic in the Far East, he terminated the monopoly of Portugal; and as a result, France and Germany began to assume more importance in the mission field.

Clement IX (1667-1669) of the Rospigliosi family, was elected with both French and Spanish support.⁴⁵ He used to occupy a confessional in St. Peter's each week and was idolized by the Romans for his amiability. He ended the nepotism which had caused so much trouble in the preceding reigns; reorganized the finances of the papal government; appointed bishops to the sees in Portugal which had been vacant for years; and quieted the Jansenistic controversy for the time being by a formula known as the *Pax Clementina*. In 1667 Clement proclaimed the beatification of St. Rose of Lima, the first American saint—canonized in 1671.

Clement X (1670-1676), eighty years old at the time of his elevation to the papacy, was elected after a conclave of nearly five months through a compromise made possible by the prospect of a short pontificate. He handed the temporal affairs of the Church over to one of the cardinals, an adopted member of his own family, and confined himself in the main to religious activities; although he did resist Louis XIV, then planning to appropriate the "regalia" (the revenues of vacant sees). His gifts of money proved a vital help to Poland struggling against the Turks.

⁴⁴ The Portuguese government would not consent to the appointing of French bishops in the territory that came under the Padroado. The religious orders also clung tenaciously to their privileges.

⁴⁵ The Sacred College was divided into two chief parties—the twenty-four cardinals of Alexander VII and the sixteen cardinals of Urban VIII. Three other groups were the French sympathizers, the Spanish sympathizers, and an independent "flying squadron." Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXI, 317.

Innocent XI (1676-1689), of the Odescalchi family, was elected at the age of sixty-five, with the eventual consent of the French party, after an interregnum of two months.⁴⁶ He instituted economy in the papal court, balanced the papal budget, and passed laws against nepotism. He struggled with Louis XIV during his whole pontificate, first over the king's appropriation of Church revenues in defiance of the old decree of the Council of Lyons in 1274, then over the Gallican Articles drawn up by the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682; and he declared that he would never promote to the episcopate any member of that Assembly. When Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and began to persecute the Protestants, Innocent expressed disapproval. During a dispute in 1687, over the right of the French ambassador in Rome to shelter criminals, French troops seized the papal palace in Rome; and Innocent XI excommunicated the French ambassador. In 1688 the pope rejected the candidate proposed by Louis XIV for the see of Cologne, the most important post in northern Germany, and appointed a candidate favored by all the European countries except France and England. The French king then imprisoned the papal nuncio, appealed to a future council and threatened a French schism. This quarrel was not settled until after the pope's death.

In 1679 Innocent censured sixty-five propositions which justified moral laxity; and in 1687 he condemned the Quietistic teaching of Molinos. He was conciliatory in his attitude towards the Jansenists and on that account was later charged with being himself Jansenistic. He was zealous for education, for the reform of the clergy and of the religious orders, and for the practice of daily Communion; he expressed his disapproval of the imprudent zeal of King James II of England; and it was in response to Innocent's urging that the Polish king, John Sobieski, and the German princes assisted Austria to drive the Turks out of Hungary.⁴⁷

Alexander VIII (1689-1691), an octogenarian of Venetian birth, lived only sixteen months after his election. During his reign Louis XIV gave back the appropriated territory of Avignon, and relinquished the right of asylum claimed by the French embassy in Rome which had caused so

⁴⁶ The racial composition of the College of Cardinals occasioned a complaint on the part of a German cardinal in 1674, when all of the 67 were Italians except 9 (3 French, 2 Spanish, 3 German and 1 English). Innocent XI's first nomination in 1681 created 16 cardinals—all Italians; his second nomination in 1686 created 27 cardinals among whom were many non-Italians. *Ibid.*, XXXII, 2, n. and 417.

⁴⁷ Innocent's relationship with the mission field is described below in the section on Missions. In 1677 Cerri, secretary of the Propaganda, presented to the pope an extremely valuable report summarizing missionary work throughout the world during a half century. Cerri placed the total population of Europe at 128,000,000 (including 75,000,000 Catholics; 27,000,000 Schismatics; 24,000,000 Protestants). His report was translated into English in 1715 by an Anglican, Richard Steele, and into French a year later. *Ibid.*, XXXII, 461-62.

much trouble; yet these concessions did not deter Alexander from renewing the nullification of the Gallican Liberties. He assisted Venice against the Turks and condemned a number of errors in faith and morals. He was good to the poor, but overgenerous to his own relatives.

Innocent XII (1691-1700), a Neapolitan, was elected pope at the age of seventy-six, as a compromise candidate, in a conclave drawn out for five months by the struggle between the French and the Hapsburg factions. His first act was to decree that no pope should ever make more than one member of his family a cardinal. He succeeded in persuading King Louis XIV to annul the Gallican Articles of 1682; he confirmed the condemnation of Jansenism pronounced by Alexander VII; and he condemned a number of propositions drawn from the works of Fénelon which seemed to favor Quietism. He had trouble with the Emperor Leopold I over the claim to the right of asylum in the imperial embassy in Rome (similar to the right relinquished by the French king a few years earlier). The contrast between Leopold and Louis in their dealings with the Holy See no doubt helped to influence the pope when he advised Charles II of Spain to bequeath his kingdom to the Bourbon, Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, instead of to a Hapsburg.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The decrees of the Holy Office (established in 1542) form the chief source of theological teaching in the seventeenth century. Official pronouncements deal principally with the errors of the Jansenists; also with the nature of grace, moral questions, false mysticism and Gallicanism.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Clement VIII</i> (1592-1605)		
1602	Decree of the Holy Office	Prohibiting absolution by letter.
<i>Paul V</i> (1605-1621)		
1607	Formula to close the Dominican-Jesuit controversy	On the efficacy of grace.
1616	Decree of the Congregation of the Index	On the Copernican system.
<i>Innocent X</i> (1644-1655)		
1647	Decree of the Holy Office	On the relation of St. Peter to St. Paul, and on papal supremacy.
1653	Constitution	On the errors of Jansen.
1654	Decree	Against Jansenists.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
	<i>Alexander VII</i> (1655-1667)	
1656	Constitution	Condemning Jansen's book, <i>Augustinus</i> .
1661	Bull	On the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.
1665	Constitution	Proposing a formula of submission for the Jansenists.
1665-6	Decrees	On forty-five errors affecting morals.
1667	Decree of the Holy Office	On perfect and imperfect contrition.
	<i>Innocent XI</i> (1676-1689)	
1679	Decree of the Holy Congregation of the Council	On daily communion.
1679	Decree of the Holy Office	On sixty-five erroneous moral theories.
1680	Decree of the Holy Office	On "Probabilism."
1682	Decree of the Holy Office	On the seal of confession.
1687	Decree and Constitution	On sixty-eight errors of Molinos, Quietist.
	<i>Alexander VIII</i> (1689-1691)	
1690	Decrees of the Holy Office	On motives which make an act virtuous or sinful; on thirty-one moral errors.
1690	Constitution	On the Four Gallican Articles of 1682.
	<i>Innocent XII</i> (1691-1700)	
1699	Brief	On charity and disinterested love of God.

Councils: The Council of Aix-en-Provence in 1612 censured Richer of the Sorbonne for his Gallicanism; and the Council of Rouen in 1699, condemned Fénelon's *Maximes des saints*. At a synod of special interest, held at Amida on the Tigris in 1616 (attended by eight archbishops and by the superior of the Franciscan monastery of Aleppo), a Chaldean prelate was consecrated bishop of Amida and Jerusalem; he worked to reunite his Nestorian compatriots with Rome.

More significant than any council of the time—although not properly a council—was the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682, in which thirty-six prelates adopted the Gallican Articles and sent them to the other members of the French hierarchy.

Organization: Much work remained to be done in the way of

applying the principles of the Catholic Reformation; and the popes, especially Urban VIII, devoted themselves to this task. Episcopal faculties, previously in a state of confusion, were put in order in 1637; and bishops were again urged to reside in their own dioceses. New legislation regulated the dress and conduct of clerics; churches and monasteries underwent official inspection; cardinals—of whom Urban created no less than seventy-eight within twenty years—were given the title of "Eminence" and placed next after sovereigns in order of precedence.⁴⁸

Indulgences: Clement VIII (d. 1605) and Paul V (d. 1621) appointed officials to supervise the publication of indulgences; but abuses still continued and in 1669 Clement IX (d. 1669) canonically established the Congregation of Indulgences. Thereafter indulgences—kept under strict official control—were used in the promoting of spiritual activities, without, as before, becoming an occasion of world-wide scandal.

Marriage: The reformers had spread the notion that marriage is primarily (some even said exclusively) a contract; and several Catholic theologians, less acute than Bellarmine, had defended the opinion of Cano that the contract is separable from the sacrament—a view acceptable to men who advocated the transfer of matrimonial jurisdiction from the Church to the state. The Gallicans were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity; and Louis XIII ordered ecclesiastical judges to harmonize their verdicts with the decisions of civil courts.⁴⁹ In Germany, the Protestant disciples of Pufendorf circulated his teaching that indissoluble marriage is contrary to the law of nature. Meanwhile, the Holy See kept insisting upon strict indissolubility; and Urban VIII included this doctrine in the articles

⁴⁸ At the request of the Chapter of Seville, the Holy See prohibited smoking and snuff-taking in church (in that diocese) under pain of excommunication.

⁴⁹ In 1631 the king refused permission to his brother Gaston to marry Margaret, sister of the duke of Lorraine; and Richelieu four years later induced the Assembly of the French clergy to declare that the royal refusal created an invalidating impediment.

Chief among the supporters of the Gallican view were the learned theologian de Launoy (d. 1678); Hennequin, influential professor at the Sorbonne; and De Dominis, ex-archbishop of Spalato. De Launoy's teaching on the royal power over marriage was made practically official in 1677, although his book was placed on the Index.

of belief imposed upon Greeks received into the Church. Some bishops sanctioned the Greek usage of divorce among the Rumanian Greeks reunited to Rome in 1687; but other prelates opposed and eventually suppressed the custom.

Worship: A bull issued by Alexander VII on December 8, 1661, affirmed that the ancient pious belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the solemn celebration of the feast had become almost universal in the Church.

The paying of public honor to the Sacred Heart of our Lord (already favored by several medieval mystics, including St. Gertrude) now became a recognized feature of devotional life and was promoted notably by St. Francis de Sales. The Congregation of the Oratory and the Sulpicians were among the first to observe the "Feast of Jesus"; the Eudists (1672) and the Visitandines at Paray-le-Monial (1685) and at Dijon (1689) kept the "Feast of the Sacred Heart."

Art: In striking contrast with the Renaissance painters, the artists of this period recall the *Quattrocentists* in their fondness for the scenes of the Franciscan story, the episodes of the Gospel, and the legends of the saints—as may be noted in pictures painted in the Netherlands and in Spain, as well as in Italy. The new Baroque style, which produced some fine architecture, decoration, and sculpture, often degenerated into showiness and extravagant straining after decorative effect—faults that led to a general condemnation of the entire style and prevented recognition of its undeniable merits.

Communities: Older congregations which had fallen into worldly ways were reformed. The Cistercian abbey of LaTrappe was restored to strict observance by Abbot de Rancé. In 1608 Paul V declared the Capuchins to be "true Franciscans"; and eleven years later he made them an autonomous order wholly independent of the Conventuals.

The spiritual revival in France brought about the foundation of several new communities. St. Francis de Sales established the Visitandine Nuns; in 1625 St. Vincent de Paul organized his Congregation of the Mission whose members went from village

to village instructing the country people; ⁵⁰ and a few years later (1633) he founded the Sisters of Charity devoted to corporal and spiritual works of mercy. St. John Eudes, Cardinal de Bérulle, and M. Olier founded the Eudists, the French Oratorians, and the Sulpicians, and revived priestly piety and zeal; and St. John Baptist de la Salle opened schools for boys. Jesuits and Capuchins were the leading orders in France and Germany; overseas in both hemispheres, Jesuits, Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, Recollects ⁵¹ preached the faith at the risk, and often literally at the cost of their lives.

French primary education owed much to Venerable Anne de Xainctonge (d. 1621), founder of the Sisters of St. Ursula of the Blessed Virgin (approved in 1648 by Innocent X). Another pioneer in the education of girls, Mary Ward, founded at St. Omer in 1609 a religious society (nick-named "Jesuitesses"), which followed the Jesuit rule in many respects, excited opposition by adopting neither choir, cloister, nor religious habit, and was suppressed in 1630.⁵² The celebrated nuns of Port Royal, influenced by Saint-Cyran, made their abbey a Jansenist center.⁵³ After they moved to Paris, Jansenists conducted a school, first in the original abbey, Port Royal des Champs, and later (after some of the nuns returned in 1648) in a building nearby. The community was disciplined for Jansenism, rehabilitated during the *Pax Clementina* and finally suppressed by Louis XIV and Clement XI.

Saints: Troubled as it was, and to some extent on that account, the seventeenth century produced many examples of ex-

⁵⁰ The "Vincentsians"—sometimes called Lazarists from the name of their mother house, St. Lazare, Paris—also ministered to the galley slaves of the great French ports, ransomed Christian captives in Barbary, and assisted in the education of clerics.

⁵¹ The name "Recollects" was applied to those members of the Friars Minor who, in the latter part of the century, established houses of recollection in France. They developed into an important branch of the Franciscan order and possessed numerous houses at the time of the Revolution, 1791. The Discalced Augustinians were also known as Recollects.

⁵² It was revived later and flourishes now as the Institute of Mary.

⁵³ This Benedictine abbey, founded near Versailles in the 13th century and later placed under the Cistercian rule, was lifted out of laxity to strict observance by the abbess, Mère Angélique, under the direction of St. Francis de Sales, about 1608. The community, which transferred to Paris in 1626 and took the name, Daughters of the Blessed Sacrament, was suppressed by Clement XI in 1709; and the buildings were razed in 1710.

alted virtue—founders, teachers, missionaries, martyrs. Some of the more notable are described below.

Vincent de Paul (1580–1660), a Gascon, ordained at the age of twenty, was captured and enslaved by Turkish pirates from Barbary. After his return to France he devoted his life to the service of the poor and the spiritual welfare of the clergy—two classes which had suffered greatly from the wars—and founded the Congregation of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity. His writings include two volumes of conferences and an enormous number of letters. He was canonized by Clement XII in 1737.

Jean Jacques Olier (1608–1657), a disciple of St. Francis de Sales, of St. Vincent de Paul, and of Père de Condren, superior of the Oratory, became a vigorous promoter of the religious revival. He founded the Society of St. Sulpice; he organized the instruction of old and young, rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant; he waged war against obscene pictures and immoral literature. He denounced the prime minister, Cardinal Mazarin, for his policy of appointing unworthy candidates to the episcopate. Although ranked as a saint by common consent, M. Olier has never been formally canonized.

John Baptist de la Salle (1651–1719), ordained priest in 1678, was disturbed by the fact that schools were few, teachers poorly trained and methods defective. He resigned his office of canon in the Cathedral of Rheims, begged funds for the founding of schools, organized a religious society for the instruction of poor boys, and opened the first normal school (1684), systematizing enlightened educational principles in a handbook which won for him the title "Father of modern pedagogy."⁵⁴ Various innovations—such as the "Simultaneous Method" which, in contrast with medieval custom, graded pupils according to capacity—brought upon de la Salle official disapproval and ill treatment; but after many crises he succeeded in establishing a permanent system which, at the time of his death comprised more than 200 teachers and more than 9,000 boys.⁵⁵

John Eudes (1601–1680), a member of the French Oratory of de Bérulle, became famous as a missionary, founded the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge to shelter penitent women, and later left the Oratory and founded the Society of Jesus and Mary in 1643 for the education of priests and missionary work. The Society does not take vows of religion, but works under the immediate jurisdiction of the bishops; and in organization it resembles the Oratory.

⁵⁴ Mathew Arnold said of this handbook, "Later works on the same subject have little improved the precepts, while they entirely lack the unction."

⁵⁵ His Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools was approved by the pope as a religious congregation in 1725, six years after de la Salle's death.

Joseph Calasanctius (d. 1648), a priest of Urgel in northeastern Spain, founded the Piarists early in the century.

Peter Fourier (d. 1646) in 1597 founded the Canonesses of the Congregation of Notre Dame in Lorraine for the free education of poor girls.

Francis Caracciolo (d. 1608) was co-founder of the Congregation of Minor Clerks Regular.

John Francis Regis (d. 1640), a Jesuit missionary, is said to have spent every day of his priestly life preaching, catechising and hearing confessions in central and southern France.

John Berchmans (1599–1621), a native of Brabant and a Jesuit scholastic, recognized as a saint chiefly because of his fidelity in the performance of ordinary duties, was beatified in 1865 and canonized in 1888. He is a favorite patron of novices.

Alonzo (or **Alphonsus**) **Rodríguez** (1532–1617), a native of Majorca, after the death of his wife and children, entered the Society of Jesus as a lay brother at the age of thirty-nine, and spent forty-six years as porter at the Jesuit college at Majorca. It was by his advice that St. Peter Claver volunteered for the missions in America. Alonzo was declared Venerable in 1626 and Blessed in 1825; and he was canonized in 1887. He is not to be confused with another Alphonsus (or Alonzo) Rodríguez, author of the celebrated work on *Christian Perfection*.

Peter Claver (1581–1654), Catalonian Jesuit, devoted himself to the Negro slaves of Cartagena (Colombia) and in this chief slave market of America, where captured Negroes were landed at the rate of a thousand a month, he is said to have baptized and instructed more than three hundred thousand during the forty years of his ministry. He was canonized in 1888 and made patron of Catholic missions to the Negroes eight years later.

Andrew Bobola (1590–1657), a zealous Jesuit missionary in Lithuania during the years when the country was troubled by Protestants, Russian schismatics, and Tatars, was tortured and martyred by Cossacks. He was beatified in 1853 and canonized in 1938.

Louise de Marillac le Gras (1591–1660), after the death of her husband devoted herself to the service of the sick and the poor and, with the aid of St. Vincent de Paul, founded the Sisters of Charity in 1633.

Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647–1690), a French Visitation nun, whose visions furthered the spread of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, was beatified in 1864 and canonized in 1920.

Among the **Jesuit martyrs** (canonized in 1930) were four killed by the Iroquois of the Mohawk Valley: **Isaac Jogues** (d. 1646), presumably the first white man to visit Lake George, who returned to the Indian mission field after having been cruelly tortured on his first visit in 1642; **Anthony Daniel** (d. 1648); **Jean de Brébeuf** and his companion, **Gabriel Lalemant** (d. 1649).

The seventeenth century *Beati* include:

Martín de Porres (1579–1639), a saintly Dominican—son of a Spanish father and a Negro mother. Born in Lima, Peru, he spent his life in serving the sick and suffering natives of that country.

Claude de la Colombière (1641–1682), a Jesuit missionary and author, who was arrested in 1679 while living in England, as preacher to the duchess of York (later queen of England). He wrote several ascetical works and was spiritual director of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque. He took an active part in spreading the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Martyrs: Some two hundred persons suffered death for the faith in England, more than three hundred in Ireland, uncounted thousands in the Far East. Prominent among the Irish martyrs was **Oliver Plunket**, Archbishop of Armagh. During the persecution he continued to minister to his flock in the woods and mountains; but he was finally captured by English soldiers and hanged at Tyburn in 1681—last of the martyrs to die on that spot.⁵⁶

Education: The intellectual life of Europe showed the disastrous effects of the religious revolution. Many schools had ceased to exist. Catholic seminaries, when able to function at all, were too busily engaged in preparing priests for mission work to give much attention to the requirements of a liberal education. The children of the aristocracy were cared for by tutors or enrolled in small private academies; and their schooling was often supplemented by foreign travel or by a period spent at court.

As the century wore on and comparative peace returned, new schools were established; but teaching remained unsystematized. Protestants and Catholics were moving along different lines. Protestants usually favored change and experiment; whereas Catholics—concerned chiefly with the preservation of traditional theology and philosophy, and not deeply interested in the new vernacular literature—remained to some extent outside the current of intellectual progress. Catholic educators, nevertheless, contributed to the development of sound pedagogical methods and the spread of real culture. Fénelon (1651–1715), for ex-

⁵⁶ In 1929 Pius XI beatified 136 martyrs (men and women) who died in England between 1541 and 1682, in addition to 63 others previously beatified by Leo XIII. When the Holy See began an official inquiry into the case of the Irish martyrs, 340 names were submitted. Oliver Plunket was declared Blessed in 1920; interest in his canonization was renewed in 1938.

ample, in his treatise on the education of girls and in his tutoring of the grandson of Louis XIV, showed a grasp of principles that has secured him an honorable place in the history of education. John Baptist de la Salle (1651–1719), sensing the need of trained teachers, gave France an excellent normal school in 1684. The four hundred Jesuit schools of the early seventeenth century had doubled in number at its end; and in that period of transition and confusion the stability and the strict discipline of their system formed so valuable an aid to efficient pedagogy that the Jesuits were invited to open schools in several Protestant communities of France and Germany.

Notable in the history of education were the schools of the French Oratory, which stressed the study of mathematics, science, and French, and the short-lived *petites écoles*, established by a few Jansenist scholars in "Port Royal of the Fields," after the nuns had moved from the old monastery to Paris. During their less than twenty years of existence (1638–1657) the "little schools" attained a great reputation; and they affected educational methods to a degree out of all proportion to the number of the pupils. In one way or another Port Royal influenced nearly every distinguished writer of the seventeenth century.

Noteworthy too, were the schools established in different continental countries by the Catholics of the British Isles, deprived of educational opportunities in their own country. English, Irish, and Scottish colleges were opened in Belgium, in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal.

Catechetical instruction was entrusted to the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. In 1607 Paul V established its headquarters in the Vatican; and two years later the Holy See decreed the erection of the confraternity in every parish of the Christian world—a decree obviously ineffective, for near the end of the century Innocent XI was still urging its erection at least in every diocese. Meanwhile, governments had come to recognize education as a useful instrument to effect national unity; and state schools became common. In view of the difficulty of teaching any definite religious doctrine to members of the various sects, they were usually organized on a frankly secular basis.

Writers: Numerous works of enduring value gave evidence of the Catholic revival.⁵⁷ Celebrated authors were the Jesuit cardinals, de Lugo, whose theological treatises are still in use, and Petavius, who is called "Father of the History of Dogma."

Historical writing followed along lines determined largely by the necessities of self defense; for the Protestant propaganda of distorted history was spreading fear and hatred of Catholicism, especially in Germany and England—as may be seen from the titles of hundreds of extant books and pamphlets. Some Catholic authors still innocently copied, plagiarized, forged in accord with old tradition; Leclercq, in the sketch of Church historians contributed by him to the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne*, names as examples, a Jesuit, a Carthusian, a Carmelite, an Oratorian. Yet at the same time brilliant Catholic scholars were opening the approaches to critical historiography. Among them we find André du Chesne (d. 1640), "Father of modern French history," DuCange (d. 1688), whose *Glossary* is indispensable for the student of the Middle Ages, Montfaucon (d. 1741), author of the colossal and valuable *Art de vérifier les dates*, Ruinart (d. 1709), whose name is linked inseparably with the story of the martyrs. The intelligence, self-restraint, transparent honesty of these men and their fellows aroused general admiration; and their factual presentation of the Church's case forced conviction even upon many in the Protestant world where the influence of Leibnitz was also widening men's outlook.

In 1643 the Bollandists (Belgian Jesuits) began the monumental *Acta Sanctorum*, a series of lives of the saints, written in so objective a spirit that it encountered the censure of some ultra-conservatives; fourteen volumes of the *Lives* were banned by the Spanish Inquisition, and the Bollandist *History of the Popes* was prohibited for a time by the Congregation of the Index. The Benedictine monks of the Congregation of St.-Maur

⁵⁷ As the question of Shakespeare's religion is sometimes discussed, it seems well to record that there is no evidence of the poet's having practiced Catholicism, although his father "was or had been a Catholic" and his mother's family was Catholic. "Arch-deacon Davies's statement that 'he dyed a Papyst' is by no means incredible; but it would obviously be foolish to build too much upon an unverifiable tradition of this kind. The point remains forever uncertain." Herbert Thurston, "The Religion of Shakespeare," *Cath. Encyc.*, XIII, 748-50.

laid the foundation of scientific history; and one son of Benedict, Mabillon—by way of rebuttal to criticism from a Bollandist—wrote the celebrated *De Re Diplomatica*, and formulated canons for the testing of documents which became “the touchstone of truth for medieval research.” In the latter part of the century the Jesuit, Labbe (d. 1677), aided by Cossart, began the first great collection of the councils of the Church (1671–1673); and this was supplemented in 1683 by Baluze, who gathered an enormous mass of material put to fuller use in later times by Sismondi, Guizot, Thierry, Michelet, Martin, Fustel de Coulanges.

Chief of the spiritual writers was St. Francis de Sales (1567–1622), who founded a definite school, not indeed, by teaching new principles, but by expressing old truths in a new form and giving them an application distinctively his own.⁵⁸ His treatise, *The Love of God*, welcomed enthusiastically by competent judges at the time of its appearance, lost prestige after the outbreak of Quietism a few years later; and, although Bossuet defended the writings of St. Francis against the charge of being quietistic, the odium was not entirely removed until the Saint was proclaimed a doctor of the Church in 1877.

Leader of the so-called “French School” of spirituality (which embodied the traditions of St. Augustine), was Cardinal de Bérulle (1575–1629), founder of the French Oratory. Among his disciples were several founders of religious communities. In addition to writing treatises and preaching sermons, the followers of de Bérulle undertook the spiritual training of clerics.

A profound change was taking place in the mental outlook of Europe—a change which affected all subsequent thought. Philosophy, physical science, political theory, gained new importance and at the same time assumed an increasingly rationalistic tone; traditional religion and Catholic theology became more and more discredited. Significantly, the best known philosophers

⁵⁸ His teaching was influenced by the great Spanish Carmelite mystics of the preceding century, St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa, and also by the Italian, Scupoli, author of *Spiritual Combat*.

and scientists were either non-Catholic, or else Catholics who encountered ecclesiastical disapproval in one form or another.⁵⁹

Theological Writers: John de Lugo, S.J. (1583-1660), born at Madrid, taught theology for five years at the University of Valladolid and was made a cardinal by Urban VIII in 1643. He published treatises which cover practically the entire field of moral and dogmatic theology. St. Alphonsus Ligouri ranked him as next in ability to St. Thomas Aquinas.

Petavius, or Denis Pétau (1583-1652), a French Jesuit, expert in Greek and Latin literature, who was named cardinal by Urban VIII in 1639, spent twenty-two years in teaching theology and the rest of his life in historical study. His *Theological Dogmas*—the fifth volume of which was published in 1650—was never completed; but the titles of his other writings on chronology, history, philosophy, controversy, astrology, fill twenty-five columns of Sommervogel's bibliography of Jesuit authors.

John Reiffenstuel (1641-1703), a Franciscan who taught theology at Munich and at Freising, published a Moral Theology in 1692 and a work on canon law in 1700 which place him in the "first rank of canonists."

Francis X. Schmalzgrueber (1663-1735), a Jesuit professor at Ingolstadt and Dillingen, wrote the *Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum*, one of our most valuable sources on canon law.

Scriptural Writers: Cornelius à Lapide, or Van den Steen (1567-1637), a Flemish Jesuit who taught at Louvain, wrote a series of commentaries on all the Books of Holy Scripture except Job and the Psalms. They have been translated into several languages and have been highly praised both by Catholics and Protestants.

Bernardine Piconio (1633-1709), a Capuchin of Picardy, wrote expositions of the Epistles of St. Paul and of the Gospel, still regarded as useful by Scripture scholars.

Richard Simon (1638-1712), a priest of the French Oratory and an expert in Oriental languages, published his *Critical History of the Old Testament*, the earliest work of its kind, in 1678. He denied the Mosaic authorship of the *Pentateuch* and stirred up wide opposition, not only by his advanced

⁵⁹ It must not be forgotten however, that many scientific contributions of lasting value were made by priests, especially by men in the foreign mission field, whose names rank high in the records of ethnography, physical geography, deep-sea research, heliographic physics, and astronomy. (See a list of names and works s.v. Geography and the Church, *Cath. Encyc.* VI.) Among the more conspicuous were Christopher Borrus (1583-1632) first a Jesuit, then a Cistercian, who published a valuable account of Cochin-China in 1631, and anticipated Halley by charting the variations of the magnetic needle in the Atlantic and Indian oceans; and Father Athanasius Kircher, S.J. (1602-1680), who measured the craters of Vesuvius, Etna and Stromboli, advanced a theory concerning the interior of the earth which was accepted by an entire school of geologists, and charted ocean currents as early as 1665.

views but also by his provocative tone. Among his opponents were Catholics, Jansenists, and Protestants; he was denounced by Bossuet and was expelled from the Oratory, and his work was suppressed in France but published later in Holland.⁶⁰

Historical Writers: Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), a Servite monk—so greatly gifted in science that Galileo called him “father and master”—became official adviser to the Republic of Venice and took a strongly nationalistic attitude, opposing the promulgation of papal bulls, counseling resistance to the papal interdict of 1606, and favoring the expulsion of religious orders, especially the Jesuits. His bitterly antipapal *History of the Council of Trent*, which was translated into several languages, caused Milton to describe him as “the great unmasker of the Tridentine Council.”⁶¹ In 1656 Sarpi’s misstatements were corrected by the Jesuit, Cardinal Pallavicino (1607-1667), whose two folio volumes—not wholly accurate and unbiased, yet much more exact than Sarpi’s work—remained the chief authority on the history of the Council of Trent for many years.

Herbert Rosweyde (1569-1629), a Jesuit scholar of prodigious industry, undertook to edit the ancient texts of lives of the saints—so difficult a project that Cardinal Bellarmine said, “This man must expect to live at least two hundred years.” Rosweyde published a number of historical writings and at his death left an enormous mass of unclassified material.

Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), Jesuit teacher of St. Francis de Sales, confessor to King Louis XIII, edited numerous editions of early Greek and Latin writings.

Luke Wadding (1588-1657), brilliant scholar, official representative of the Irish hierarchy in Rome, founder of the Irish Franciscan college of St. Isidore in Rome and of the Ludovisian College for Irish secular priests, devoted himself to the work of preserving the memory and the writings of members of his community principally in his *Scriptores* and his *Annales ord. Minorum*. His masterly edition of the works of Scotus in sixteen volumes appeared in 1639.

John Van Bolland (1596-1665), assigned by his Jesuit superiors to continue Rosweyde’s work, began the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum* with the assistance of his fellow Jesuits, Godfrey Henschen (1601-1681) and Daniel Von Papebroch (1628-1714). It was arranged according to the days

⁶⁰ See René Leconte, “Pour le troisieme centenaire de Richard Simon (1638-1712),” in *Revue Apologétique*, LXVII (July, 1938), 32-45.

⁶¹ Sarpi’s *History of Trent* was published in London in 1619 by the brilliant but unstable Marco Antonio de Dominis, ex-Jesuit and antipapal writer (archbishop of Spalato in 1602) who, having been threatened by the Inquisition, went to England where James I befriended him and named him dean of Windsor. After a retraction of his previous attacks on the pope, he lived for a while as a pensioner of Gregory XV; he then clashed with the Inquisition again, was declared a heretic, and died a prisoner in Sant’ Angelo. His body and his books were burned.

of the year, and by the end of the century had reached the fifth volume of June (Volume 24 of the complete collection).

Daniello Bartoli (1608–1685), an Italian Jesuit, published a carefully written and highly rated history of St. Ignatius and the Jesuit order which was translated from Italian into Latin by the Jesuit, Father Janin.

Lucas d'Achéry (1609–1685), a Benedictine attached to the monastery of St. Germain de Prés for nearly fifty years, became an authority on medieval literature, published a number of works including the valuable collection of ancient authors (*Spicilegium*), gathered together material for a history of the Benedictine order later enlarged by Mabillon, and became the inspiration of the Maurist movement.

John Mabillon (1632–1707), member of the Benedictine Congregation of St.-Maur, published three volumes on the lives of the Benedictine saints, a critical edition of St. Augustine, and also a protest in print against superstitious veneration of the relics of unknown saints. His critical style stirred up excitement; and certain passages of the last-mentioned book had to be modified by order of the Holy Office (1698). Mabillon's work attracted wide attention and high praise by reason of its scientific method; before his death he was universally recognized as a man of extraordinary mental gifts and of unquestionable Catholic loyalty.

Thierry Ruinart (1657–1709), a pupil of Mabillon, edited a critical collection of *The Acts of the Early Martyrs* which is highly rated by scholars at the present day. He also edited Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*;⁶² and he continued the Benedictine Annals.

Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741), a Benedictine of St. Germain de Prés, especially learned in the Oriental languages, founder of the science of Greek paleography, formed a number of scholars to continue his work.

Louis Tillemont (1637–1698), a French priest who lived in the convent of Port Royal until the community was dispersed, devoted most of his life to historical writing and published a history of the Church in six volumes.

Natalis Alexander (1639–1724), a Dominican, published the final (twenty-fourth) volume of his *Ecclesiastical History* in 1686. The work was banned by Innocent XI because of its Gallican spirit; and the author submitted immediately. He then prepared another edition, with comments and corrections, which received the approval of the Holy See and was continued by other authors in the following century. In controversy with Father Daniel, S.J., Alexander defended the Dominican against the Jesuit views on probabilism, grace, and predestination. He gave evidence of a Jansenistic spirit by signing the declaration on the "Case of Conscience," but he retracted soon afterwards.

⁶² The book which earned for Mabillon the title, "Founder of Diplomatic Science."

Claude Fleury (1640–1725), a French priest who wrote an ecclesiastical history of Gallican tendency, was attacked by several Catholic writers. The original work in twenty volumes, which ended with the year 1414, was continued by other authors; and the complete edition consisted of ninety-one volumes. It should not be confused with an *Abridgement of the Church History of Fleury*, published at Berne in 1766, an anti-Christian work.

Jacques-August de Thou (1563–1617) promoted Gallican ideas, opposed the publishing of the Tridentine decrees, helped to draft the Edict of Nantes, and wrote valuable memoirs; but he is best known by his not wholly accurate *Latin History of France* (from 1546 to 1607—continued to 1620 after his death) which was condemned by the Index. Bossuet regarded him as a great author and a faithful historian.

Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660), a French Jesuit who baptized thousands of persons in Cochin-China and in Tonkin until his expulsion in 1630, devoted the rest of his life to missionary work in Persia. Rhodes vigorously urged the development of a native clergy and the erection of a hierarchy in the East. He wrote a history of Tonkin in 1652, and a catechism in Tonkinese in 1658.

Worthy of mention too, are the Franciscans, **Antoine Pagi** (d. 1699) and his nephew, **François Pagi** (d. 1721), **Raynaldus** (d. 1671), and the Polish Dominican, **Bzovius** (d. 1637), all of whom were continuators of Baronius; **Miræus** or **Le Mire** (d. 1640), continuator of Eusebius; and **Henry of Valois** (d. 1676), who published translations with commentary of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and other early Church historians.

Spiritual and Homiletic Writers: **François de la Mothe-Fénelon** (1651–1715), Archbishop of Cambrai, published a number of pedagogical and spiritual treatises and several writings against the Jansenists. Having joined with Bossuet and others in a censure of Madame Guyon's teaching on prayer, he later gave an explanation of his own views in a book called *Maxims of the Saints* which occasioned a spirited controversy with Bossuet. The Holy Office condemned Fénelon's teaching (1699) as containing propositions "temerarious, scandalous, ill sounding, offensive to pious ears, pernicious in practice and false in fact"; and he submitted immediately. Thereafter, by order of Louis XIV, he was confined within the limits of his own diocese. His works, which have been partly translated into English, comprise in all thirty-three volumes, including eleven volumes of letters.

Abbé Courbon (d. 1710), pastor of St. Cyr, wrote several spiritual books, one of which has been widely circulated in an English translation under the title *Familiar Instructions on Mental Prayer*.

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Bishop of Meaux and an eloquent pulpit orator, wrote a *Discourse on Universal History* (one of the masterpieces of French literature) which profoundly influenced the clergy of France and the English-speaking world for some two hundred years. Bos-

suet was primarily an apologist seeking to manifest the action of Divine Providence in the course of human affairs; and his treatment of his theme was essentially theological. As a universal history, therefore, the *Discourse* is far from adequate; the author came nearer to the production of a strictly historical work in another volume entitled *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*. In all, Bossuet wrote more than one hundred books. The chief desire of his life was to effect the reunion of Christendom by making every lawful concession to Protestants and thus depriving them of their strongest arguments against the Catholic Church. With this in mind, we are better able to understand how it came about that Bossuet, "last of the Fathers of the Church," composed the Gallican Articles of 1682, and that he continued to defend them even after they had been abandoned by the king.⁶³

Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704), a French Jesuit called "the king of preachers and the preacher of kings," pursued his career in the pulpit for more than thirty years and shared with Bossuet the reputation of possessing the gift of unequalled eloquence.⁶⁴ His sermons have been published in twelve volumes. He and Bossuet died within a few weeks of each other.

Augustine Baker (1575-1641), a convert to Catholicism admitted to the Benedictine order at Padua in 1605, wrote some thirty spiritual treatises which were summarized by Father Serenus Cressy in *Sancta Sophia* (Holy Wisdom), one of the most valuable spiritual books in the English language.

Jansenist Writers: Most conspicuous in this group were Saint-Cyran, Antoine Arnauld, Blaise Pascal. **Mère Angélique**, Arnauld's sister, was also active in Jansenistic propaganda, chiefly by her letters; and another sister, **Agnes**, abbess of Tard, wrote a short mystical treatise, *The Secret Chaplet*, which was condemned by the Sorbonne in 1633.

Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (1581-1643), commonly known as Abbé de Saint-Cyran, from the monastery of which he was commendatory abbot, was an expert in patristic literature. He undertook to refute Protestantism from what he regarded as St. Augustine's viewpoint; he helped to compose the *Augustinus*; and he wrote a number of other works, sometimes anonymously.

Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694), a brilliant priest, published *La Perpétuité de la foi*, a masterly refutation of Protestantism (highly praised by Clement IX and Innocent XI), and also (in collaboration with Abbé de Saint-Cyran) a book, *Frequent Communion*, which according to St. Vincent de Paul deterred many people from the reception of Holy Communion. Ar-

⁶³ For a balanced appreciation of Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* see Patrick J. Barry in *The Catholic Philosophy of History*, pp. 149 ff., and Robert Hull, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.

⁶⁴ The legend that he preached a sermon on adultery in the presence of Louis XIV, directing it personally to that monarch, using the text "Thou art the man," is without foundation.

nauld followed Saint-Cyran in defending Jansenism and in assailing the Jesuits; he incurred the censure of the theological faculty of Paris; he led the Jansenists in their attack upon the formula of the Assembly of the Clergy in 1657—signing it finally with several mental reservations; and he left behind him an enormous number of writings. Both Boileau and Racine wrote epitaphs on him.

Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), a mathematical genius, inventor of the modern “theory of probability” and a pioneer in the development of differential calculus, discovered “Pascal’s Law” of hydraulic pressure. He is most widely known by his spiritual treatise, *Pensées*, written after a mystical experience in 1653, and by *Les Provinciales* (letters to a friend in the provinces and to the Jesuits). The last named book, which still ranks high in satirical literature, circulated through Europe in a Latin version, and “dealt the Society a grievous blow that it has felt even to the present day. . . . But the contents were an almost complete misrepresentation of Jesuit teaching, a conglomeration of interpolations, omissions, citations lifted from their contexts, and falsified texts.”⁶⁵

Philosophical and Scientific Writers: First place among the philosophers of the day is usually given to **René Descartes** (1596–1650), who made a notable contribution to the organizing of logical thought and acquired increasing influence with the passing of the years. Although Descartes was a sincere and well-intentioned Catholic, his system of Methodic Doubt (a sort of philosophical explosive invented to blast away the ignorance of unbelievers) became a destructive agent in the hands of the enemies of revealed religion; and he is commonly grouped with Bacon and Hobbes as a precursor of modern rationalism. After Bossuet had drawn attention to the evil possibilities of Cartesianism, the works of Descartes were placed on the list of forbidden books by the French universities and by the Roman Index.⁶⁶

John Locke (1632–1704), founder of British Empiricism, popularized his philosophical system in a number of writings which included *Two Treatises on Government*, *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), and *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). He taught that sovereignty resides in the people, who possess the right to overturn any government which does not reflect their will; he defended the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688; he furnished a basis for religious Latitudinarianism and Deism; and his essays on toleration had much to do with forming public opinion on that subject during the eighteenth century. Influenced by Descartes, he in turn influenced many of the leading writers of England, France, and America, among them Voltaire, the Encyclopedists, and

⁶⁵ Martin P. Harney, S.J., *The Jesuits in History*, p. 283.

⁶⁶ “He is an obstinate divider and he has not only separated modern and ancient, but he has set all things against each other—faith and reason, metaphysics and sciences, knowledge and love.” Jacques Maritain, *Three Reformers*, p. 89.

Thomas Jefferson. The last named, it may be noted, regarded Bacon, Newton, and Locke as "the three greatest men the world has produced." In his policy of toleration Locke excluded atheists; and he also excluded Catholics, not on account of their creed, but because he thought that their allegiance to "a foreign ruler" and their support of "doctrines injurious to civil society" would interfere with good citizenship.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), an eclectic Christian rationalist, who has been called the "last great constructive metaphysician of the century, and its most universal genius," dominated German philosophy until the coming of Kant.⁶⁷ Motivated by patriotic and religious aims, he attempted to find a basis of agreement between Protestants and Catholics—a project approved by Innocent XI; but he could not reconcile the Protestant doctrine of private judgment with the Catholic principle of authority or with the Church's claim to universality and infallibility.

Non-Catholic scientists were **Francis Bacon** (1561-1626), who formulated the Inductive Method; **Johann Kepler** (1571-1630), imperial mathematician under Rudolf II, and author of the famous Laws of Heavenly Bodies; and **Isaac Newton** (1642-1727), whose epoch-making mathematical work, *Principia*, appeared in 1687.

Conspicuous in political science were the non-Catholics, **Hugo Grotius** (1583-1645) and **Thomas Hobbes** (1588-1679), who helped to popularize the view that religion has no rights independent of the state. Grotius (a Dutch Calvinist who spent much time trying to reunite the Christian churches) published a masterpiece of legal literature, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625), in which he attempted to establish an international code on the basis of natural law.⁶⁸ Hobbes, author of *The Leviathan*, materialist

⁶⁷ A. E. Taylor, "Modern Philosophy," in Eyre, *op. cit.*, VI, 1210.

⁶⁸ "Grotius is sometimes spoken of by non-Catholic commentators as being in the line of the great scholastics, and of producing little that was substantially new. In fact, however, Grotius by-passed the whole of mediaeval thought and went back to the pagan Natural Law conception of the Stoics; ruling out both Divine Reason and Divine Will as the basis of Natural Law. . . . Ernst Troeltsch, in his formidable work, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, comparing the work of Grotius with the teaching of Calvinism, says that the contrast between Calvin's submission of all authority to the Divine Will and the doctrine of Grotius, that the Law of Reason would still be valid even if there were no God, 'throws a lurid light upon the great gulf which separates these two worlds.' It is in fact a new world which Grotius has created, the foundation of a new paganism with the emancipation of the ancient Stoic ideas from their fusion with Christian thought. (*Op cit.*, II, p. 636.) . . . The effect of this secularism on political ideas since the middle of the seventeenth century has been profound. . . . Our own day has seen, all too tragically, the realization of this prophecy, and the climax of a movement whose roots lie in the Reformation. The close-knit Catholic theory of law and of human authority was rent asunder by the reformers. Attempts to substitute another basis of authority have ended only in the exaltation of force. The secular sovereignty of Althusius and Grotius, rendered more despotic and absolute by Hobbes, supported by Rousseau under the guise of the General Will, glorified by the Liberalism of the nineteenth century in its hatred of the Church, has come to its inevitable culmination with the totalitarian systems." Andrew Beck, *The Clergy Review* (August 1941), pp. 80-81.

and determinist in philosophy and radical in politics, taught that desire of personal gratification is the motive of all human activity and that the moral law is created by the sovereign; and for several generations English philosophy was engaged in discussing questions raised by him.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: In these years there gradually emerged a concept of the state as a political entity, distinct from the person of the sovereign, independent of dynasties, and not conditioned by membership in any civil or religious federation—a concept fitting into and supplementing the Machiavellian view that the state has no morality and no religion. In so far as this concept gained a welcome, it established a new standard of values; and “Reasons of state” became an unanswerable argument to justify the use of any means, however brutal or unethical, that promised material success.

The Catholic Church, as an independent international organization, claiming superiority to the state in spiritual affairs, was bound to be a thorn in the side of absolutist governments committed to political theories which left no room for any rival. Thus Catholics were inevitably drawn into a conflict between their religious loyalties and their obedience to rulers who upheld the unlimited power of the state to define principles, to create rights, to prescribe duties. Protestantism—far more flexible and adaptable than Catholicism could ever be—became correspondingly more acceptable to nationalists.⁶⁹

A fruitful source of misunderstanding and dissension was the argument over papal jurisdiction in temporal matters. St. Francis de Sales recommended a policy of silence with regard to disputed points; failure to heed his advice caused division among the clergy and spread dislike of the Holy See. In France, where

⁶⁹ It must not be overlooked, however, that Calvinism helped to break the power of political absolutism. “Hence though Calvinism has always been regarded as the antithesis of Catholicism to a far greater extent than Lutheranism, it stands much nearer to Catholicism in its conception of the relation of Church and State and its assertion of the independence and supremacy of the spiritual power. In this respect it carries on the traditions of medieval Catholicism and of the Gregorian movement of reform to an even greater degree than did the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation itself.” Christopher Dawson, “The Religious Origins of European Disunity,” *Dublin Review*, no. 415 (Oct. 1940), p. 151.

most of the bishops and theologians were strongly Gallican, the Council of State in 1612 obliged Jesuit superiors to sign a statement that in temporal affairs the king of France was accountable to God alone.⁷⁰

Tyrannicide: In order to appraise the political importance of the controversy about the lawfulness of tyrannicide, one must bear in mind the earlier attitude of Catholic theologians on this point. St. Thomas in the thirteenth century and Suarez in the sixteenth had taught that (in the absence of other available means) private individuals are tacitly commissioned by the legitimate authority to kill oppressors who are also usurpers. Even in the case of an oppressor who is not also a usurper, some theologians (including the twelfth-century John of Salisbury) had held that he may be killed by his subjects, if the common good requires it.⁷¹ The Spanish Jesuit, Mariana (in a book dedicated to Philip III of Spain and approved by his immediate superiors), had taught that any subject who possesses the unanimous endorsement of the people may, after due warning, kill a tyrant guilty of intolerable oppression, if no other means of relief can be found.⁷²

Against this background of theory a series of political murders stand out.⁷³ They occasioned a fierce persecution of Catholics in England and almost caused a rupture between France and Rome. In both England and France some members of the Society of Jesus were put to death. Father Garnet, the Jesuit provincial in England, was hanged on the charge of having failed to reveal the Gunpowder Plot. After the first attempt on the life of Henry IV (1595), the authorities hanged Father Guignard, a Jesuit

⁷⁰ "Catholic sovereigns began to understand that the Protestant theory of state supremacy meant an increase of power to the crown, and might be utilized to reduce the only partially independent institution in their kingdoms to a state of slavery. . . . They urged the bishops to assert their independence against the Holy See. . . . Men like Bossuet, carried away by the new theories of the divine right of kings, aimed at reducing the power of Rome to a shadow. . . . Their whole policy tended to the realization of the system of national churches. . . ." James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution*, I, 309-10. For a valuable essay on the history and theory of the *Potestas directa* and the *Potestas indirecta*, see Robert Hull, *op. cit.*, chaps. VIII and IX.

⁷¹ The attitude of Gerson, the pronouncement of the Council of Constance, and the action of Martin V have already been described in Chapter XV.

⁷² Mariana who wrote in 1599 was ordered to correct his teaching by the Jesuit general, Aquaviva; and his book was condemned by the French Parlement. It is worth noting that Melancthon, leading theologian among the early Protestants, had called the killing of a tyrant "the most agreeable offering that man can make to God."

⁷³ The duke de Guise and his brother the cardinal, were assassinated in 1588 by order of King Henry III. Henry III was assassinated in the following year by a Catholic, Jacques Clement. In 1594 the Catholic, Jean Chastel, made an attempt to assassinate King Henry IV; and in 1610 Henry IV was actually killed by Ravallac, on the ground that Henry's policy was dangerous to the Church. In the year 1605 Catholics planned the famous Gunpowder Plot of London.

librarian, in whose room was found a book maintaining the legitimacy of tyrannicide. The Jesuits were charged with being the instigators of Ravailac's assassination of Henry IV; and particular accusations were made against Father Coton, the Jesuit confessor of both Henry and the Dauphin (Louis XIII).

When the Italian Jesuit, Santarelli, in 1625 published a treatise defending the power of the pope to depose kings, the Parlement, the Sorbonne, and most of the French universities raised a storm; and it required the exercise of all Richelieu's finesse to prevent a rupture between France and the Holy See. Santarelli's book was condemned and burned; the Jesuit superiors were required to repudiate his teaching; and for a time it was practically impossible to maintain the right of the pope to depose monarchs, or even to repeat the democratic teaching of Suarez, Bellarmine, and Mariana on the popular origin of the civil power.

Heresies: In contrast with the Catholic Church, Protestantism soon divided into many forms. Entirely dependent upon the support of the state, the Protestant churches had in the beginning necessarily conformed to the requirements of the civil law; and the people professed Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, as the reigning sovereign might require. Before long, however, the spirit of "nonconformity," inherent in the principle of private judgment, became active; sectarian leaders invoked that principle against the authority of the actual rulers; and Protestantism split.

Within the Church of England three different theological groups appeared: the High Church, which followed Catholic tradition rather closely, except with regard to the papacy; the Low Church (Evangelical), which emphasized Protestant teachings; and the Broad Church (Latitudinarian), which inclined towards rationalism. Before long a popular reaction against the official church occasioned the return to a primitive form of Protestantism which, under the name of "Congregationalism," made each congregation independent of bishops and priests, with freedom to formulate its own beliefs, regulate its own form of worship, choose its own ministers. Congregationalism provided the decisive force which gave Oliver Cromwell control of England; it dictated the execution of King Charles I and of William Laud, head of the Anglican Church. After the Restoration, Congregationalism, "most consistent and most persistent

form of English Protestantism,"⁷⁴ produced several separate types of nonconformity—generally classified as "the Chapel" in contrast with the church by law established. King William favored a widening of the Church of England so as to bring dissenters within the fold; but, after the failure of several attempts at a "comprehensive" plan, the Nonconformists were allowed to go their way.⁷⁵ Friction occurred repeatedly between the government and the several religious bodies within the realm. Dissenters from the established belief were classed as unpatriotic and disloyal; and this situation caused many Catholics to be put to death—for treason, according to their Protestant executioners; for religious belief, according to their fellow Catholics.

English Protestantism, however, was about to face a crisis far more serious than sectarian quarrels; for Nonconformists were beginning to question, or to repudiate, the Divinity of Christ; and just before the century ended Parliament felt it necessary to impose heavy penalties upon Unitarians. Now came *The Reasonableness of Christianity* by John Locke (1632-1704), the outstanding English intellectual. This brief for Unitarianism—like Locke's other writings—was destined to exercise enormous influence in the coming "Age of Enlightenment."

In northern and central Germany, "Pietism" undertook to stir Protestantism out of its fixed attitude "in which dogma and intellectual religion seemed to be supplanting Bible rules and religion of the heart." Philip Jakob Spener's book, *Pia Desideria* (1675) emphasized the share of the laity in church organization.

The story of the Huguenots in France has already been told. After the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685, Piedmont adopted a similar policy of suppression; and the Waldenses, who

⁷⁴ Edward Hawks, *Pedigree of Protestantism*, p. 37.

⁷⁵ Other English offshoots of the original Protestant bodies were the Baptists (who repudiated infant baptism), organized in Amsterdam in 1608 by John Smyth; the Society of Friends (Quakers), founded by George Fox about the year 1650; and the Unitarians (an offshoot from the Socinian "Polish Brethren"), introduced into England about the middle of the century by John Biddle. For a sketch of the Calvinist movement in England, see Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, pp. 73 ff.

Calvinism was largely responsible for the development of bigotry in America; the Pilgrim Fathers hated not only the Church of Rome, but even the Protestant Episcopal semblance of Catholicism.

had been living in peace since the persecution of 1665, fled to Switzerland. A few years later they returned to Piedmont and obtained toleration from Victor Amadeus II of Savoy.

Scattered episodes in the war against heresy were the execution of a heretic, Soldati, at Bologna in 1628; the expulsion of Protestants from the territory of the duke of Mantua at the request of the pope in 1639; and the condemnation to life imprisonment of a Florentine canon and a Roman abbot—the one for quietistic errors combined with immorality, and the other for the practice of astrology.

The Inquisition held Spain and Portugal under strict control. But possession of unchallenged power often led to abuses. In Portugal the Inquisition censured and silenced the Jesuit, Father Vieira, fearless protector of the oppressed Indians of Brazil and sympathetic friend of Jewish converts. Vieira appealed to the pope who, after an investigation, suspended the Inquisition from all activity. The suspension was terminated in 1681 after a better method had been introduced.

Overzealous authorities often treated "witches" cruelly. Frederick von Spee (d. 1635), a Jesuit professor in the University of Paderborn, in his book, *Cautio Criminalis*, denounced the use of the rack on suspected persons. His protest effected an improvement. Pope Gregory XV in 1623 condemned the cruel methods used in trials for witchcraft; and in 1657 the Congregation of the Inquisition published a similar condemnation. The witch-craze affected England and Scotland about this time; and during the rule of the English Commonwealth many suspected persons were put to death. The excitement spread to America; and Cotton Mather (1693) reported nineteen executions in New England. The craze had nearly died out by the end of the century; and it ceased entirely soon afterwards.

Toleration: The divisions introduced by Protestantism produced a situation in which it soon became necessary to find some *modus vivendi*; and the seventeenth century witnessed a trend towards religious tolerance. That trend, stimulated by political considerations, had already made its appearance in France with the Edict of Nantes (1598); and in 1634 Holland granted freedom to the Arminian Remonstrants (a minority party among

Calvinists). Grotius contributed a theoretical basis of toleration in his writings (1625 and 1646); and toleration within the limits of orthodox Protestantism gained ground steadily in Germany where the law allowed the princes to choose any one of three churches—Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. Pufendorf (1632–1694), basing his theory on natural law, urged that no one should be forced to accept a religion, and that Catholics and atheists should be tolerated.⁷⁶

In England strife between Episcopalians and Calvinists brought about the Bishops' Wars and the Great Rebellion; and, after the Restoration, the Test Act of 1673 forced all office holders to join the English Church or resign. But meanwhile Dutch Arminianism, under the name of Latitudinarianism, was spreading in England; and the writings of Milton and Locke helped to prepare the country for the religious freedom conferred on all citizens (except Catholics) by the Toleration Act. As the titles of seventeenth-century sermons show, coarse abuse of Catholicism and scurrilous name-calling became a favorite occupation of the English clergy. High Churchmen and Broad Churchmen, Presbyterians and Quakers, all helped to build up the custom of describing Rome as the "Whore of Babylon" and identifying the pope as antichrist. When the Calvinists gained power the abuse grew more extreme and the propaganda more active.⁷⁷

As a rule English Protestants entertained no thought of tolerating Catholics, who were excluded by Milton on religious grounds and by Locke on political grounds. In 1687 seven Anglican bishops refused to publish King James's Declaration of Indulgence to Catholics and they were acquitted after trial. Overseas, generally speaking, the same intolerance prevailed. Yet we find the stirrings of a more generous spirit in Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland, in William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania, and most of all in the colony of Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams, whose Great Charter, granted by Charles II in 1663, allowed a degree of religious liberty up to that time unknown.

Outspoken condemnation both of doctrinal error and of religious indifference had always been the attitude of Catholic theology. But with the

⁷⁶ Sturzo, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁷⁷ During the closing years of the century the calumnies against Catholics became almost incredibly vicious. The London monument, completed in 1677, attributed the Great Fire of 1666 to "the treachery and malice of the popish faction." Two years later appeared the first edition of *The Protestant Tutor*, a tract which undertook to ground children in the true Protestant religion and expose "the errors and deceits of the Papists." Protestant parents, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses were warned against the adherents of "that Bloody religion" and urged to create in their children "an Abhorrence of Romish Idolatry." *The Protestant Tutor* was published by Benjamin Harris, associate of Titus Oates in the "Popish Plot"; Harris published also the libelous anti-Catholic *Domestick Intelligence*. See Sister Mary Augustina Ray, *Historical Records and Studies*, XXX, 65–139.

secularization of the state and the multiplication of religions, theologians began to recognize the policy of toleration as not only lawful, but even "the starting point of political wisdom and justice." Cautiously and with due warning against indifference on the one hand and unlimited license on the other, the Church gradually came to approve the principle of religious freedom extended to all, within limits determined by natural and civil law.⁷⁸

Concessions to Protestants: The question of making concessions to heretics provoked vigorous discussions among Catholic theologians. One of these debates took place immediately after Ferdinand II, in the year 1629, published the Edict of Restitution. The Jesuits of Dillingen, Fathers Laymann and Forer, with the encouragement of the bishop of Augsburg, wrote a book entitled *Pacis Compositio* for the purpose of establishing the legal character of the edict.⁷⁹ It was answered by a number of Protestant writers who denounced it as a blow at religious peace.

After several other minor disputes, an especially bitter controversy broke out during the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Westphalia, when the question came up of surrendering Church lands to the Protestants as an alternative to yielding the Hapsburg possessions in Silesia. The papal nuncio, Chigi, announced that the Holy See would protest any attempt on the part of the congress to decide affairs involving religious interests or ecclesiastical lands; and, in order to forestall action by the pope, Sweden insisted upon the insertion in the Treaty of the clause, "No reservation or protest shall be valid at the present time or in the future, neither shall it be heard." For a long time the Catholic states refused to accept "the protest clause" and its moral quality became a hotly debated issue.

Conspicuous among the writers who denied the lawfulness of compromising with Protestants was the Jesuit, Heinrich Wangnereck, of the University of Dillingen in Bavaria. In his *Judicium Theologicum* he held that secular rulers possess no authority in matters of religion or over ecclesiastical property; and he censured Emperor Ferdinand II, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the archbishop of Mainz for being disposed to make concessions. Wangnereck's views were shared not only by the nuncio, Chigi, and the pope, but also by several ecclesiastical princes who stood to lose territory if the proposed terms were inserted in the Treaty; but he was attacked by the Protestants and by some more moderate Catholics.

⁷⁸ A distinguished theologian, Joseph Pohle, of Breslau, endorses as wise the theory that in states where various religions exist, the government should maintain towards each church "the same attitude as if it belonged to this church." s.v. "Toleration," *Cath. Encyc.*, XIV, 772.

⁷⁹ They provided opponents of the Peace with powerful legal arguments—e.g. that the Peace of Augsburg was a temporary arrangement and that it did not authorize princes to tolerate heresy.

Among those who published replies to his arguments were the Spanish Cistercian, Caramuel (agent of Philip IV at the court of Vienna), and Vervaux, Jesuit confessor of Maximilian of Bavaria. At the urging of Maximilian, Caraffa, general of the Jesuits, ordered Wangnereck to be transferred to another house and to be prohibited from further writing; but Innocent X intervened and the order was rescinded. The treaty, when ratified, contained both the sections calling for the secularization of ecclesiastical lands and the protest clause.⁸⁰

Other Disputes: Gallicanism and Jansenism. Two movements of peculiar and lasting importance disturbed Catholic life in France during this century—Gallicanism, which limited papal jurisdiction in favor of bishops or civil rulers, and Jansenism, which clung obstinately to erroneous theories of divine grace. These two movements were intimately associated with each other; both were motivated by what might be described as a semi-Protestant spirit; both were condemned by the Holy See; both were attacked vigorously by the Jesuits; and both left lasting scars on the soul of France.

Gallican (that is to say, hypernationalistic) tendencies among the French clergy had been temporarily checked by a revival of Catholic loyalty and in 1614 priests and bishops unanimously accepted the decrees of Trent. But Edmond Richer, syndic of the Sorbonne, and Louis Servin, the advocate-general, revived Gallicanism by means of an anti-Jesuit and antipapal campaign.⁸¹ It was promoted by Richelieu and encouraged by Louis XIV; and in 1682 the Assembly of the French clergy—quite in the spirit of the old Pragmatic Sanction—adopted a series of

⁸⁰ Wangnereck not only denied the right of the Protestants to Church lands seized during the Thirty Years' War, but also assailed the validity of the Peace of Augsburg which had been accepted for almost one hundred years. Among his more provocative statements was the declaration that Catholics may not come to a permanent agreement with Protestants concerning Church lands and may tolerate Protestants only in the sense that Jews, usurers, and prostitutes are endured. In a history of the Jesuits, completed in 1928, Bernard Duhr, S.J., points out that the Wangnereck controversy indicates the confusion and harm which result "from adhering to medieval viewpoints in completely changed conditions." See Eckhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 190.

⁸¹ They followed the principle formulated by Sarpi, "the most important thing is to destroy the Jesuits; if they are defeated, Rome is lost, and if they are out of the way, religion will 'reform' itself of its own accord." Quoted in Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 26.

Political Gallicanism made even more demands than ecclesiastical Gallicanism; and a book published by Pierre Pithou in 1638 listed eighty-three "Liberties." It was condemned by twenty of the French bishops.

resolutions called the "Gallican Articles," for the purpose of preventing papal interference with "the Ancient Liberties of the Gallican church." The Articles affirmed that the pope is subordinate to an ecumenical council, that kings are not subject to the pope, that papal decrees carry no force unless endorsed by the universal Church, and that the pope is not infallible.

Innocent XI and Alexander VIII took steps against the Gallicans; and Louis XIV disavowed the Declaration of 1682. Nevertheless, the Gallican spirit remained alive. Its theories were taught in schools and seminaries; its principles were carefully fostered by political leaders. The king and many of the bishops retained the view that within the realm the crown had the right to withhold the nomination of bishops, to forbid the entrance of papal legates, to prevent the publication of papal decrees.

Jansenism had its roots in the book, *Augustinus*, published in 1640, two years after the death of its author, Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, whose orthodoxy was never questioned during his life.⁸² Professing to have discovered teachings of St. Augustine, scarcely known even to scholars, Jansen elaborated a system more like Calvinism than Catholicism, denied man's ability to resist temptation, rejected the doctrine that Christ died for all men. Jansen's theory secured the approval of a number of bishops and theologians; but, from the first, it was opposed by Jesuits, Sulpicians, Vincentians.

In 1653, at the request of eighty-eight bishops, Innocent X censured as heretical five propositions extracted from the *Augustinus*; but the Jansenists took refuge in the statement that the propositions were not contained in the book. The General Assembly of the Clergy endorsed an anti-Jansenistic formula which all clerics were required to sign; and, as the opposition still persisted, Alexander VII in 1665 published a similar formula. Four French bishops, who denied the right of the Holy See

⁸² He is not to be confused with the Scripture scholar, Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent (1510-1576). The *Augustinus* was the fruit of long study carried on in association with the French theologian, John Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de St.-Cyran. It was approved by ten doctors of the Sorbonne; but it was condemned by the Inquisition (1641), by Urban VIII (1642), by the archbishop of Paris (1644), by a papal commission after prolonged examination.

to exact anything more than "respectful silence" with regard to the Church's condemnation of Jansenism, were brought to trial at the request of Louis XIV; but before a verdict was given they had obtained the support of nineteen other bishops. After long negotiations, Pope Clement IX, in 1669, agreed to let the case be closed on receipt of a declaration that the four bishops had made the required submission. This compromise, known as the *Pax Clementina*, gave the Jansenists an opportunity of which they made full use. Under the leadership of the learned Dr. Arnauld and his sister, Mère Angélique, abbess of Port Royal—who made her convent a Jansenist center—the sect practiced heroic austerities, taught that only persons with perfect contrition should receive absolution or Holy Communion, and won the sympathy of many conscientious persons outraged by the prevalent luxury and immorality. Jansenistic resistance to the pope was also encouraged by some of the powerful Gallicans.

Quietism: This system originated in the teaching of Miguel Molinos, a Spanish priest living in Rome, whose *Spiritual Guide* (1675) represented total passivity as the Christian ideal of perfection. He was found guilty of teaching heresy and kept in prison until his death in 1696.

Louis XIV had interested himself in securing the condemnation of Molinos at Rome; and he also exerted himself to suppress the teaching of Madame Guyon, which, at least in some degree, resembled the doctrine of the Spanish Quietist.⁸⁸ The points raised in her teaching caused a serious controversy between Bossuet and Fénelon; propositions drawn from Fénelon's writings were condemned by the Holy See in 1699; and Fénelon submitted immediately. The discussion over Quietism created as an unfortunate by-product a widespread suspicion of all mystical prayer.

The Immaculate Conception: The Council of Trent had declared "it is not the intention of this holy synod to include in

⁸⁸ The publication of her autobiography, *Vie de Madame Guyon*, and her *Short and Easy Method of Prayer* provoked a royal order for the arrest both of the author and of her spiritual director, Father Lacombe. Set at liberty after a retraction, and aided by Fénelon, she was gaining considerable influence in France when she was again arrested and obliged to retract. She passed the rest of her life in retirement.

the decree which concerns original sin, the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary"; in 1617 Paul V forbade anyone to teach publicly that Mary was conceived in original sin; in 1621 the Friars Minor took an oath to teach the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in public and in private, although some Dominicans still opposed it. The controversy was finally settled by Alexander VII who, in 1661, declared that the Church celebrates the feast of the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the sense that her soul was preserved free from the stain of original sin "in the first instant of its creation and of its infusion into the body."

The Galileo Case: As this has for centuries been a favorite subject with critics of the Church, it is necessary to review the pertinent events. Briefly they are these: Galileo Galilei, born at Pisa in 1564, by his large use of the experimental method, discredited many popular physical theories, thus acquiring an extraordinary reputation and at the same time making a number of enemies. In 1616 he was brought before the Inquisition on the charge of teaching the Copernican (heliocentric) theory, which seemed to conflict with the story of the stopping of the sun in the tenth chapter of the Book of Josue.⁸⁴ In obedience to the ruling of the Inquisition, Galileo promised to teach Copernicanism no more; and in the following year the Congregation of the Index prohibited the presentation of the Copernican theory except as a mere hypothesis. In 1632 Galileo published a work advocating Copernicanism; and on that account he was again summoned before the Inquisition, condemned as "violently suspected of heresy," and placed in technical confinement for life.

It is important to note that the decree of the Inquisition was a disciplinary ruling and therefore it could not possibly involve

⁸⁴ In a work dedicated to Pope Paul III in 1543 the Polish astronomer, Nikolaus Copernicus, had published his theory that the sun is the center of a great system and that the earth is a planet revolving about it. The first opposition to this theory was raised by Luther, Melancthon, and other Protestant theologians. Opposition from Catholics began later, on the ground that heliocentricism appeared to contradict Scripture; but Cardinal Bellarmine wrote that if a real proof were found that the sun is fixed and does not revolve around the earth, "it would be necessary to acknowledge that the passages in Scripture which appear to contradict this fact have been misunderstood."

the infallibility of the Church. It should be noted also that—contrary to a common impression—Galileo was not tortured nor confined in a dungeon, but detained in an apartment for some three weeks and then allowed to live comfortably in the houses of his friends. To be sure, the churchmen who condemned Galileo—including Popes Paul V and Urban VIII—were mistaken in their estimate of the Copernican theory; but so too, were most of the learned men of that day. Later, when the truth of Copernicanism was clearly demonstrated, both churchmen and scientists learned how unwise it is to censure opinions and reject theories hastily.⁸⁵

Probabilism: In the field of moral theology a spirited controversy took place over the theory called “Probabilism,” which holds that whenever one cannot obtain certainty as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an act, it is legitimate to apply the principle, “Any solidly probable opinion may be followed.” The theory was opposed by some theologians who maintained that in the situation just described one must follow the more probable opinion, never the less probable. The controversy was referred to the Holy See and in 1680 an answer was given which some interpreted as a censure of Probabilism and others as a vindication of that theory.

Grace: Paul V, having consulted Cardinal du Perron and St. Francis de Sales, intervened in the old Jesuit-Dominican controversy over the nature of grace, and instructed the two schools not to attack each other; but he did not define the manner in which grace affects the human will. Almost at the same time the Calvinists of Holland settled a similar controversy by accepting the doctrine of extreme Predestinarianism and imposing it under severe penalties.

The Moslems: Murad (1623–1640) recovered Baghdad from Persia and for a brief period restored some of Islam’s former glory. But the renewed Turkish invasion of the West came to an end with a disastrous defeat at the hands of John Sobieski near Vienna in 1683. That proved to be the last serious Turkish

⁸⁵ An accurate summary of the Galileo affair may be read in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* or in Conway’s *Question Box*.

threat to Europe; and large areas of Turkish territory were divided up by Austria, Russia, and England.

The Mohammedan Mogul empire of India reached its high point early in the century, and the court of the Great Mogul was visited by an English ambassador from King James I. Mohammedan persecution of the Hindus provoked the Brahmans to organize a Hindu revival. This, and a succession of weak rulers, brought the Mogul empire to the verge of destruction. Meanwhile East India companies had been organized by the English, the Dutch, and the French; and in 1690 the English acquired an area known as Sulanati (now Calcutta).

The Jews: The German emperors, on the whole, were tolerant to the Jews; and a prosperous Jewish colony existed in Vienna until the reign of Leopold I (1667-1675), who ordered their expulsion. Luther had been no friend to the Jews and in Protestant Germany they suffered many hardships. Many German Jews settled in Poland; but a wave of anti-Semitism caused the death of some two hundred thousand there.

Jews were welcomed in Holland and they contributed greatly to the strength of that young state. The Amsterdam Jews established a quasi-official relationship with the English authorities, and although there was no alteration in the laws, a stream of Jewish immigrants flowed quietly into England.

Secret Jews (Maranos) who had come from Portugal were numerous in Brazil and they aided the Dutch to seize Bahia in 1624. A Jewish colony numbering more than five thousand existed in Pernambuco when the Portuguese recaptured that city in 1654. Under Portuguese rule some of the Maranos emigrated to the West Indies or other parts of America, or back to Holland; and others were sent to Portugal to be tried by the Inquisition. There is a record of the presence of Jewish colonists in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, the Carolinas, and Georgia in the latter part of the century; and as a rule they possessed civil equality.

By the close of the century a new respect had grown up for Hebrew culture. Richard Simon, the distinguished Catholic

Scripture scholar, introduced rabbinical literature to the learned world; and the study of Hebrew became part of the curriculum of French and German universities.

4. MISSIONS

Out of papal solicitude for the development of the foreign missions came several improvements of lasting value: the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* undertook to direct and support missionary activities in non-Catholic countries; the Collegium Urbanum (an international Roman seminary) and the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions trained young ecclesiastics for a missionary career; the appointment of six vicars apostolic to the Far East—a step of far-reaching significance—ended the Portuguese monopoly, encouraged the entrance of secular priests and religious into the mission field, and abated to some extent jurisdictional quarrels between various groups of missionaries. These organizational changes, however, did not prevent a deterioration to which, as the century wore on, many events contributed. State absolutism, relaxation of religious discipline, bitter rivalries (dividing race from race and order from order), the dominance of Protestant England and Holland—all accelerated the great decline.

Asia

The Near East: At the behest of Paul V, the French government obtained liberty for the missionaries to labor in the Turkish dominions. They ministered both to Latins and to Greeks, and carried spiritual comfort to Christian galley slaves. Missionary work and papal attempts at reunion were blocked by Cyril Lukaris, the treacherous patriarch of Constantinople, who after a uniquely adventurous career died a violent death in 1638.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the missions were given a powerful impetus by the Capuchin, Father Joseph (Richelieu's confidential

⁸⁶ Charged with very serious offences against morality as well as religion, he has been made the subject of a considerable literature. See Vacant-Mangenot, *op. cit.*, IX, 1018, and Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXIX, 227 ff.

agent), who became superior general of the Oriental Missions in 1625 and assigned one hundred fathers to that work. In 1638 Urban VIII created the bishopric of Babylon for the Latins; and some forty years later Innocent XI received into the Roman communion the patriarchs of Babylon, Alexandria and Antioch. In Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt, priests from the French missionary seminaries working alongside members of religious communities, reunited many schismatics to the Catholic Church and also converted a large number of natives, especially slaves and prisoners.

The Middle East (India): The influence of England was increasing; Portugal's was declining.⁸⁷ Neither event was helpful to the progress of the faith. With political changes, came disputes over religious jurisdiction and a consequent relaxing of discipline; individual missionaries often lapsed into evil ways; confusion increased when Rome terminated the monopolies enjoyed by religious orders and opened the mission field to the secular clergy of all nations. At times abuses became so serious that the Holy See sent messages of warning and rebuke.⁸⁸

Most serious of the disputes was the controversy which arose over the use of the "Malabar Rites." With the approval of the archbishop of Cranganore,⁸⁹ the Italian Jesuit, Robert de Nobili clothed himself in Hindu dress, called himself a Brahman, and in Madura won a number of Brahmans over to Christianity.⁹⁰ A Portuguese Jesuit, Fernández, resident at Madura for some fourteen years, charged Nobili with observing heathen customs, conniving at idolatry, and dividing the Christians into factions. Nobili's reply satisfied the general of the Jesuits and the Holy See; and in 1623

⁸⁷ Receding from the high level of prosperity it had enjoyed, the Mogul empire suffered from a series of feeble rulers. The progress of English penetration was marked by the acquiring of Bombay in 1665 and the founding of Calcutta in 1690.

⁸⁸ For example, Alexander VII in 1658 and Clement IX in 1669.

⁸⁹ A see had been erected at Angamale in 1600 (later transferred to Cranganore) for the "Thomas Christians," descendants of the ancient Nestorians.

⁹⁰ Until Nobili's coming in 1606 the converts had been almost exclusively from the lower class. Nobili undertook the difficult life of an ascetic, wore the badge of the Brahmans—the higher class of Hindus, some of whom are priests—adopted native customs, respected local prejudices, and was proceeding successfully until blocked by the opposition of his fellow Christians. When Nobili was denounced to Rome, the archbishops of Goa and Cranganore bore witness in his favor, and he was vindicated. The Holy See allowed converts to wear the badge of their castes, at the same time publishing certain precautionary decrees to guard against pagan superstitions. *op. cit.*, XXV, 361.

Gregory XV authorized the use of the Malabar Rites. Later decrees of the Holy See modified this decision.⁹¹

Even more grave was the resistance to the ecclesiastical reorganization which had been ordered by the Holy See. In 1659 Portugal's loss of political control occasioned the appointment of six vicars apostolic who were directed by the Congregation of the Propaganda to take over missions previously under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese archbishop of Goa.⁹² The Portuguese missionaries refused to accept the change on the ground that papal bulls not registered by the government were without effect; and in 1678 Innocent XI imposed on all missionaries an oath of obedience to the vicars apostolic.⁹³

The Far East: Here, too, the progress of the faith was retarded by unfortunate missionary quarrels connected with political changes. As in India, so in the Far East, the vicars apostolic appointed by the Holy See were not recognized by the Portuguese; and the Dominican head of the Inquisition in China imprisoned a number of priests who had been sent out by the Propaganda.

China: The Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, who gained much popularity by accommodating himself to native customs, was able to found a permanent establishment at Peking.⁹⁴ A brief persecution took place; but, after

⁹¹ "The complaints against Nobili's method, which was later on more or less condemned by the popes and the Propaganda, have not yet entirely died away, either in the Catholic or (which is still more surprising) the Protestant camps. . . . No really fundamental concession, no blending of Christianity and paganism, and no intention of tolerating any step in this direction, can be found in the missionary methods inaugurated by Nobili. . . . Inspired by the purest missionary ideals, subordinating all means to the one great goal, and uniting prudence with an inventive love, he ranks as a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of mission history." Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304.

⁹² Three vicars apostolic were appointed to China (to Tonkin, Cochinchina, and Nanking) and three to India (to Malabar for the Thomas Christians, Bijapur for the Hindus, and North India for the Mogul empire).

⁹³ This decree occasioned difficulties: it partly removed missionaries from the jurisdiction of their superiors; the archbishop of Paris pronounced it incompatible with "Gallic Liberties"; Spain regarded the oath to obey French vicars as treason. Propaganda dealt with the situation by abolishing the oath, placed limits on the obedience that missionaries had to render to the vicars apostolic, and divided the mission field into districts, entrusting them to different orders and selecting religious as vicars apostolic. This system, which solved complications of many years' standing, is still in force. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXII, 460.

⁹⁴ He opened a chapel there in 1605. . . . The Jesuits paid to the Chinese for the right to perform their religious ceremonies. . . . The Chinese agreed to the Jesuits' request that they should be allowed to perform their ceremonies in the Chinese manner, and, . . .

the Manchus had replaced the Ming dynasty in 1644, the German Jesuit, Father Schall, an expert astronomer, won imperial favor and was named a mandarin of the first class with the rank of prince.⁹⁵ By mid-century Chinese converts numbered a quarter of a million; then trouble came with the arrival of Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans.⁹⁶ All three orders continued to baptize natives and erect churches; but their work suffered a serious check from the bitter controversy over customs tolerated by Jesuits, but not by Dominicans and Franciscans.⁹⁷

Japan: The missions in Japan made splendid progress; five religious orders were at work there; the Jesuits converted 15,000 natives within two years; Nagasaki was called "little Rome."⁹⁸ Unfortunately the revival of the Shogunate⁹⁹ in 1603 was followed by the suppression of Christianity (1614), by the banishment of the Spaniards (1624), and a few years later by the exclusion of the Portuguese (1639). Thereafter Japan, except for a limited trade with the Protestant Dutch, remained voluntarily cut off from Europe for two hundred years. Influenced to some extent by the intrigues of the Dutch and the English,¹⁰⁰ and by the imprudent conduct of several missionaries, but much more by the growing desire for national unity, the Japanese government classified all Christians as potential traitors and entered upon a persecution never surpassed for savage cruelty. They tested

⁹⁵ The Manchu rulers favored a policy of centralization fusing Tatar and Chinese customs. They adopted the Chinese language and as a rule encouraged Chinese culture and national sentiment and looked down upon Europeans. Nevertheless they appreciated the scientific skill of the Catholic missionaries. Johann Adam Schall von Bell, a figure of heroic proportions in the history of Chinese missions, and his fellow Jesuit, the gifted Belgian, Ferdinand Verbiest, stood so high in the emperor's esteem that some persons anticipated a period of general conversion in China.

⁹⁶ In 1638 three Dominicans were banished after having antagonized the Chinese by denouncing their customs and attacking Confucius; and a few years later two Dominicans were martyred.

⁹⁷ The Dominican, Morales, denounced the practice of the Jesuits to the Holy See; and Innocent X prohibited the use of the "Chinese Customs" in 1645. They were permitted again by Alexander VII in 1656, under certain conditions. Morales renewed his attack in 1661; but a Dominican bishop of Chinese birth, Gregory López, sent a memorandum to Rome in favor of the Jesuits. In 1669 Clement IX arranged a compromise tolerating the civil but not the religious features of the rites in question. This did not end the dispute; the quarrel ran over into the following century.

⁹⁸ Early in the century the powerful Prince Masamune of Osiu sent an embassy to Madrid and Rome with the encouragement of the Franciscan Sotelo. Much new material bearing on this episode has been discovered within the last half century. Apparently the prince's motive was personal ambition. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXV, 346.

⁹⁹ The Shogunate, developed in the twelfth century, was a system of feudal rule under a military dictator which made the emperor a figurehead. It lasted until the revolution of 1867.

¹⁰⁰ The Dutch and the English charged the missionaries with planning to seize Japan for the king of Spain; and the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries differed as to the best way of quieting the suspicion. The latest study of the early Japanese missions is a thesis presented to the Missionary Scientific Institute of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome by the Servite, Rev. Lino Pedot in June, 1941.

suspected persons by requiring them to tread on the Crucifix; and Christians, when discovered, were subjected to indescribable torture.¹⁰¹

Indo-China: The missionary activity initiated in this area during the preceding century continued with varying degrees of success. Christian captives carried away into Burma spread the faith in Rangoon, the capital. Franciscans and Jesuits from Macao established missions in Siam (Thailand); and after the signing of a commercial treaty with Portugal the king of Siam sent for missionaries to minister to the Christians in his dominion. Despite occasional interference, the Annamite kingdoms of Tonkin and Cochinchina were especially fruitful fields until the breaking out of a violent persecution soon after the middle of the century. Churches were destroyed, Christians were tortured and killed, missionaries were expelled.¹⁰²

Oceania

The century opened auspiciously for the Spanish colonies at that time engaged in prosperous trade with America and with China. In Manila the Dominican College of Santo Tomás (established in 1611) became a pontifical university; and the Jesuit College of San José (founded in 1601) took rank as the chief center of learning in the Philippines.¹⁰³ Franciscans opened numerous institutions for the sick and helpless, including the leper hospital of San Lazaro (1633); and having been given charge of the island of Celebes in 1611, they made many converts there. The Jesuits settled in Mindanao; in the Moluccas they reopened a college which had been closed when the Portuguese were expelled thirty years earlier; and on Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands, they established the first mission in the South Pacific, baptizing nearly fifty thousand natives of that region

¹⁰¹ Mothers and children were burned alive; mass executions became common in 1619; by the middle of the century the total number of martyrs amounted to several thousand; after that it was impossible even to discover the number. Among those who died were Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits, secular priests, lay persons—men, women, and little children. Eventually all the priests were killed and the only Christians left alive were those who practiced their faith in secret. By the end of the century, except for a faithful little group in Nagasaki, the Japanese church which once contained more than a half million members, had been destroyed.

¹⁰² Missionary work was carried on also in Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes.

¹⁰³ The College of San José enrolled 581 students in the first century of its existence; after 1610 it was no longer the property of the Society of Jesus although it remained under Jesuit administration; among its graduates prior to 1768 were one archbishop, eight bishops and bishops-elect, and many clergy. In 1909 the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands ruled that the college had not been a civil but a religious foundation and therefore it did not become the property of the United States government but remained the property of the Roman Catholic Church. This institution is not to be confused with a day school known as "The College of Manila" established in 1596. See a pamphlet by W. C. Repetti, *Jesuit Education in the Philippine Islands, the College of San José of Manila* (Manila: Manila Observatory, 1941).

within five years. These successes were dearly bought, however, especially when missionaries penetrated into remote and dangerous areas; and in the great massacre of 1635 some ten thousand Christians died.

Unfortunately Spain's short-sighted commercial policy destroyed the economic life of the Philippines;¹⁰⁴ the weakened Spanish navy had to give way to Chinese, Japanese, Moros, and the now ascendant Dutch; religious interests suffered from domestic strife which divided the missionaries from the archbishop and the archbishop himself from the colonial government. Manila gained the reputation of being the home of a corrupt and quarrelsome population. In Formosa, where Franciscans and Dominicans had established successful missions, the Dutch carried away the priests and destroyed the churches in 1643. In Malacca—long the mainland base of Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians—the moral corruption of the Portuguese gave great scandal.¹⁰⁵ Threatened by the formidable Chinese adventurer Koxinga, the Jesuits retired from the Moluccas in 1672. Disease and ill-treatment at the hands of the Spanish almost depopulated the Ladrões. After Spain lost control of Portugal in 1640, Spanish possessions in the Pacific dwindled to a fraction of their former area;¹⁰⁶ and the Philippines, shorn of political and commercial importance, sank also to a lower moral and religious level.

Africa

The missionaries to the dark continent encountered almost insuperable obstacles—unhealthy climate, jealous heathen priests, hostile magicians, natives provoked to reprisals by the infamies of the slave trade, antagonistic Moslems. The records tell a tragic tale of heroic efforts, disheartening failures, appalling mortality. Nevertheless, along the northern coast, Augustinians made converts in Numidia; Vincentians attained some success in Algiers; Spanish Franciscans labored in Morocco. On the west coast—although the Portuguese expelled every missionary who happened to be a Spaniard and the Dutch obstructed the work of all Catholic priests impartially—Capuchins, Jesuits, Carmelites labored along the Congo, and Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians worked in Upper Guinea. The first bishop appointed to the Congo region was zealous and to a certain extent successful; but he died within a few years and in 1609 the see was transferred to Loanda, where the new bishop complained bitterly of the vicious

¹⁰⁴ Royal legislation, prompted by merchants of Cadiz and Seville who wished to keep the colonial trade in their own hands, prohibited commerce between the Philippines and any other American colony except Mexico and reduced trade with Mexico to the vanishing point.

¹⁰⁵ "It was indeed regarded as a divine chastisement when the Dutch invaded Malacca in 1641, and suppressed the Catholic Church." Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

¹⁰⁶ Spain retained only Luzon and the Visayan Islands—Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Cebu, Negros, Panay, Masbate.

slave traders. The Jesuit mission in Abyssinia prospered; and the Negus became a Catholic in 1622, in spite of the opposition of his schismatic subjects. Franciscans, Capuchins, and a vicar apostolic with all his missionaries were killed by Abyssinian natives about the middle of the century; and in 1674 a frightful massacre of Christians took place at Madagascar.

The West

In the American mission field—which included the present area of Canada, the United States, Mexico, and the states of Central and South America—Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and other orders continued to serve the spiritual needs of the European settlers and to convert natives.

SUMMARY

The organizing of the Protestant Union and the Catholic League was followed by the “deposing” of Ferdinand II as king of Bohemia and by the Thirty Years’ War, during which early imperialist victories led to the Edict of Restitution. Later imperialist defeats led to the Peace of Westphalia, and to the secularizing of Europe.

Prussia’s rise under the Great Elector coincided with Austria’s decline. The Madrid revolution of Don Juan revealed the weakness of Spain. In France the Catholic revival promoted by Francis de Sales, Cardinal de Bérulle, Jacques Olier, Vincent de Paul, and John Baptist de la Salle was offset by the opportunism of Richelieu and Mazarin, the aggressive absolutism of Louis XIV, the demoralizing influence of Jansenists and Gallicans. English Catholics were entangled in the Gunpowder Plot; in the unpopular “Spanish Marriage” negotiations; in the losing struggle of the Stuarts to repress Puritanism and parliamentary government; in “The Popish Plot”; in the unfortunate Declaration of Indulgence. By the end of the century the Catholic “Recusants” (commonly regarded as foreigners and traitors) were excluded from the benefits of the Toleration Act; and meanwhile overseas the prestige of English Protestantism had grown with the founding of the Jamestown, Plymouth, and Massa-

chusetts Bay colonies, and the taking of New York from the Dutch.

The popes faced difficult and sometimes insoluble problems. Paul V condemned the English Oath of Allegiance. Gregory XV, who founded the Propaganda, negotiated concessions for English Catholics from James I. Urban VIII kept neutral in the Franco-Spanish quarrel, displeasing both sides. Innocent X endured insult and injury from the Westphalia Congress. Innocent XII offended the Hapsburgs by favoring the Bourbon claim to the Spanish succession. Jansenism, Gallicanism, and Quietism provoked repeated papal condemnations.

Missionaries carried on successful work in India, China, and Japan, in Oceania and Africa, in North and South America; but there were persecutions too, and many missions were abandoned or destroyed.

Theology, history, Scripture study, and spiritual science were well represented by Petavius, the Bollandists, Richard Simon, St. Francis de Sales, and others. In France outstanding leaders organized and stimulated religious life. Outside the Church intellectual currents of extraordinary power flowed from the writings of men sometimes sympathetic, sometimes indifferent, sometimes bitterly antagonistic to Catholicism—for example, Leibnitz, Grotius, Kepler, Locke, Hobbes. Of particular interest, in view of its almost immeasurable influence on English-speaking youth, was *The Protestant Tutor*—a slanderous volume reflecting many of the features of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

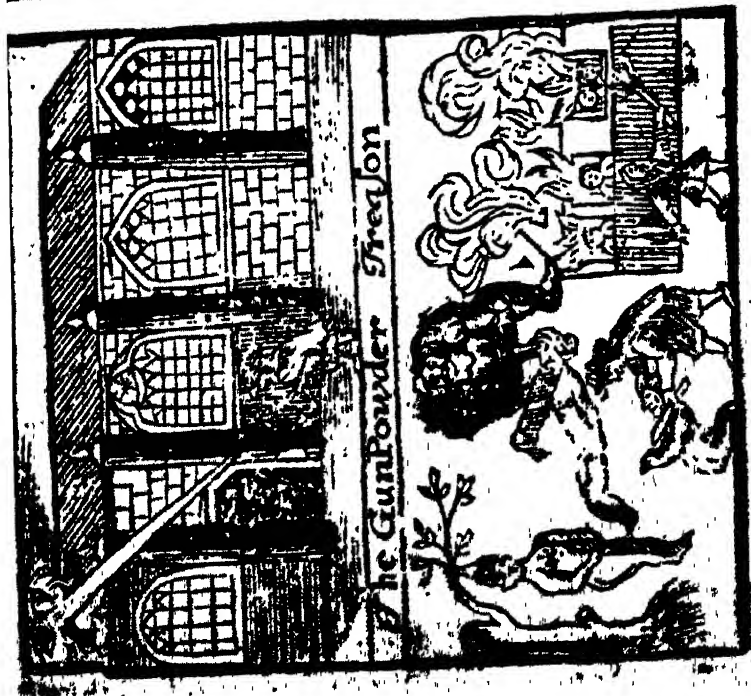
The Gun-powder Treason Con- trived by the Papists, Nov. 5. 1605.

THe *Papists* having received so many Disappointments of their several cur-
fed Plots, and their Conspiracks against the
Life of the Glorious Queen *ELIZABETH*
proving Abortive, and their great hopes
of a *Papists Successor* being abated by the
coming in of King James; they yet resolved,
if possible, to retrieve their cause: To effect
which, there was a Damnable Design, Con-
trived by some Priests, Jesuites, and other
Papists, to Undermine the Parliament-
House, and with Gunpowder to Blast
the King, Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights,
and Burgeses, the very Conscience of all
the Flower, Glory, Piety, Learning, Repre-
sentance and Authority in the Land, *Fathers*,
Sons, Brothers, Allies, Friends, Foes, *Papists*,
and

Courtesy of Library of Congress

"THE PROTESTANT TUTOR"

A textbook "instructing Children to Spel and read English, and Grounding them in the True Protestant Religion and
Discovering the Errors and Deceits of the Papists." London, 1679. Boston, 1685



A LAW MARVELLAND concerning RELIGION.

As much as in a well-governed and Christian Commonwealth, Matters concerning Religion and the Honour of God ought to be in the first place to be taken into serious consideration, and endeavoured to be settled. Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the Right Honourable CHARLES Lord Baron of Baltimore, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the Advice and Consent of the Upper and Lower House of this General Assembly, That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging, shall from henceforth blaspheme GOD, that is curse him; or shall deny our Saviour JESUS CHRIST to be the Son of God; or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, & Holy Ghosts or the Godhead of any of the said Three Persons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead, shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language, concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons thereof, shall be punished with death, and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her Lands and Goods to the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs.

Courtesy of New York Public Library

FIRST PARAGRAPH OF A LAW PASSED IN 1639

After these provisions—taken substantially from a law passed by the English Parliament in 1638—the Maryland Law went on to provide penalties for persons who utter “reproachful words or speeches concerning the blessed Virgin MARY, the Mother of our Saviour, or the holy Apostles or Evangelists,” or who call anyone “an Heretick, Schismatick, Idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Papist, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or other name or term in a reproachfull manner relating to Religion.” Having imposed penalties upon those who proflane or violate “the Sabbath, or Lords day, called Sunday, by frequent swearing, drunkenness, or by any uncivil or disorderly Recreation, or by working on that day when absolute necessity doth not require,” the Law then declared no person whatsoever “professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or respect of his or her Religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province.” More narrow than the earlier practice of tolerance in Maryland, this law was nevertheless too liberal for the Puritans who repealed it when they got control of the Colony 10 years later.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

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- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1601 Ricci in Peking</p> <p>1606 Nobili in Madura
<i>Paul V</i> condemns English Oath</p> <p>1607 St. Francis de Sales founds Visitandines</p> <p>1611 de Bérulle founds Oratory</p>
<p>1622 Gregory XV founds Propaganda</p> <p>1623 Malabar Rites allowed</p> <p>1623-44 <i>Urban VIII</i>; France and Spain</p> <p>1625 Vincentians founded</p>
<p>1633 Galileo imprisoned
Sisters of Charity founded</p>
<p>1635 Missions in Congo</p> <p>1637 Missions in Mindanao</p>
<p>1642 Jacques Olier founds Sulpicians
Japanese martyrs</p> <p>1643 The Bollandists' <i>Acta Sanctorum</i></p> <p>1645 Chinese Rites prohibited</p> <p>1648 Missions in Madagascar</p>
<p>1653 <i>Innocent X</i> condemns Jansenism</p> <p>1656 Chinese Rites allowed in part</p>
<p>1658 Paris Missionary Society</p> <p>1659 Vicars Apostolic in Far East</p>
<p>1669 <i>Pax Clementina</i> of <i>Clement IX</i></p>
<p>1678 Foreign Missionaries' Oath
Richard Simon's <i>Critical History</i></p> <p>1682 Bossuet's <i>Gallican Declaration</i></p>
<p>1687 Molinos condemned</p>
<p>1688 <i>Innocent XI</i> vs. Louis</p>
<p>1690 <i>Alexander VIII</i> vs. Gallicans
Hierarchy in China
Calcutta founded</p>
<p>1699 <i>Innocent XII</i> favors Bourbons
Fénelon's book condemned</p> | <p>1603 James I succeeds Elizabeth</p> <p>1605 Gunpowder Plot</p>
<p>1610 Henry IV assassinated</p>
<p>1613 Scandinavia bans Catholics</p> <p>1618 Thirty Years' War</p> <p>1620 Bacon's <i>Novum Organum</i></p>
<p>1625 Grotius' <i>De Jure Belli</i></p> <p>1629 Edict of Restitution</p>
<p>1634 Mazarin, Nuncio in France</p> <p>1635 Franco-Spanish wars</p> <p>1637 Descartes' <i>Discourse on Method</i></p> <p>1640-88 The Great Elector</p>
<p>1648 Treaty of Westphalia</p> <p>1649 Cromwell in Ireland
Charles I beheaded</p> <p>c. 1650 Hobbes' <i>The Leviathan</i></p>
<p>1656 Pascal's <i>Provincial Letters</i></p> <p>1657 The Great Elector and Prussia</p>
<p>1670 Spinoza's Philosophy</p> <p>1673 Charles II signs Test Act</p> <p>1678 "Popish Plot" of Titus Oates</p> <p>1679 "The Protestant Tutor"</p>
<p>1683 Sobieski defeats Turks</p> <p>1685 Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes</p> <p>1687 James II's Declaration of Indulgence</p>
<p>1689 Toleration Act of William I
Russia expels Jesuits</p>
<p>1695 Locke's <i>Reasonableness of Christianity</i></p> <p>1697 Treaty of Ryswick checks Louis XIV</p> |
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CHAPTER XVIII

(The Seventeen Hundreds)

“Enlightenment” and Spiritual Decline

PREVIEW

IN appraising this century, some present it as the age which vindicated the claims of reason, justice, and liberty against political absolutism, aristocratic privilege, and established religion—the age which laid the foundations of modern democratic government, instituted a more equitable distribution of land, and set up a general policy of religious toleration. To others it stands out as the fatal era which popularized unbelief, honored ruthless militarism, and weakened Europe politically, socially, spiritually.

Both these appraisals are incomplete. On the one hand, not a few champions of “enlightenment” favored the violation of fundamental human rights; on the other, some conservatives ignored Catholic principles of social justice, practiced or defended political tyranny, scandalized the world by immorality. And, by an unfortunate coincidence, during this period of transition from absolutism to the beginnings of modern democracy, the rising demand for equality and liberty was most loudly voiced by irreligious men; whereas churchmen were chiefly concerned with the defense of ancient institutions, class privileges, or vested interests.

As the century advanced, faith declined at a dismaying rate. The propaganda of skepticism by two of the most prominent men of the age, Frederick the Great and Voltaire, profoundly affected multitudes already spiritually shaken by the brazenly wicked lives and the cruelly oppressive policy of professed Chris-

tians. Catholicism came to be classified among outmoded mediæval things; youth was taught to despise papal authority, orthodox theology, religious asceticism. True, countless men and women still pursued the Catholic ideal, and martyrs laid down their lives in the mission field; yet, on the whole, Christendom displayed alarming symptoms of disintegration.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Almost every major political change that occurred in these years worked to the disadvantage of the Church. Leading Catholic states lost their old influence; Catholic rulers opposed the pope. By the close of the century, Austria was no longer pre-eminent among the German states; France had surrendered practically all her colonial possessions; England was dominating both eastern and western hemispheres.¹

About the middle of the century took place a change which has been described as the "Diplomatic Revolution." Up to that time Western Europe—secularized and sectarian though it was—still retained a culture common to all in its legal and political aspects, and (to some extent) in its religious outlook. The second half of the century saw this unity disintegrate into a group of competing states in which the worship of "Liberalism" was to exercise a subtly destructive influence.

The reign of Louis XV ended in 1774, and was followed by the overturn of the monarchy and the exile of the Catholic clergy. England continued to persecute Catholics while modify-

¹ The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) waged by England, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, against the Bourbons began with a series of victories for the latter, but ended with reverses which left France exhausted. The nine individual treaties which composed the Peace of Utrecht (1713-1714) established the Protestant succession in England, the royal status of Prussia, and the right of the duke of Savoy to be king of Sicily. Spain ceded Gibraltar and other territory to England and by the "Assiento" gave England the right to import into America forty-eight hundred Negroes a year for thirty years. During several successive wars Prussia opposed Austria and England opposed France—Prussia and France fighting against Austria and England in the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748); and Prussia and England fighting against Austria and France in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

ing her disapproval of Protestant dissenters. Prussia and Russia arranged the destruction of Catholic Poland; and Prussia—recognized champion of Protestantism on the Continent—excluded Catholics from the higher official positions, even in dominantly Catholic regions.

Overseas, however, the separation of the English colonies from the mother country led to the founding of the United States of America; and the constitution of the new nation, ratified in 1788, established complete religious freedom—to the immeasurable advantage of the Church.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Empire, Poland, Russia

The Empire: But for its importance as “the pivot on which the political system of Europe was to revolve,” the empire had become an anachronism, politically feeble and practically useless. Not inferior to contemporary dynasties in character or in ability, the Hapsburgs were at fault nevertheless in paying too little attention to their responsibilities as (at least nominal) emperors and in sacrificing German interests on the altar of their selfishly Austrian policy. Like the Bourbons, they set themselves against any program of reform which seemed to threaten their own prerogatives; ² and they quickly put down the fitful attempts at revolution.

Germany: Inheriting the Hapsburg dominions from her father, Charles VI, **Maria Theresa** found her rights challenged by Prussia and other German states; and she suffered serious losses of territory in the Silesian Wars (1740–1763). Nevertheless, she made her long reign a prosperous era for her people, instituted constitutional and social improvements, compensated herself for the loss of Silesia with part of Poland, and balanced the hostility of Prussia by securing the friendship of France.

During these years German princes often slighted the pope. In 1742, when Pope Benedict XIV denied the right of the Protestant duke of

² According to Bryce (*op. cit.*, p. 404) “The very existence of the Empire was almost forgotten by its subjects” who were reminded of it only by a feudal investiture now and then, by a court of grave old lawyers puzzling over interminable suits (with more than 60,000 law suits waiting to be heard), and by other solemn triflings.

Hanover to vote in the imperial election,³ the Protestant electors of Saxony and Brandenburg refused to recognize the protest, the Catholic elector of Mainz tacitly apologized for having accepted it, and the four Catholic electors (of Trier, Cologne, Bavaria, and the Palatinate) maintained discreet silence. At the next election (1745), in which Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I, became emperor, the papal nuncio was snubbed outright. As for Maria Theresa, although she made no concessions to Protestants, she did not always side with the Holy See. She allowed the confiscation of the property of the Society of Jesus; after some hesitation, she consented to the suppression of the Society; she refused the request of Clement XIV to ban the writings of Febronius; and she shared in the Partition of Poland.

Co-emperor with his mother after the death of his father, Joseph II (1765-1790) undertook, with the assistance of the chief minister, Kaunitz, to control religious affairs independently of the pope. Becoming sole ruler in 1780, he forbade the bishops to publish pastoral letters or to communicate with Rome except by permission of the government, organized a commission to regulate public worship, and replaced diocesan and monastic schools with state institutions. Seven hundred religious houses were closed as "unnecessary"; and the maximum number of religious allowed to live in Austria was fixed at 3,750. In 1781 the emperor issued an Edict of Toleration establishing toleration of Protestantism; and, at least indirectly, he promoted the growth of Freemasonry. When Pope Pius VI visited Vienna in 1782 in a vain effort to persuade him to change his policy, a Viennese pamphleteer issued an insulting booklet entitled, *What Is the Pope?* Joseph II even went so far as to found an ecclesiastical seminary at Louvain and to put it in the charge of a man whose orthodoxy was questionable; and when in 1786 the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, Cologne, and Salzburg published a document (*The Punctuation of Ems*) which curtailed papal jurisdiction the emperor encouraged them. At the accession of Leopold II (1790-1792) a memorial presented to the emperor by the Catholic bishops secured the enactment of more favorable laws; but religious and political restlessness continued.

During the almost coextensive reigns of Frederick the Great (1740-1786) and of Maria Theresa (queen of Hungary and Bohemia from 1740 to 1780, and empress from 1745 to 1780), Prussia outdistanced Austria. Frederick, a typical "benevolent despot" introduced social and legal reforms, encouraged industry and education, created a powerful standing army,

³ Charles VI had secured the promise of the electors to support the succession to the imperial throne of his daughter, Maria Theresa; but at the election of 1742 an appeal to the Salic Law set her aside in favor of Charles Albert of Bavaria, son-in-law of Joseph I. The pope protested the right of the duke of Hanover to vote in this election as he never secured the approval of the Holy See. The pope also renewed the ancient protest against the Treaty of Westphalia.

seized territory from Austria and Poland, and organized the German princes against Austria. To aid unity, he passed a law (1768) requiring sons of mixed marriages to follow the religion of their fathers, and daughters the religion of their mothers. Military genius, freethinker, friend of Voltaire, promoter of Halle, Göttingen, Berlin and Jena as intellectual centers of Protestantism, Frederick eventually took shape in the popular mind as the great German hero.⁴

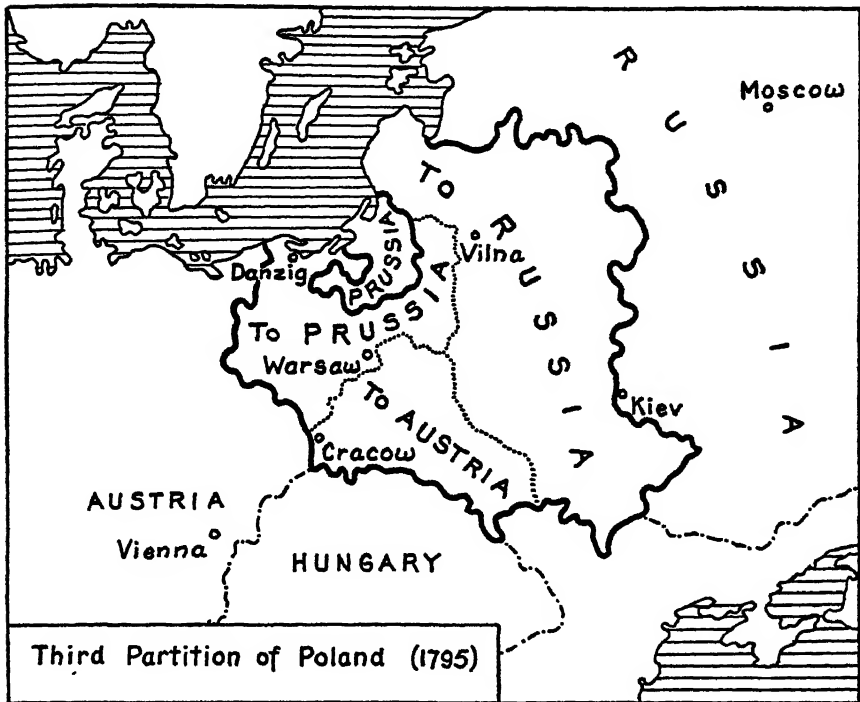
Bohemia: Here freedom of worship was granted to both Calvinists and Lutherans in the vain hope of mollifying political separatists; but a nationalist revolution was in the making.

Hungary: In 1721 Clement XI erected a see at Fogaras for the 200,000 Rumanians of Transylvania, with their 2,000 priests, who were reunited to Rome through the efforts of Cardinal Kollonitsch, Primate of Hungary. **Emperor Charles VI**, in the *Resolutio Carolina* (1731), decreed that children of mixed marriages should be educated as Catholics. Aided by imperial favor, German immigration, good organization, Catholics increased to 5,000,000. To the 2,000,000 Protestants, **Joseph II** granted—what **Maria Theresa** had refused—a larger measure of freedom; and the "Edict of Toleration" (1781) decreed that sons of mixed marriages should follow the father's religion. In order to secure revenue for the crown, Joseph II kept many benefices vacant, leaving the metropolitan see of Gran without a bishop for nearly twenty years.

Poland: Crippled by earlier wars, ruled badly by Saxon kings for two generations, internally divided, the nation long lacked the moral strength to reform itself. Eventually Poland devised a practical program of reconstruction only to have it nullified by her powerful neighbors.

Augustus II (1697–1733), as ally of Denmark and Russia, fought **Charles XII** of Sweden, greatest soldier of the day, temporarily lost his throne, saw Poland devastated by a twenty-year war (1700–1721). In this reign liturgical modifications, adopted at Zamosc (1720) by Catholic Ukrainians in Poland, antagonized the Orthodox Ukrainians in Russia. **Stanislaus I**, son-in-law of Louis XV, was chosen to succeed Augustus II; but a minority, protected by Russia, voted for the son of Augustus, and Stanislaus had to leave Poland. Under **Augustus III** (1733–1763), Poland remained passive during the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735), the

⁴ In 1788, after Frederick William II had supported the pope against four contumacious German archbishops, the Holy See for the first time officially recognized the title, "King of Prussia."



War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Repeatedly Benedict XIV admonished the bishops on Polish disregard of marriage laws. The great majority of the population was still composed of wretched serfs, so mistreated that only in 1764 (largely through the efforts of the clergy) a noble who killed a peasant was made liable to the death penalty.

Russia now dominated. Catherine II placed upon the Polish throne her former lover, Stanislaus Poniatowski (1764–1795), last king of Poland. Overrun by Russian armies, the once great bulwark of Christendom became a "roadside inn" for foreign soldiers. Protestants and Greek Schismatics—now on a level with Catholics—and Jews formed antagonistic groups. Unbelief spread; Masonry grew strong. A law ordered that in mixed marriages the son should follow the religion of the father and the daughter the religion of the mother. Poland, making a gallant effort at self-reformation, adopted in the Great Parliament of 1791 a liberalized and enlightened constitution. It came too late. The Partitions of Poland (1772–1793–1795)—a crime planned by Russia and Prussia, concurred in by Austria, and accepted by France—dismembered the country, giving the eastern region to Russia and the purely Polish territories of Galicia and Warsaw to Austria and Prussia. Each of the new masters of Poland carried

out a ruthless policy in the appropriated territory: Russia abolished the Catholic dioceses; Prussia confiscated Church lands; Austria undertook to Germanize the people. Attempts to regain independence, originating among the gentry and the lower clergy, ended in crushing defeats; and the patriot leader, Kosciusko, veteran of the American War of Independence, fled to America.

Russia: Peter the Great (1689-1725) changed Russia into a "European" state and tried to unify the nation by making all his subjects Orthodox. He forbade the nobles to profess Catholicism or to marry Catholics, claimed every child of a mixed marriage for the Orthodox faith, established the right of the czars to name their successors. After 1725 Russia was ruled by women during nearly all the rest of the century: Catherine I (1725-1727), Anna Ivanovna (1730-1740), Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-1762), Catherine II (1762-1796). During the reign of Anna Ivanovna German influence dominated the Russian court; the French displaced the Germans during the reign of the immoral, intemperate, bigoted, and superstitious Elizabeth; the Germans were again in favor during the short reign of Peter III (1762). Peter quarreled with his German wife and banished her to Peterhof; but with an army of 20,000 men, she marched against him, forced his abdication, and, under the title of Catherine II, reigned for more than thirty years, entertaining a succession of "favorites," some of whom aided her in the government of the empire.⁵ She planned to seize the whole of Poland; but Prussia and Austria intervened to claim their share, and Poland was partitioned among the three powers.

Catherine oppressed Catholics of the Greek rite, forcing them into the Orthodox Church under penalty of flogging, but pursued a more conciliatory policy towards her new Polish subjects. In coöperation with the political-minded Massalski, Bishop of Vilna, she founded the diocese of White Russia, with see at Mohilev, appointing Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz bishop in 1772, and archbishop in 1782. Catherine saved the Jesuits from ca-

⁵ Catherine II's ten or more favorites cost Russia nearly £16,000,000 sterling. "The scandal of the Pompadour and of the Du Barry at the court of Louis XV were nothing in comparison to this; but these women harmed the State, while Catherine saw to it that her 'lovers' were useful to the Empire." H. M. Leclercq, in Eyre, *op. cit.*, VI, 255.

nonical extinction by refusing to allow the publication of the Brief of Suppression.⁶ On the other hand, she attempted to destroy the Church in Lithuania; and, in general, she kept the Catholics in a state of constant fear. Her more tolerant successor, Paul I, recalled a number of Catholic exiles from Siberia, and even compensated the Church for property that had been taken away.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

Consistently, the Latin rulers interfered in religious affairs, suppressed academic freedom, confiscated Church property, placed political favorites in high ecclesiastical posts. A most significant event occurred in 1773 when, after a long campaign led by the Bourbon sovereigns, the Holy See reluctantly consented to suppress the Jesuits. Sixteen years later came the French Revolution.

France: The combined reigns of Louis XIV and his successor, Louis XV, lasted from 1643 to 1774—more than one hundred thirty years. Having carried the French monarchy to its pinnacle of external glory and made it the absolutism which it was to remain until the Revolution, Louis XIV, at his death in 1715, left to his great-grandson, Louis XV, an administrative system of bewildering confusion and an enormous debt of more than three billion livres.

Except for a period which included the ministry of Cardinal

⁶ Catherine persisted in this refusal despite the appeal of the nuncio at Warsaw, and she was supported by Massalski (apostolic delegate for Russia), who "ordered all the superiors of the Jesuit houses in virtue of holy obedience to provide that no member was to leave the order's houses nor withdraw from the customary work until he (the Bishop of Wilna) had proceeded to the publication and the carrying out of the Brief of Suppression." Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 348.

The publication was not made either by Massalski or by Siestrzenciewicz—that extraordinary personality whose character still remains a puzzle to historians. See John A. Kemp, "Jesuits in White Russia," *Thought*, XV (Sept., 1940), 480. Consequently, the Jesuits (who numbered 200 and had charge of 4 colleges in Polish Russia) were able to maintain their corporate existence; and this arrangement was verbally endorsed in 1784 by Pius VI in a conversation with Msgr. Benislowski, coadjutor to Siestrzenciewicz.

On the canonical issue involved, see Sebastiano Sanguinetti, S.J., *La Compagnia di Gesù e La Sua Legale Esistenza Nella Chiesa*, Roma, 1882.

Fleury (1726-1743), the reign of Louis XV was a series of disasters. "The most Christian King," scrupulously exact in attendance at daily Mass and other outward religious observances, displayed an appalling indifference to his duties as ruler; and whether or not he originated the phrase, "After me, the deluge!" his life exemplified the spirit of those words. At his court, public profession of Catholicity was associated with open immorality and cynical unbelief; and the king himself maintained a series of mistresses, most famous of whom were Madame de Pompadour and Madame Du Barry. Meanwhile the peasantry lived in constant dread of famine which ravaged the country periodically;⁷ and the education of the people was grossly neglected—a condition which became worse after the suppression of the French Jesuits by royal edict in 1764. A large number of the aristocracy shared the "snobbish" Catholicism of the duke of Saint Simon (d. 1755), or the skepticism of Montesquieu (d. 1755).⁸ Lack of virtue or of faith was no insuperable barrier to ecclesiastical promotion; bishops were appointed by the crown; the primary qualification was noble birth.⁹ Little wonder that the whole established order, political and religious, was kept under fire by the satirists of the day, especially by Voltaire (d. 1778).¹⁰ Little wonder that in the history of Christian France

⁷ "The number of needy individuals completely without resources was estimated at nearly a million." See Eyre, *op. cit.*, VI, 299. A priest of Brittany wrote in 1772 that in his parish of 2,200 souls "at least 1,800 beg for bread which they cannot find, and most of them live on the boiled stalks of cabbage or, failing that, on grass." Robert Ergang, *Europe from the Renaissance to Waterloo*, Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. (1939), p. 629.

⁸ "It was the upper middle class which had been most affected by the eighteenth-century philosophy of natural law, natural rights, and natural perfectibility of mankind and which had gone farthest in doubting supernatural religion and repudiating organized Christianity." Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, p. 70.

⁹ Witness the appointment of Talleyrand-Périgord who was made bishop of Autun in 1789. Of the more than 130 bishops of France in 1789 only one was a commoner. "The Church suffered from the narrow nationalism that made it dependent on the court and the royal officials. The tradition of the 'Gallican Liberties' had made it the slave of royalist bureaucracy and State patronage reserved ecclesiastical dignities and the accumulated wealth of the French sees and chapters for sons of noble houses." M. Leclercq, in Eyre, *op. cit.*, 297-98.

¹⁰ "They demanded among other things, civil freedom, religious toleration, abolition of the privileges of the aristocracy, a uniform and fair system of laws, equality of taxation, constitutional government, and the abolition of state monopolies. Their attack on the old abuses and old beliefs was relentless. . . . One of the principal sources was the writings of John Locke." Ergang, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

the eighteenth century has been called "the least Christian and the least French."

In August 1788, Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens (the second richest see in France), a man not irreproachable as to faith or personal conduct, became chief minister;¹¹ and his announcement that the country was bankrupt caused the States General to be convoked in the following year—the first convocation since 1614. After a month of fruitless discussion by the Three Estates (the clergy, the nobility, and the commons), the Third Estate organized a National Assembly for the purpose of drafting a constitution.¹² One hundred sixty of the lower clergy and a few nobles entered this Assembly; and Louis XVI, having first attempted to break it up, consented to its meeting. Under the leadership of Mirabeau, the lawyers of the Assembly—Gallican and Jansenist in spirit—immediately assumed control and by a series of drastic enactments secured the secularization of ecclesiastical property, the suppression of religious orders, and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790).¹³

When Pius VI condemned the Civil Constitution in March and April 1791, all the bishops but four and about two-thirds of the lower clergy refused to accept it; and civil war broke out in several quarters, notably in La Vendée. A decree of November 1791 ordered the expulsion of non-conforming priests; a decree of May 1792 ordered their imprisonment; a decree of August 1792 ordered their deportation. One hundred bishops and between thirty and forty thousand priests went into exile, many of them taking refuge in England and America.

French patriotism was enkindled when an armed force of French *émigrés*, allied with the soldiers of Frederick William of Prussia and of Emperor Leopold of Austria, brother of Marie Antoinette, invaded the

¹¹ He took the Constitutional Oath in 1791 and carried a number of the clergy with him into schism. Rebuked by Pius VI, he resigned his cardinalate and was deposed. During the Reign of Terror he apostatized to save his life, but was arrested and died in prison, either from suicide or from apoplexy. His nephew, also a bishop who had apostatized, repented immediately before his execution in 1794.

¹² Each of the first two Estates had 300 representatives, and the third had 600.

¹³ This Constitution abolished the existing 133 bishoprics of France and set up 83 new dioceses corresponding in area to the 83 departments into which the country had been divided. All ecclesiastical offices, including that of bishop, were to be elective; and no religious qualification was to be required for voting in these elections. Newly elected bishops were forbidden to apply to the pope for confirmation (in violation of the concordat of 1516).

During the absence of the bishops, M. Emery, superior of the Society of St. Sulpice, acted as head of the Church and did much to preserve Catholicism. Although irreconcilably opposed to the Civil Constitution of 1790, he conceded all that was nonessential, took the oath of "Liberty and Equality" in civil and political issues, accepted the Constitution of 1799, and coöperated in Pius VII's attempt to obtain the resignation of French bishops, so as to make a concordat possible. His defense of Pius VII aroused Napoleon's anger, and led to a new expulsion of the Sulpicians.

country; and the French victory over the Allies at Valmy in September 1792, brought a turning point in the history of France. The National Convention proclaimed the Republic, decreed the execution of Louis XVI and his queen, and condemned to death all priests suspected of hostility to the new regime. Robespierre's Reign of Terror, which lasted from June 1793 to July 1794, involved thousands of official murders; and it was followed by a counter-Terror in which Robespierre and his friends were beheaded. When the government of the Directory was set up in 1795, the Convention forestalled the possible return of the Royalists to power by decreeing that two-thirds of its own members should become members of the new government and that not more than half of this number should be *elected*. The Directory required all ministers of religion to swear opposition to royalty and established a national religion under the name of "Theophilanthropy."

As military agent of the Directory, Napoleon Bonaparte carried out a successful invasion of Italy, defeated Austria, occupied the States of the Church, and forced the pope to pay a heavy indemnity. In 1799 a new revolution made Napoleon ruler of France, with the title of First Consul. Realizing that the schismatical Church of the Revolution could not last, Napoleon negotiated a concordat with Rome; but he stipulated that all existing bishops should resign and that the government should have the right of making or vetoing all new episcopal appointments.

Spain: Philip V (1700–1746), first Bourbon ruler of Spain, in the early years of his reign was subservient to France, which had supported his claim to the throne. In retaliation for Catalonia's support of his rival (the Austrian archduke, Charles), he deprived Catalonia of its ancient constitutional rights (*Fueros*). Later Philip came under the influence of his unscrupulous minister, Cardinal Alberoni. Antipapal spirit spread. A dispute with the Holy See in 1709, which led to the closing of the papal nunciature in Madrid, was followed by a display of open antagonism towards the Roman Curia on the part of the bishop of Córdoba. A concordat was drawn up in 1737; but the old quarrel over the royal right of appointment to benefices (*Patronato*) remained unsettled.

Ferdinand VI (1746–1759), keeping neutral in the Franco-English disputes, gave his country a peaceful and prosperous reign; and in a concordat (1753) he received from Pope Benedict XIV the same control of ecclesiastical appointments in

Spain that he already possessed in the Spanish colonies. This enlarged *Patronato* remained a perennial cause of trouble.

Charles III (1759-1788) made the blunder of ratifying the celebrated Family Compact (1761), by the terms of which France and Spain agreed to guarantee the possessions of all the Bourbon powers.¹⁴ He curtailed certain clerical privileges, ordered the bishops to check criticism of the government by priests, and in 1767, having been disturbed by rumors of a Jesuit plot, banished the Society. During the reign of Charles IV (1788-1808), his queen, Maria Louisa, and her favorite, Godoy, secularized education, placed unbelievers in university chairs, and confiscated Church property. Spain was gradually being transformed; ecclesiastics, nobles, and farmers dwindled in number; military men and manufacturers increased; many of the upper class, under the influence of revolutionary France, abandoned the Church; by the year 1800 the old Catholic aristocracy of Spain had almost ceased to exist.

Portugal: The scandalous life of the outwardly religious John V (1706-1750) and the general demoralization of the nobility did much to destroy the faith of the people. During John's incompetent rule, moreover, the Portuguese colonial possessions in India were reduced to Goa on the Malabar coast and an area north of Bombay.

In the reign of Joseph (1750-1777), his minister, the celebrated Marquess de Pombal, reformed some abuses in the government, but made serious economic blunders and also inflicted grave injury on the Church. He converted the University of Coimbra into a headquarters of rationalism; he expelled the Jesuits, first from the court, then from the colonies, then from Portugal; and, when Clement XIII declined to accept his anti-Jesuit program, Pombal discontinued diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

In 1792 Queen Maria Francesca handed the government over to her son, Dom John, who had to face a revolutionary movement planned in France and fostered by Freemasons. Dom John expelled the French aliens whom he suspected of disloyalty and

¹⁴ Preceding compacts of a similar tenor had been made in 1733 and in 1743.

dissolved the Freemason lodges. These measures provoked the hostility of the republic; only English intervention saved Portugal from a French invasion.

Italy: Except the Papal States and the duchy of Savoy, nearly the whole of Italy was under the control of Austria and Spain.

In Tuscany religion suffered when the Grandduke Leopold II (1765-1790), following the example of his brother, the Emperor Joseph II, assumed control of Church affairs.

In 1734 the future Charles III of Spain seized the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and in 1749 another Bourbon, his brother Philip, received Parma and Piacenza by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. although Benedict XIV renewed the protest of Innocent XIII. Both Charles and Philip encroached on the rights of the Church.

Venice, after the surrender of her Balkan possessions to the Turks in 1718, enjoyed material prosperity; but the government manifested a spirit of religious indifference, due largely to French influence. Later in the century Napoleon seized Venice and united it to Austria.

b. The British Isles

England, Ireland, Scotland

The British Isles: Politically and religiously this was a memorable era. For the most part it was a very unhappy period for the Church, although the latter part of the century brought the beginning of relief from oppressive penal laws.

England: There are two sides to eighteenth-century England. Those who see in it the source of "the great currents, economic, social, political, intellectual, and religious that govern the modern world" ¹⁵ justify their enthusiasm by recalling the names of Newton, Halley, Watt, by reviewing the story of English literature, by pointing out that England—although she lost her American colonies—built up an empire in India and saved herself from the political convulsions which tormented France. Nevertheless, this period was stained by shamelessness in high places, by the brutalities of the slave trade, by a pauperized proletariat;

¹⁵ H. B. Workman's *Methodism*, quoted in Piette, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

its religious apathy, indecency, drunkenness, dishonesty, and political corruption moved John Wesley to inaugurate his Methodist revival; and the Church of England, under the influence of deists and rationalists, degenerated into a mere national institution doctrinally vague enough to include any patriotic Englishman.

King William III (1689-1702), personally inclined to tolerance, did not exert himself to check the Whigs from legislating against Catholics; and the Act of Succession (1701) reserved the throne exclusively to Protestants. In the following year William was succeeded by Queen Anne, indifferent rather than hostile to Catholicism, yet willing to endorse penal legislation described by Burke as "the ferocious Acts of Anne." For a time it seemed possible that Tory reaction against the disappointing consequences of the Revolution might bring back the Stuarts; but instead the Hanoverians came to the throne.¹⁶ The first two Georges were brazenly immoral and not particularly interested in religion; under George I (1714-1727), the last of the penal laws imposed a double tax on Catholics. The initial steps to abolish the penal code were taken in the reign of George III (1760-1820).¹⁷

The Catholic body underwent a number of changes. Some of the upper classes drifted from the ranks of the Tories into the Whigs; nine peers renounced their religion; ¹⁸ Catholics dwindled to less than one per cent of the population—about sixty thousand—an insignificant minority whose

¹⁶ According to Lecky (*A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 105), the Stuarts would have been restored had Queen Anne lived a year longer instead of dying in 1714.

Catholics took a conspicuous part in the Stuart rising of '15; but few participated in the later rising of '45. James Francis Edward Stuart (the Old Pretender), son of James II, was recognized by the Holy See as *de jure* king of England until his death in 1766. This recognition was not extended to his son, Charles Edward (the Young Pretender).

¹⁷ The Prince of Wales (the future George IV) married Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Catholic, in 1785 in defiance of the Royal Marriage Act. He denied the marriage later and changed his sympathetic attitude towards Catholics to one of dislike. The marriage certificate (sealed up by agreement with King William IV) has been opened and copied within recent years. See Shane Leslie, *Mrs. Fitzherbert: a Life, chiefly from Unpublished Sources*. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1939.

¹⁸ In 1778 the duke of Norfolk presented a Catholic address of loyalty to the king. Eight years later the dukedom was inherited by a Howard who had already repudiated the Catholic faith.

private religious activities the government could afford to overlook. A movement to lessen Catholic disabilities was aroused by the sentencing of John Baptist Maloney to life imprisonment in 1767 "for exercising the functions of a popish priest"; the sentence was commuted to banishment four years later; and in 1778—partly to secure Catholic support against the revolutionary spirit then active in Europe and America—the government introduced the first Catholic Relief Act, enabling Catholics to purchase and inherit land and abolishing the penalty of life imprisonment for priests. Although this step caused an outbreak of bigotry by the Wesleyans and led to the Gordon Riots, further concessions were made in the Relief Act of 1791.¹⁹

After the death of the forceful and deeply spiritual vicar-apostolic, Bishop Challoner, in 1781, English Catholics split into two factions—Cisalpines, who followed a narrow, insular, nationalistic policy, and Ultramontanes, who accepted the guidance of Rome. The first-named group supported a plan to win concessions from the government by giving the crown a veto on the appointment of Catholic bishops; and, had it not been for the resistance offered by Bishop Milner and the Irish hierarchy, the plan would probably have succeeded.

The French Revolution caused the closing of the Catholic seminary at Douai which trained priests for the English missions; and it destroyed the English Benedictine monasteries in France. About eight thousand French priests took refuge in England and lived there until Napoleon made his concordat with the Holy See, when most of them returned to France. A number of those who remained grouped themselves under the Abbé Blanchard and gave trouble to Bishop Milner and the Holy See.

Ireland: The Irish penal code has been described as legislation "deliberately intended to demoralize as well as degrade."²⁰ In an oft-quoted passage Edmund Burke describes it as "a ma-

¹⁹ Lord George Gordon, a half-mad Scottish noble, incited a London mob which rioted for five days, destroying Catholic chapels and properties and attacking members of the House of Lords who had supported the Relief Act. The riot was put down at the cost of some four hundred casualties; and a number of rioters were hanged. Lord Gordon, acquitted on the ground of insanity, later announced his conversion to Judaism; he died in prison after having been convicted of libel. The Gordon Riots are described in Dickens's novel, *Barnaby Rudge*.

²⁰ Lecky, *op. cit.*, I, 307. Of the penal code Lecky says: "it was enacted without the provocation of any rebellion, in defiance of a treaty which distinctly guaranteed the Irish Catholics from any further oppression on account of their religion. It may be justly regarded as one of the blackest pages in the history of persecution." (*Ibid.*, p. 327.) Dr. Johnson "severely reprobated the barbarous, debilitating policy of the British government, which, he said was the most detestable mode of persecution. . . . Better (said he) to hang or drown people at once, than by an unrelenting persecution to beggar and starve them." James Boswell, the *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* with an Introduction by Herbert Asquith. New York: The Modern Library, p. 377.

chine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." Deprived of their property, their means of livelihood, and of all educational opportunities, the Irish emigrated in large numbers. Of those who remained at home, only a small percentage abandoned the faith.

After the middle of the century the penal laws were less strictly enforced. Step by step Catholics obtained the right to reclaim bog land (1771), to use a revised form of the Oath of Allegiance (1774), to seek admission to the Bar, to erect schools (1782), to vote at elections. On the other hand, they were still excluded from membership in Parliament and from certain civil and military offices; and although Trinity College in 1793 admitted Catholic students, it refused to give them equal status with Protestants. The Orange Society, organized to maintain Protestant ascendancy, committed numerous outrages against Catholics, who were unable to protect themselves or to obtain legal redress.

The Irish Parliament was a "cruel farce"; for three-quarters of the population, on the ground that they were Catholics, were excluded from representation. The Presbyterians of Ulster also suffered from official discrimination; and in 1798 a Presbyterian organization known as the Society of United Irishmen, in co-operation with the Catholics, broke out in rebellion. The uprising was suppressed with much cruelty. Then the English Prime Minister, Pitt, having decided to abolish the Irish Parliament, secured control of it by purchasing a sufficient number of seats;²¹ and his promise of better treatment secured Catholic support for the Act of Union which in 1800 established the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

Scotland: The union of Scotland with England in 1707 brought no relaxation of the penal laws; and the support given by Catholics to the Stuarts in the "Risings" led to fierce reprisals, especially after the battle of Culloden in 1746. The

²¹ At a cost of £1,200,000, which was added to the national debt of Ireland. Unable to put through the promised legislation, Pitt resigned the office of prime minister.

Highland clans were scattered, churches destroyed, more than a thousand persons deported to America. Bishop Hay, a convert at the age of twenty, consecrated bishop in 1769, who carried on his apostolate in the Lowlands for forty years, was assailed by anti-Catholic rioters in Edinburgh.²² The Relief Act of 1793 brought peace to Catholics whose numbers were increased by Irish immigrants; and at the end of the century the Scottish Church contained three bishops, forty priests, twelve churches, and about thirty thousand people.

c. Other Countries

The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Scandinavia

The Netherlands: In the northern (Calvinist) provinces, where the Dutch Republic was established, Catholics were persecuted; but anti-Catholic feeling grew less bitter as Liberalism gradually replaced orthodox Protestantism towards the end of the century.

Belgium: After the southern (Catholic) Netherlands became an Austrian possession in 1713, difficulties with the government occurred frequently. Emperor Joseph II ignored the rights of the Belgians, prohibited assemblies of the bishops, issued decrees on marriage and liturgical worship, and suppressed academic freedom in the University of Louvain which he considered ultrapapal. A patriotic movement expelled the Austrian rulers and set up an independent republic in 1789. When the country came again under Austrian control, Leopold II restored its ancient privileges; and the people enjoyed virtual independence until the French Republic seized Belgium in 1794.

The French were soon hated more than the Austrians had been; and an unsuccessful rebellion in 1798, known as the "Peasants' War," caused more than seven thousand priests to be banished and an oath of fidelity to the French Republic to be imposed upon the people. But the Belgian bishops, who had taken refuge in England, condemned the oath; and the people maintained a consistent attitude of hostility towards the French.

²² He was the author of *The Sincere, Devout and Pious Christian*, a devotional book still in use; and he was responsible for the publishing of the first Catholic Bible printed in the English language in Scotland.

Switzerland: The civil war of 1712 brought complete victory to the Protestants and gave them equality even in the Catholic cantons. Towards the end of the century the Swiss government, then under French influence, expelled the papal nuncio and decreed the suppression of all monasteries; but a few years later the property of the monasteries was restored.

Scandinavia: In the Scandinavian countries the state controlled the Protestant Church; illiteracy was prevalent; and, despite the efforts of zealous Lutheran ministers, religious instruction was almost discontinued. As the people became more indifferent to Christianity, rationalism spread. The Catholic Church consisted of a few scattered missions.

The warlike Charles XII (1697-1718) of Sweden made himself the champion of Protestantism even outside his own dominions. After his victory over Augustus II—who was elector of Saxony and also king of Poland—Charles dictated a treaty which required Augustus to renounce the Polish crown in 1706 and to agree that Lutheranism would remain the religion of Saxony, that no churches should be given to Catholics, and that Catholics should not be allowed to build schools or monasteries.

3. AMERICA

European wars involved the transatlantic colonies of Spain, Portugal, France, England; racial antagonisms and conflicting colonial policies had grave repercussions, political and religious. The confused situation of the day helps to explain the chaotic condition of later times. Before the end of the century radical changes had taken place—one of the greatest being the suppression of the Jesuits, who had nearly three thousand members laboring in the American mission field (about twenty-nine hundred of them south of the Río Grande). As the following pages show, the Church suffered greatly during England's wars with France and with Spain, and also to some extent during the Franco-Spanish hostilities. The most significant events of all were the founding of the Republic of the United States and the beginning of a hierarchy in the new nation.

a. Latin America

Spanish Colonies: Racial origin divided the people of this region into several distinct groups—Spanish-born, Creoles (born in America of Spanish blood), Indians, Negroes, and half-caste. With few exceptions, the higher official positions, civil and ecclesiastical, were occupied by the Spanish-born who looked down upon the natives. The Creoles, many of whom had grown rich, looked down in turn upon the Indians, the Negroes, and the half-breeds. These native groups resented the dominance of an alien race; and with the spread of eighteenth-century revolutionary ideas, Spain's position in the colonies grew less and less secure. Unfortunately, the attempt to develop a native priesthood had been too long delayed. When stirred to discontent, the people were disposed to identify the Church with the State and to vent their anti-Spanish sentiment and their social indignation upon the clergy. Moreover, in some places—notably in Mexico City and Peru—the Church had accumulated considerable wealth.

Naturally the population included a great variety of types—saintly, simple, learned, ignorant, superstitious, disloyal, revolutionary. In the ranks of the clergy were to be found men of apostolic zeal, ready to endure every hardship and even to suffer martyrdom; alongside of them were others, self-seeking, crafty, avaricious. Religious activities were crippled by rivalries between the bishops and the religious, between the secular and the regular clergy, between orders. State officials were sometimes despotic, corrupt, and unjust. Keeping all this in mind, one is not surprised at the unsatisfactory spiritual condition which prevailed.

About the middle of the century the Madrid government was aroused by outspoken warnings of the need of reform. Signs of a new policy were perceptible in the instructions of Ferdinand VI in 1755, urging the viceroy of New Spain to deal vigorously with abuses; in the decrees of Benedict XIV recommending the development of a native clergy; in the legislation of King Charles

III allotting a larger proportion of parishes to secular priests.²³ As a result, some men of Indian blood were promoted to higher ecclesiastical offices; but the spirit of the royal edict was frequently disregarded by governors who persecuted both the missionaries and the natives. The latter part of the century registered increasing demoralization, due to the influx of mercenaries in the standing army, the organization of Masonic lodges, the circulation of anti-Christian French literature, and the immigration of a large number of undesirables who wished to live "without God, without king, without law." If the Spanish colonies had been autonomous they might perhaps have forestalled disaster; but, as dependencies of the crown, they could do no more than appeal to the distant government at Madrid. This they did in 1761, when four bishops of New Spain addressed a bold protest to the king, urging curative and preventive measures; their representations were ineffectual. Independence came after another half century; but it came too late. Spanish America had forfeited peace and normal development for a long time to come.

Successful mission work was carried on in Mexico by Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans—the Jesuits being especially active in Lower California, where they established eighteen missions. Before their expulsion they had already transferred more than one hundred missions to the charge of the secular clergy in order to liberate their own men for work in new foundations. Despite the theoretical support of the Spanish crown, the missions suffered from the neglect, and even at times the open hostility of the colonial authorities. In addition, the missionaries had to face the enmity of avaricious white settlers and the not infrequent raids of Apaches and other tribes. Several missionaries suffered martyrdom in the Pericui rebellion in 1734. In 1767 the Jesuits were deported with such cruelty that many died en route; and an immense number of converts and neophytes were abandoned.²⁴

²³ Within a period of twenty years 500 priests had come from Europe. The effect of the new decree was evident at the end of the century when thirty out of forty-one bishops were Indians or half-breeds. See Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, 502, n. 4.

²⁴ The story of the Jesuit missions in California is given in the *History of (Lower) California*, written in Italian in 1786 by Francisco Clavigero, a Mexican Jesuit, who was among those deported from Mexico in 1767. It was translated into English by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, and published by Stanford University Press in 1938. The standard work on the California missions is Engelhardt's *The Missions and Missionaries of California*.

The Spanish colonies of the south were reorganized in 1740 and Bogotá became the seat of the viceroy of New Granada. The south reached a high intellectual level; and Bogotá was known as the "new Athens." Indian uprisings took place at intervals in various regions. In Peru and Chile Franciscan missions were destroyed and a number of priests martyred. Bolivia, where few whites had settled, showed a chronic tendency to revert to barbarism.

A tragic event was the destruction of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay. In 1715 an anonymous French writer spread the rumor that these peaceful settlements were being organized into a Jesuit state with great wealth and a powerful army, which would menace the colonial empire of Spain. A royal commissioner sent to investigate conditions completely vindicated the Jesuits; but another crisis developed when in 1756 a treaty between Spain and Portugal rearranged the boundaries of the colonies, placing seven of the Reductions under Portuguese jurisdiction; and the Portuguese promptly expelled nearly thirty thousand Guaraní Indians. A few years later (1767) more than five hundred Jesuits, of whom nearly four hundred were priests, were deported to Spain; and the flourishing little communities, taken over by Spanish officials, soon disintegrated, despite the efforts of Dominicans and Franciscans to save them.

In Florida successful Spanish missions were destroyed by Governor Moore of Carolina who, in 1704, burned twelve out of thirteen towns, killed the missionaries, and carried a thousand Christian Indians off as slaves. Less than five hundred of the whole tribe of seven thousand Christian Apalachees escaped. In the neighborhood of St. Augustine, raids by hostile tribes and by English invaders all but destroyed the Timuquanan Indians, who had been almost entirely converted to Christianity. When Florida was ceded to the English in 1763 and the Spanish inhabitants emigrated, Catholicism disappeared from the peninsula.

Several missions founded by Franciscans from Mexico, near the present Nacogdoches in Texas, were destroyed by the French in 1719. The French also threatened San Antonio (founded in 1703); but it was carefully guarded by the Spanish as a frontier post, until France surrendered this region; Spain then lost interest in the missions and in 1794 they were all secularized.

Missions farther west, carried on by Jesuits until their expulsion, were continued by Franciscans and Dominicans. Father Junipero Serra founded the first Franciscan mission in California at San Diego in 1769, and before long the Franciscans had twenty-one prosperous missions with a population of some thirty thousand Indians. The Franciscans in Arizona established several missions there; and they built a church at Tucson in 1776. The missions of New Mexico, which had been revived after their destruc-

tion in an Indian uprising, did not prosper; at the end of the century Christian Indians in that vicinity numbered less than a thousand.

Portuguese Colonies: Here the Franciscans had twenty-one missions—eleven in Bahia and eight in Pernambuco. The Jesuits, who were especially active, obtained from the crown a decree which abolished slavery in 1755; but Pombal's deportation of more than four hundred Jesuits to Lisbon (where most of them died in prison) left thousands of Indians unprotected from the slave traders and also spiritually destitute. At the end of the century less than half the population of two million was Christian.

French Colonies: About seventy-five thousand French Catholics were scattered through Canada and Louisiana in 1763 when, by the Treaty of Paris, France ceded Canada to England and Louisiana to Spain. The treaty expressly stipulated the maintenance of religious freedom; and Canada remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Quebec. At first the English discriminated against Catholics,²⁵ suppressed religious orders, and confiscated Church property; but growing restlessness which forecast the approaching revolution of the Thirteen Colonies together with the prospect of another French war, moved England to adopt a more tolerant policy and the Quebec Act of 1774 (extending the Province of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi) granted Catholics the rights and privileges proper to British subjects, including religious freedom and *habeas corpus*.²⁶

²⁵ In 1755 the British government, in order to secure political and religious unity, expelled about ten to twenty thousand Catholics from their homes in Acadia, Nova Scotia, and scattered them into various settlements along the Atlantic seaboard—as told in Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*. A well-documented account of the episode is "The Acadian Confessors of the Faith—1755" in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, IX (1884), 592-607.

²⁶ Bishop Briand of Quebec turned Canadian sentiment in favor of the British by his pastoral letter of 1775, which reminded the Canadians that the Americans had protested against the freedom granted to Catholics in Canada. He encouraged the Canadians to repel the Continental army, forbade priests to communicate with Father Carroll, the American representative (suspending one of them for disobedience to this order), and excommunicated several Canadians for joining the Continental forces. See Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-54.

The Act of 1791, granting Canada a constitution, ensured to the French Catholic inhabitants of Lower Canada "the enjoyment of the civil and religious rights guaranteed them by the terms of the capitulation of the Province, or since accorded them by the liberal and enlightened spirit of the British government." Soon afterwards the Anglican bishop of Quebec, at the head of a powerful Protestant group, tried to secure control of the entire educational system; but the determined resistance of the Catholic hierarchy blocked the attempt. By the end of the century the high birth rate of the French Canadians and the entrance of Irish and Scottish immigrants had raised the number of Catholics in Canada to one hundred thirty thousand.

The territory of Louisiana, which ran from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, began to take on new importance early in the century. New Orleans was founded in 1718; Capuchins, Jesuits, priests from the Quebec seminary carried on mission work; in 1727 French Ursulines opened a hospital and established a school for children of all races and social conditions, thus becoming the first professional women school teachers within the limits of the present United States. The faith encountered serious obstacles—Indian uprisings, in which priests were killed and missions destroyed, misunderstandings between Capuchins and Jesuits (which, however, have been much exaggerated), confusion and racial jealousy after Spain had assumed control in 1763,²⁷ and the scarcity of priests which followed the suppression of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, the population increased, partly through refugees from the British Isles, from Acadia, and from San Domingo. The Holy See transferred the jurisdiction of the new Spanish territory first to the see of Santiago and later to Havana; and then in 1793, Luis Peñalver y Cárdenas, a native of Havana, was consecrated bishop of the new see of St. Louis of New Orleans. He was distressed and shocked at the conditions which he discovered on his arrival. According to his report, New Orleans was a center for traders and adventurers; morals were lax among the whites and almost non-existent among the slaves; and French Freemasons controlled both business and government.²⁸

b. British America

Newfoundland: In view of John Cabot's landing, probably on Nova Scotia in 1497, Great Britain claimed this region—oldest

²⁷ Naturally, racial feelings were disturbed by this transfer of political and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The French Ursuline nuns have been charged with refusing to admit Spanish girls to their novitiate but existing records refute the charge.

²⁸ According to Bishop Peñalver, most of the men lived in concubinage, and among the slaves marriage was almost unknown. See Roger Baudier, *History of the Catholic Church in Louisiana*, and John T. Gillard S.S.J., *Colored Catholics in the United States*.

of her North American colonies. Missionaries worked among the Portuguese, French, and British immigrants; and in the eighteenth century the island contained several thousand Catholics, chiefly of Irish stock. After the conflicting claims of France and England had been adjusted by successive treaties, the English authorities expelled all priests and destroyed the houses where Mass had been celebrated. Nevertheless the Church grew; and in 1798 James O'Donnell, a Franciscan missionary, became the first bishop of Newfoundland.

The Thirteen Colonies: Growing alienation of the colonies from the mother country may be traced in a series of clashes over administrative details and—especially in the third quarter of the century—over offensive or oppressive laws.²⁹ Antagonism to the Church of England also caused some (relatively minor) disturbances among the Congregationalists of New England, in New York (where this church, although theoretically established, included less than 10 per cent of the people), and in the south where the numerous dissenters had to support Anglican ministers. Source of more serious agitation throughout the colonies was the prevalent fear that England would abandon America to the French and Spanish—for the long strain of wars with the Catholic French of Canada, with their savage Indian allies, and with the Catholic Spanish of Florida, had deepened dislike and dread of "papists."³⁰ When the Americans took up arms

²⁹ For example, the Sugar and Molasses Act of 1773, which enlarged the scope of the older Navigation Acts; the Stamp Act of 1765, which imposed new taxes; the Townshend Acts of 1767 which, among other decrees, prohibited the New York Legislature from passing any more laws until the royal troops were provided with barracks; the so-called "Intolerable Acts of 1774" which closed the port of Boston and deprived the citizens of their chief political rights. Signs of coming war were the Boston Massacre (1770); the revolt of the Irish and Scottish farmers of North Carolina (1771); the burning of the revenue schooner, *Gaspée* in Narragansett Bay (1772); the Boston "Tea Party" (1773). All the colonies, except Georgia, assembled in the First Continental Congress of 1774; the battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill took place in 1775; and—against the opposition of the Loyalists, who numbered about one-tenth of the population—the thirteen colonies published a Declaration of Independence in 1776.

³⁰ The list of wars includes: King William's War, 1689-1697; Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713; the Spanish War, 1739-1748; King George's War, 1744-1748; French and Indian War, 1754-1763. In addition to the famous raid on Deerfield, similar raids took place at various points in New York, New Hampshire, Maine, and Massachusetts. When Parliament in 1774 passed the Quebec Act establishing toleration of Catholicism in Canada, Congress protested vigorously, alleging that George III was at heart a papist, and that England was abandoning the colonists to the mercy of the French and Indians.

in 1776 they imagined they were fighting not only for the right of political representation, but also to defend themselves against an approaching Catholic invasion to which the English government would offer little if any resistance.³¹ In view of the fact that colonial opinion regarded the Church as an instrument for the propaganda of "impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion,"³² it seems not surprising that the anti-Catholic penal laws in America were sometimes even more cruel than the English code.

Another factor which contributed to the enactment of drastic legislation was the large influx of Scottish and Irish Presbyterians (ideal frontiersmen, born leaders and politically influential) who hated "papists" even more than they hated Tories. Still another factor was the whipping up of religious prejudice by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.³³ Unfortunately, the colleges, which might have set a check upon bigotry, were under sectarian control.³⁴ We are thus prepared to find colonial legisla-

³¹ Claude H. VanTyne finds "religious bigotry, sectarian antipathy, and the influence of the Calvinistic clergy" among the chief causes of the Revolution. See *American Historical Review*, XIX, (Oct 1913) 44-64. A similar view was expressed by Evarts B. Greene in his Presidential Address before the American Historical Association, Boston, December 30, 1930.

³² From the Address of Congress to the people of Great Britain, October 21, 1774, drawn up by John Jay. See *The Quebec Act*, by Charles M. Metzger, S.J., p. 152.

³³ Until 1788 the Anglican clergy were subsidized by the London S.P.G. which avowed as one of its chief aims the preventing of "Romish priests and Jesuits" from spreading "popish superstition and idolatry." The sermons preached at the Society's annual conventions show how wholeheartedly the American clergy coöperated with the Society's aim. From the pulpit "there issued a stream of abusive and vituperative language utterly at variance with the character of a minister of the Gospel"—a sort of "ecclesiastical billingsgate." (*Ibid.*, pp. 109-10) Sermons accusing Catholics of disloyalty and of idolatry were backed up by widely distributed tracts. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans, Methodists, Huguenots, all took part in the crusade; and they accepted it as an article of faith that personal piety, patriotism, love of learning and free institutions were identified with Protestantism, whereas ignorance, subservience, and treachery were synonyms for Catholicism.

³⁴ Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth were Congregationalist; Brown was Baptist; Princeton was Presbyterian; Kings College (later Columbia) and the College of William and Mary were Episcopalian; Queens College (later Rutgers) was a Dutch Reformed seminary. Pennsylvania, under Episcopalian influence, was more nearly nonsectarian than any other.

Outstanding example of collegiate participation in propaganda was the Dudley Foundation at Harvard, a permanent series of four annual lectures—"The Third Lecture to be for the detecting and convicting and exposing the Idolatry of the Romish Church, Their Tyranny, Usurpation, damnable Heresies, fatal Errors, abominable Superstitions, and other crying Wickedness in their high Places; and Finally, that the Church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, That Man of Sin, That apostate Church

tion relentless in its effort to exclude or to cripple the Catholics, hated and feared for such a variety of motives. And it *was* relentless.

Although many fell away from the faith during these difficult years, we have the record also of courageous fidelity under persecution, of attempts on the part of missionaries (even at the risk of life) to minister to their scattered flocks, of efforts made to impart and receive education, in spite of popular opposition and legal restraint. Catholic books were circulated and also produced. Our first list of Catholic works (compiled by Joseph Finotti in 1872) went back only to the year 1784; but as Father Parsons has shown in *Early Catholic Americana*, we now possess information about a number of books produced much earlier.

In New England ⁸⁵ Catholics were banned from all the colonies except Rhode Island. Massachusetts forbade priests to enter the colony under penalty of life imprisonment for a first, and of death for a second offense; ⁸⁶ Connecticut imposed an anti-Catholic test on office-holders; New Hampshire decreed imprisonment for all persons refusing to repudiate the pope, the Mass, and Transubstantiation.

In the Middle Colonies policies varied. New York debarred Catholics from office, excluded priests under pain of death, imprisoned the Augustinian, Father De La Motte, for saying Mass without a permit, and in 1756

spoken of in the New Testament." The president of Harvard, two members of the faculty, and two ministers of Cambridge and Roxbury were trustees of the Foundation and the speakers who delivered the lectures were among New England's foremost intellectuals. Particularly obnoxious was the lecture delivered by Samuel Cooper in 1773. The "anti-Romish" lecture was discontinued in 1910.

⁸⁵ Massachusetts, Plymouth, and parts of Maine were now consolidated under a new charter; New Hampshire was a separate colony; Connecticut and Rhode Island retained their old charters.

⁸⁶ Regarding the Abenaki Indian mission at Norridgewock, Maine, as an enemy outpost, an armed force from Massachusetts destroyed the mission in 1724, killed the Jesuit missionary, Father Rale, and brought back his scalp to Boston. In answer to a protest from the governor of New France, the governor of Massachusetts replied that Rale was "an incendiary" and that a less guilty Protestant preacher named Willard had been slain by Indians in the French forces "and his Scalp carried in Triumph to Quebec." The episode has occasioned much controversy. "That Rale was engaging in the fight cannot be gainsaid in the light of the present evidence. . . . Massachusetts regarded the priest as an incendiary because he opposed their plans. The French accord him the accolade of martyrdom because he was killed as a Catholic by a social group who had decreed death to such ministers. Subjectively both were justified. Objectively the question is still open." (Arthur J. Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 205.) Left without a priest until the coming of Cheverus (future bishop of Boston) in 1797, the Abenakis nevertheless loyally retained the faith.

used the Acadian exiles brutally.³⁷ New Jersey followed much the same policy as New York. Pennsylvania, however, remained tolerant, and, although the English government insisted that religious tests should be applied to office-holders, Mass was said quite openly. The religious situation in Delaware corresponded to that in Pennsylvania.

All the Southern Colonies treated Catholics badly. In Maryland, after the crown had deprived Lord Baltimore of his proprietary rights and set up a royal province, members of the Church of England took control; and the legislature ruled that all children of mixed marriages should be brought up as Protestants and should be taken away from the surviving parent, if the non-Catholic parent should die. Another decree—annulled however, by Queen Anne—forbade priests to say Mass, even in private. Charles Carroll, Sr., writing in 1760 to his son (future signer of the Declaration of Independence), declared that if he were a younger man he would quit Maryland.³⁸ Virginia ordered the arrest of any priest entering the colony. The Carolinas debarred Catholics from office. Georgia excluded them entirely.³⁹

Especially cruel were the laws which, following the English model, aimed to degrade Catholics by depriving them of education. Forbidden to have schools of their own, Catholics were admitted to existing schools only on condition of accepting instruction in Protestantism or (in some places) of denying their faith. Catechism lessons were obligatory;⁴⁰ teachers under-

³⁷ Father De La Motte was shut up for months in the old sugar house on Crown Street. In 1741, during the agitation occasioned by the Negro Plot, a Protestant minister, John Ury, suspected of being a Catholic priest, was hanged, and a number of Catholic Negroes were hanged or burned.

³⁸ In 1714 the fourth Lord Baltimore renounced Catholicism, and in the following year the province was restored to his Protestant son, the fifth Lord Baltimore. It remained a proprietary colony until the Revolution, with the Church of England established by law and supported by public taxes.

About half the Catholics of the colonies lived in Maryland and about a quarter lived in Pennsylvania. Jesuit missionaries, more or less disguised, traveled about among them, with an occasional visit to New York and other colonies. In an old stone house at Conewago still standing, Mass was celebrated as early as 1721 by one of these missionaries. According to a report made in 1756 by the vicar apostolic of London, Bishop Challoner (who was superior of the American missions), there were at that time twelve Jesuits in Maryland and four in Pennsylvania.

³⁹ The Carolinas in 1704 established the Church of England and passed a law disfranchising all dissenters; but this law was annulled by Queen Anne. The philanthropist Oglethorpe had obtained from George II a charter for the founding of a colony south of the Carolinas, which should be a refuge for debtors held in English prisons. Within ten years the settlement contained about ten thousand persons, of whom three thousand were Negroes. Georgia became a royal colony in 1753; the Church of England was established; and freedom of worship was extended to all except papists.

⁴⁰ The catechisms varied in the degree of their antagonism to the Church; but the best of them were objectionable. *The Protestant Tutor* and *The New England Primer*, used as texts, included the well-known scurrilous verses about "John Rogers." *The Primer*, which ran into millions of copies, presented a repulsive picture of the pope as the "Man of Sin." "John Rogers" was described as the first martyr of Queen Mary's

went religious tests; ministers functioned as inspectors; textbooks inspired hatred of Catholicism. Only in Pennsylvania were Catholic schools tolerated.⁴¹ Maryland decreed that any Catholic who taught children would be liable to arrest and deportation; and, although this law was vetoed by Queen Anne, several of the schools conducted by the Jesuits in Maryland had to be closed because of Protestant opposition.⁴² In New England all the colonies, even Rhode Island, discriminated against Catholics in the matter of education. Until the Revolution, therefore, Catholics usually had only such schooling as they could get by stealth—a grave obstacle to their well-being in an era of academic expansion and general eagerness for study.⁴³

As the century advanced, Americans showed signs of a reaction from theocratic government and the old orthodoxy. Harvard

reign, in a legend which is partly garbled and partly false. See Sister Marie Leonore Fell, *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860*, pp. 8, 9.

⁴¹ Two schools in Pennsylvania deserve mention: one founded at Goshenhoppen about the middle of the century by Father Schneider, a German Jesuit who had been rector of Heidelberg; and another, "the mother of all parish schools in the United States of America," opened in 1767 at St. Mary's, Philadelphia (the largest Catholic church in the British colonies). At St. Mary's were two Jesuits, Father Molyneux, author of the first American Catholic textbooks, and Father Steinmeyer (or Farmer), who later became a member of the board of governors of the University of Pennsylvania. Sr. M. Augustina Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 162, 164.

⁴² Some time around the year 1744 the Jesuits opened a secondary school at Bohemia Manor in northwest Maryland; and many of the leading families of Maryland sent their sons there.

⁴³ The chart below outlines our present available information on Catholic secondary schools founded in the English colonies before the Revolution. Once at liberty, the Church showed its interest in learning by establishing—almost at the first moment it could be done legally—a college at Georgetown in 1789, an ecclesiastical seminary at Baltimore in 1791, and an academy for girls at Georgetown in 1798.

BOYS' SCHOOLS up to 1800

Date	Name	Location	State	Foundation	History
1640	Newtown Manor	Newtown	Md.	Jesuit	Closed 1659 Reopened 1677 Close uncertain
1682	N.Y. Latin school	New York	N.Y.	Jesuit	Closed 1688
1703	Classical Seminary	Detroit	Mich.	Jesuit and Franciscan	Close uncertain
c. 1744	Bohemia Manor	Old Bohemia	Md.	Jesuit	Discontinued before 1800

See *A Study of Catholic Secondary Education During the Colonial Period*, by Edmund J. Goebel, and *A History of Catholic Education in the United States*, by J. A. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrener.

deviated so far from primitive Puritanism that a group of die-hard Congregationalists founded Yale in 1701; Massachusetts liberals kept Cotton Mather from becoming president of Harvard in 1707; the brilliant but narrowly Calvinistic Jonathan Edwards was dismissed from his pastorate in Northampton in 1750; King's Chapel, Boston, in 1785 eliminated the Trinity from its liturgy.

Academic growth was notable. Between the beginning and the end of the century the number of colonial colleges increased from two to twenty-five. Moreover, a suggestive trend was revealed in the fact that all of the ten colleges existing in 1776 (except the future University of Pennsylvania) were sectarian, whereas of the fifteen founded later, ten were unsectarian. Before the century ended naturalism had definitely entered into American education.⁴⁴

The change corresponded to a dual movement of American thought—from Puritan pessimism towards deistic optimism, and from political absolutism towards democracy.⁴⁵ Rationalistic philosophy—imported directly from England or infiltrating through American contacts with France—established itself solidly at Philadelphia, was circulated in the south by Jefferson, and, although frowned upon in New England, received a welcome at some of the colleges. An historian of early American thought points out as embodiments of the deistic spirit, Jefferson in the political field, Franklin in the scientific, Ethan Allen in the rationalistic; and the *Age of Reason*, published in 1784

⁴⁴ See Boone, *Education in the United States*, pp. 76–77, and O'Connell, *Naturalism in American Education*, p. 52.

⁴⁵ Very important was the American Philosophical Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, formed in 1769 by the merging of two earlier societies founded by Benjamin Franklin and others. Franklin was president until his death in 1790; then David Rittenhouse for six years; then Jefferson until 1815. "Before 1800 over six hundred and fifty of the greatest minds of America and Europe had become members. . . . This organization became one of the greatest channels of French influence in America. . . . There can be no doubt that the American Philosophical Society was one of the instruments that helped to give America the philosophy of the Revolution." When the Revolution was over the Society offered a prize for "the best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country, on principles of the most extensive utility." Allen Oscar Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 105–10.

by Thomas Paine, "marked high water in the deistic movement."⁴⁶

Concurrently with the disintegration of strict Calvinism, other forms of Protestantism had been making headway in the colonies—notably the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Methodist. Before the Revolution, the Presbyterians established the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) as a training school for their ministers; and in 1792 they united with the Congregationalists of New England. The Baptists emigrated in considerable numbers from unfriendly New England to the south where they made numerous converts. The English Methodist preachers sent to America by John Wesley in 1769 had made so little headway that Francis Asbury found a congregation of only four hundred when he arrived from England in 1771; but the American Methodist Episcopal Church, organized at Baltimore in 1792 by Asbury and Thomas Coke, adapted itself to frontier conditions, and Asbury personally traveled on horseback more than five thousand miles annually for a number of years. Itinerant preachers dispensing with liturgy, equipped only with Bible, hymn book, and a set of sermons (often Wesley's own), possessing a minimum of doctrinal knowledge, appealing persuasively to the emotions, and operating under a highly centralized system, carried their message far and wide.

The internal changes of Protestantism and the fact that laymen were replacing ministers as leaders of public opinion did not at first produce any lessening of enmity to Catholics, who were still under political suspicion; and, in the early stages of the revolutionary movement, many of the men most antagonistic to England were equally hostile to the Church. That vociferous propagandist, Sam Adams, assailed popery as "the greatest of the evils to be feared by his fellow subjects." In the campaign against the Quebec Act, John Adams recommended the use of the pulpit to strengthen feeling against the Catholics. Hamilton feared that an Inquisition might be erected in Canada. The Lees (Charles, Richard, and Arthur), Silas Deane, Drayton, Patrick Henry, were all suspicious of "popery." Except Franklin, Jefferson, and Washington, few of the colonial leaders failed to denounce Catholics more or less strongly at one time or another. The press was uniformly hostile.

As the Revolution approached, the air cleared. Sincere or not, the friendly gesture towards Canada made by Congress in 1774 indicated a

⁴⁶ See Woodbridge Riley, *American Thought, from Puritanism to Pragmatism and Beyond*, pp. 11, 12, 87. This volume is a compendium of the author's *American Philosophy*.

In 1784 Allen published *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, one of the earliest deist books written in this country. Allen's daughter Frances, convert to the Church, was the first native of New England to become a nun.

recognition of tolerance as politically expedient.⁴⁷ After the war began religious alignments were cut across by new political divisions. Catholics participated conspicuously in the diplomatic and military activities of the nation. A prominent Catholic citizen, Charles Carroll, signed the Declaration of Independence. From Catholic France and Catholic Poland came Lafayette and Kosciusko and Pulaski to personify a convincing refutation of numerous prejudices. The diplomatic representatives of France and Spain and the soldiers, officers, and chaplains of the French troops gave American Protestants a better conception of Catholic culture. No longer could Americans assume that Catholics were foreign foes when there were so many Catholic patriots in the Colonial army and so many Protestant Tories on the other side.⁴⁸ Out of consideration for Catholic feeling, George Washington forbade his soldiers to indulge in the old sport of burning an effigy of the pope on Guy Fawkes Day. To the disgust of certain irreconcilables (including Benedict Arnold), Congress officially attended Mass on several occasions.

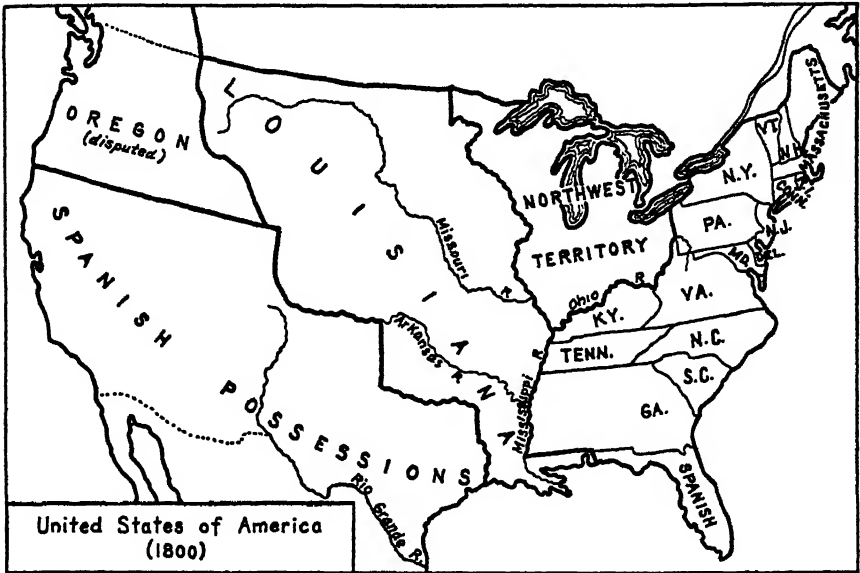
c. The United States of America

When the Thirteen Colonies, having won their independence, set about the organizing of the new nation, they were not so certain as before that Americanism and Catholicism were essentially inharmonious; and the Federal Constitution of 1787 declared "that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." The First Amendment, formulated by the First Congress, further provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The principle of religious freedom was thus imbedded

⁴⁷ The Address of Congress in 1774 "To the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec" invited the Canadians to make common cause with the colonies, offering amicable relationship, and promising to regard every violation of the rights of Canadians as a violation of the rights of Americans. English critics pointed out the inconsistency between this address and the complaint to Parliament almost on the same day. Concerning the Quebec Act, see Metzger, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 159, 202. For the effect on the Canadians see above, note 26. Guilday prints in parallel columns the three addresses of Congress to the people of Great Britain, to the Canadians, and to the king. *Life and Times of John Carroll*, I, 80.

⁴⁸ It is not true that there were no Catholic Tories, for a number were found both in Philadelphia and New York; but the great majority of Catholics were patriots and several of them attained unique distinction: Commodore Barry, Father of the American Navy; Stephen Moylan (brother of the bishop of Cork), Commander in Chief of the Continental Cavalry; Father John Carroll, diplomatic agent of Congress to Canada; Thomas FitzSimons, who gave valuable political and military service to the country; Daniel Carroll, who with FitzSimons signed the Constitution of the United States.

in the new nation; and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 extended it to the territory out of which came the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.⁴⁹



Individual states, however, had no obligation to adopt a similar policy; and state legislatures (within their own jurisdiction) remained free to set up a religious establishment, to impose religious taxes, to enforce religious tests. Not one of the thirteen states except Rhode Island provided for complete religious equality in its first constitution. Virginia soon followed the example of Rhode Island; and two states, Pennsylvania and Delaware,

⁴⁹ Loose thinkers and careless writers sometimes describe Americanism as consisting of doctrines which Jefferson learned from Rousseau, and he in turn from Locke. As a matter of fact the principles of popular supremacy and of government by consent had been the common teaching of the scholastics. See Alfred O'Rahilly, "The Sovereignty of the People," in *Studies*, March 1921. The Jesuit theologian, Suarez, had taught that the political power which radically belongs to the people may, under such conditions as they consider expedient for the common good, be transferred to any form of government that meets with their approval.

To be sure, in the organizing of the Revolution which made the colonies independent, and in the framing of the Constitution which preserved America's political life, large aid was given by Franklin, Jefferson, and other men who had abandoned belief in supernatural religion; but other collaborators—Hamilton, Madison, and most of all James Wilson, the Scot—possessing a sounder philosophy, came nearer to a recognition of the truth that the basic principles of the Constitution (although not professedly related to any theology) are in substance religious, and that the rights which the Founding Fathers claimed as inalienable can have no other ultimate basis than God.

extended equality to all Christians. Of the other states, five established a Protestant church and four discriminated against non-Protestants.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, indications of the spread of a new spirit were visible. One such was the unhindered appointment to a Catholic parish in Boston of the priest, John Thayer, formerly a prominent Congregationalist minister, who had become a Catholic in Rome in 1783.⁵¹ Another was George Washington's reply to the Catholics who had presented him with a memorial on the occasion of his first inauguration: "I presume your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their government,—or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."⁵²

With the war over and freedom acquired, Catholics set about the work of organization. Long persecution added to general social ostracism, numerous mixed marriages, inadequate supply of clergy, and insufficient instruction had taken a heavy toll; and although no statistics are available, it is unquestionable that many persons of Catholic stock had been lost to the faith.⁵³ Now came the task of providing for the spiritual needs of those who remained and of others sure to come. A first step was to secure a new ecclesiastical superior to replace the former incumbent,

⁵⁰ The five were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maryland, South Carolina; the four were New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, and Georgia. When Vermont became a state, it established a church. Among the more aggressive anti-Catholics in New York was John Jay. After the failure of a first attempt, he succeeded in 1784 in carrying through an amendment (repealed in 1821) to the Constitution of the State which "was intended to exclude Roman Catholics from citizenship." Cobb, *op. cit.*, 502 (quoting Story). On the gradual removal of religious disabilities, see Thorning, *Religious Liberty in Transition*. See also Purcell, *The American Nation*, p. 88.

⁵¹ The story of his conversion was printed in 1787.

⁵² The original MS of Washington's answer was in the Cathedral archives of Baltimore as late as September 1866; but its present whereabouts are unknown.

⁵³ Some investigators have rated the leakage as high as 90%. The truth is that, whereas we possess a certain amount of fairly accurate information with regard to the linguistic and national stocks of the colonial population, deductions as to the religion of the immigrants vary widely and no satisfactory conclusion is obtainable. A reasonable estimate of the Catholic population at the close of the century would be nearly fifty thousand persons. The priests were fifty in number.

It has been calculated that the immigrant stock in the United States in the year 1790 was (in round numbers) as follows:

English	2,000,000
Scottish	250,000
Irish	300,000
French	70,000
German	280,000
Dutch	100,000

the vicar apostolic of London; and in 1784 Rome made John Carroll head of the missions in the United States.⁵⁴

It took the liberated colonies about five years to agree on a definite constitution; and it took the Church about the same length of time to effect a permanent organization. In the very year that George Washington was inaugurated President (1789), John Carroll was named first bishop of Baltimore, with jurisdiction over all the present territory of the United States east of the Mississippi, except Florida, part of Louisiana, and a section near Detroit.

A vigorous man, of native birth and of Irish stock, a cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, educated in France, and a Jesuit until the suppression of the Society in 1773, Bishop Carroll ranked high in the estimation of his fellow-citizens. He had gone to Canada with Franklin, Chase, and Charles Carroll in 1776, in an attempt to secure Canadian sympathy, alienated by the American protest against the Quebec Act. More recently his able reply to an attack upon the Church by Charles Wharton, an apostate priest, had attracted favorable notice.

Carroll at once set about the welding of foreign and native American Catholics into a unified body. Among the priests he brought from Europe were ten or eleven French Sulpicians who came in 1791 and opened St. Mary's clerical seminary in Baltimore. As students were few (and completely lacking from 1795 to 1797),⁵⁵ the Sulpicians turned to other tasks, teaching at Georgetown Academy and laboring on the missions. Their

⁵⁴ The question of this appointment was discussed in Paris by Benjamin Franklin, Talleyrand, and the papal nuncio; and Congress, suspecting that France was seeking to interfere in American affairs, warned Franklin to keep clear of entanglements, reminding him that the American policy was "non-interference by the state in religious affairs." The episode has given rise to considerable controversy. See J. A. Baisnée, *France and the Establishment of the American Hierarchy*, and Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*.

There were other complications, too; for the appointment was at first opposed by the priests of the Pennsylvania-Maryland mission who had organized a Clergy Corporation after the suppression of the Society of Jesus to which they belonged. Carroll, when finally made bishop of Baltimore, signed an agreement relinquishing all claims on the property of the Clergy Corporation.

⁵⁵ Yet before Carroll's death thirty priests had been ordained. The first (1793) was the French-born Father Stephen Badin. The first American-born priest to be ordained (1800) was Father William Matthews. See J. W. Ruane, *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States (1791-1839)*. The first priest to receive all the clerical orders here was Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, a Russian prince and convert from the Orthodox Church, who in the course of a voyage to America in 1792, decided to become a missionary. Ordained in 1795, he earned a reputation for holiness and zeal, acquired the title of "Apostle of the Alleghenies" and composed several apologetic writings. A monument to him was erected at Loretto, Pa., the town which he made the cradle of Catholicity in that region. See Peter H. Lemcke, *The Life and Work of Prince Gallitzin*. The contribution of French exiles to Catholicism in America is discussed by Frances S. Childs in *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800*.

contribution was priceless; and the American hierarchy during the first half century included no less than nine Sulpicians.

Bishop Carroll was probably the one person in the United States who, at that particular time, could hold racial and political antagonisms in check while building a foundation for the American Church. The synod which he convoked in 1791 began the ecclesiastical history of the United States; and its legislation "is in reality the corner stone of the edifice erected by our prelates during the century which followed down to 1884." ⁵⁶

TIME CHART

AMERICA

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

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1704 Carolina raids Florida missions	1702 Queen Anne's War New York vs. Nonconformists
1708 Mass said openly in Philadelphia	1704 First newspaper, the Boston News-Letter Carolina vs. Nonconformists
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1756 Catholics in U.S., 7,000	1744-63 King George's War
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⁵⁶ Peter Guilday, *History of the Councils of Baltimore*, pp. 62-63.

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II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Tension between Church and State made this an unhappy period for the popes. Under the necessity of pacifying restless minorities, governments sometimes granted new concessions to Protestants and sometimes abolished ancient Catholic privileges; and against this policy the Holy See made repeated but ineffectual remonstrance. The situation was complicated by the antagonism which divided the two great Catholic dynasties (the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons), and by the Jansenistic and Gallican tendencies of the French.

Events showed how misleading was the classification of European states into "Catholic" and "Protestant"; for so-called Catholic governments, following the secularist policy established in the previous century, interfered with Catholic schools and religious orders, curtailed the freedom of the clergy, and undertook to superintend ecclesiastical affairs. In consequence the Holy See negotiated a number of concordats, which usually em-

bodied compromises heavily weighted in favor of the state, with the pope saving what little he could of his old rights.

A long Bourbon campaign against the Jesuits ended with the dissolution of the Society of Jesus by Clement XIV in 1773. The net result of this act was to strengthen the enemies of the papacy, without bringing that return of political advantage which had been anticipated. Soon afterwards came the French Revolution; and in 1791 the National Assembly undertook to make the French Church a department of the state, independent of the papacy.

Clement XI (1700-1721). Gian-Francesco Albani was elected pope after a conclave of more than six weeks, in which France vetoed Cardinal Mariscotti, and Austria would have vetoed Albani, had he been recognized as a friend of France. In 1713 he condemned the Jansenists in the constitution, *Unigenitus*. Despite his ability as an administrator, he was unable either to prevent the granting of large concessions to Protestantism or to save the vanishing prerogatives of the papacy. In 1701, when the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg declared himself king of Prussia, the pope protested that Frederick had forcibly appropriated territory belonging to the Catholic Teutonic Order and had violated all precedent in setting up a kingdom without papal sanction. Frederick's claim, however, was soon accepted by the European sovereigns, although Poland did not recognize the title "King of Prussia" until after the middle of the century. Clement protested also when the Emperor Joseph I, under pressure from Charles XII of Sweden, conceded certain privileges to Protestant Silesia; and he remonstrated with the imperial city of Cologne for having established freedom of worship in the Cologne residence of the Protestant Prussian ambassador.

By showing friendship for Philip V, the Bourbon claimant to the throne of Spain, Clement antagonized the Hapsburg emperor, Leopold. Then, when the Bourbons were defeated by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, the pope recognized the Hapsburg Archduke Charles, as king of Spain. Having thus alienated both the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons, he was left with no protector. Clement came into conflict with Victor Amadeus of Savoy, the new ruler of Sicily, who revived the ancient *Monarchia Sicula*, and demanded complete control over the Church in Sicily. The king banished three thousand priests from the island for their loyalty to the pope. Clement did not yield to King Victor; and the issue was raised again in later years.

Innocent XIII (1721-1724). Michelangelo dei Conti, who was elected pope after an exciting conclave of nearly seven weeks, made no notable departure from the policies of his predecessors. He subsidized James Stu-

art, the English Pretender; he refused the request of French bishops to have the Constitution *Unigenitus* annulled; he corrected a number of abuses in Spain with the coöperation of Philip V; and he pleased France by making Prime Minister Dubois a cardinal. In 1723 he protested to the Congress of Cambrai against bestowal of the right of succession to Parma and Piacenza on the future Charles III of Spain; but his protest was ineffectual, although these duchies had been papal fiefs for two hundred years.

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His refusal to allow John V of Portugal the same privileges as other kings in the nominating of cardinals, led John to prohibit all communication between Portugal and Rome, even in the case of applications for dispensation from matrimonial impediments. Benedict's minister, Cardinal Coscia, was so dishonest that after the death of the pope he was put in prison for ten years. Benedict left the Holy See in bad financial condition and the papal kingdom in a state of general restlessness.

Clement XII (1730-1740) of the Corsini family, was elected pope at the age of seventy-eight, after a conclave of four months. Although he became totally blind within two years, he did much to establish good order and to reorganize the papal finances. His restoration of the public lottery, suppressed by Benedict XIII, secured for the papal treasury an annual income of approximately half a million dollars. His interest in the Eastern churches led to the reunion of ten thousand Copts and their patriarch. He pressed the campaign against Jansenism; and in 1738 he published the first papal condemnation of Freemasonry.

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over this territory should be divided between the Austrian archbishop of Görz and the Venetian archbishop of Udine caused such resentment in Venice that the republic enacted retaliatory laws against the pope. On the other hand, Benedict secured respect for his authority in purely spiritual matters by concessions with regard to appointments and revenues in Portugal, Spain, Prussia, Sardinia, and Naples. He settled the long-standing controversy about the *Unigenitus* by the liberal ruling that excommunication was called for only in the case of persons showing opposition to it in a public and notorious manner.

In 1751 he confirmed the condemnation of Freemasonry made by Clement XII thirteen years earlier. He showed his interest in intellectual activities by founding historical academies in Rome and by establishing chairs of chemistry and mathematics in the Papal University of the Sapienza. He kept in sympathetic touch with scholars in various countries and carried on a friendly correspondence with Voltaire, who dedicated to him his work on Mohammed.⁵⁷ Benedict's treatise on Beatification and Canonization remains the standard authority on the subject even at the present day. A few weeks before his death, Benedict appointed Cardinal Saldanha to investigate the charges made against the Jesuits in Portugal by the royal minister, Pombal. Saldanha did not receive the brief until a few days after the pope's death; nevertheless, exceeding the powers conveyed to him by the papal brief, he pronounced judgment on the Jesuits, and, before the election of Benedict's successor, the Society had been virtually suppressed in Portugal.

Clement XIII (1758-1769), a Venetian by birth and a pupil of the Jesuits, was elected in a conclave which had lasted two months. His pontificate was disturbed by the campaign of the French Encyclopedists under the leadership of Voltaire, who were influential at all the Bourbon courts, and who were determined to suppress the Jesuits as a first step towards the destruction of Christianity. Early in his pontificate Clement annulled Saldanha's commission to investigate the Jesuits in Portugal; but the harm had already been done, and the anti-Jesuit wave had spread into all the Bourbon countries—Spain, France, the Two Sicilies, and Parma.

The French king, Louis XV, proposed that France should become a separate vicariate of the Society of Jesus, independent of the Jesuit general. The Jesuits refused; and when the case was appealed to the pope, Clement answered, "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint." ("Let them be as they are; or let them not be.") King Louis then dissolved the Society in all countries under his jurisdiction. Clement's bull of protest against the treatment of the Jesuits, published in 1765, went unheeded; and in January 1769 the three Bourbon rulers of France, Spain, and Naples sent to the Holy See

⁵⁷ Voltaire described Benedict XIV as "The glory of Rome and the father of the world."

letters demanding the suppression of the entire Society. Clement summoned a consistory to consider the demand, but died suddenly before its meeting—probably of worry and shock.

Clement XIV (1769–1774). Lorenzo Ganganelli was elected in a conclave prolonged from February until May, because of the "Jesuit question." The forty-seven cardinals were divided into three groups, the anti-Jesuit Bourbons, the "Zelanti" (zealous for Church rights and pro-Jesuit), and the Neutrals; and the Bourbon party, although a minority, was strong enough to prevent the election of any pro-Jesuit candidate. Eventually the Franciscan cardinal, Ganganelli, supposedly a Neutral, made a statement which the Bourbon party regarded as a commitment to their side; and he was unanimously elected. The new pope announced a policy of peace and attempted to smooth out his difficulties with Parma, Spain, and Portugal by friendly gestures, one of which was the raising of Pombal's brother to the cardinalate. But he soon received the Bourbon petition to suppress the Society. For a while, although bullied and threatened, he held out, with the encouragement of King Charles Emanuel of Sardinia and the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa. But finally, in 1773, on the ground that the step was necessary for the peace of the Church, he signed the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, which suppressed the Jesuits throughout the world. The excuse presented by Clement's friends was voiced by St. Alphonsus in the words, "What could the poor Pope do, when all the Courts insisted on the suppression?"⁵⁸

The brief was not well received in all parts of Christendom. The archbishop of Paris opposed it as not binding on the French. The king of Spain regretted its failure to condemn the teaching and the morals of the Jesuits. Naples forbade its promulgation. Several Swiss cantons rejected it; and Poland hesitated for a while. Maria Theresa acquiesced "for the peace of the Church," and authorized the confiscation of the Jesuits' property in her dominions, valued at about ten million dollars.

Clement's pontificate was troubled by various acts of defiance on the part of Portugal, Naples, and Poland. Catherine II of Russia established a new diocese for the Catholic Ruthenians without consulting him. On the other hand, in Great Britain relief laws ended some of the disabilities of Catholics. Another consolation was the reunion of seven Nestorian bishops to the Church in 1774.

Pius VI (1775–1799), opposed at first by the Bourbons because of his presumed friendliness to the Jesuits, was elected after a long conclave. Soon afterwards the Jesuit general, Ricci, died at the age of seventy-two in the Castle Sant' Angelo, while his appeal to be released from prison was

⁵⁸ The publication of the brief was followed by the restoration of the papal territory at Avignon and Beneventum. Louis XV made some concessions to the pope in 1773, although he continued his general policy of deciding the ecclesiastical affairs of France.

being considered by the new pope. Pius, who reigned for twenty-four troubled years, allowed Frederick II to keep the Jesuit schools going in Prussia and did not disturb the Jesuits living in Russia under the protection of the Empress Catherine. He was defied by Joseph II of Austria, whom he had to threaten with excommunication; by Leopold II of Tuscany, who encouraged the schism of Pistoia; by the bishops of Germany; and by the rulers of Venice, Sardinia, and Spain. Ferdinand IV, king of the Two Sicilies, was antagonistic to the Holy See; and the pope refused to appoint any Sicilian bishops until 1791. The Civil Constitution imposed upon the French clergy by the Assembly contained clauses so antipapal in character that the pope suspended all priests who signed it; and, by way of reprisal, the French government confiscated the papal possessions in Avignon.

Pius protested officially against the execution of Louis XVI and coöperated with the Allies in their war against the French Republic. Napoleon invaded the Papal States, dictated the Truce of Bologna (1796) and the Peace of Tolentino (1797), and obliged the pope to pay enormous sums of money—36,000,000 francs in all—and to surrender much territory and many precious works of art. In 1798 the French occupied Rome, proclaimed the Roman Republic, and carried the pope to France where he died at Valence.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: The dogmatic constitution, *Unigenitus*, repeats the condemnation of Jansenism. Other papal decrees deal with moral matters and with disloyalty to the Holy See.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Clement XI (1700-1721)</i>		
1703	Responses of the Holy Office	On the necessary prerequisites for baptism.
1705	Constitution	Rejecting the "obsequious silence" of Jansenists.
1713	Constitution, <i>Unigenitus</i>	On 101 Jansenistic errors of Quesnel.
<i>Benedict XIV (1740-1758)</i>		
1741	Declaration	On clandestine marriages.
1742	Constitution for Italo-Greeks	On confirmation.
1743	Constitution	Profession of faith prescribed for the Maronites.
1745	Brief	On confession.
1745	Encyclical	On usury.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
1747	Letter	Forbidding baptism of Jewish infants against the will of parents.
1752	Constitution	Forbidding duelling.
<i>Pius VI (1775-1799)</i>		
1782	Rescript	On mixed marriages.
1786	Brief	Against Febronianism.
1788	Letter	On the jurisdiction of the Church over marriage.
1794	Constitution	Condemning the Synod of Pistoia.

Councils: The provision of the Council of Trent calling for provincial councils every three years and diocesan synods every year had become a dead letter nearly everywhere except in Italy. The ecclesiastical conventions that attracted most notice were those connected with antipapal movements in Italy, Germany, and France—the so-called Synod of Pistoia (1786) the "National" Council of Florence (1787), the "Congress" of Ems. An assembly of "Constitutional" bishops convened at Paris in 1797. In America John Carroll convoked the First National Synod at Baltimore in 1791.

Organization: Civil rulers, who regarded the Church as a department of state, nullified many of the old ecclesiastical privileges; and these changes necessitated modifications of Church discipline and organization.⁵⁹ It was no longer possible as formerly for the pope to intervene in civil affairs by insistence on ancient law or usage, by excommunication, by interdict; the Holy See now relied upon the diplomatic activity of nuncios and upon concessions embodied in concordats. Twelve concordats were signed in this century; and the agreements made with Catholic countries usually gave the monarch the same right to nominate bishops that had been granted to Francis I in 1516—with right of confirmation reserved to the pope.

Marriage: Increasing interest in various aspects of marriage evoked a vast number of publications. German rationalists,

⁵⁹ Among the privileges nullified were: clerical immunity from the jurisdiction of civil courts; the right of ecclesiastical courts to deal with certain offenses committed by laymen; the right of religious communities to erect monasteries and convents, to receive subjects, to direct schools, to inherit legacies.

writers on natural law, French philosophers, pioneer feminists, helped to promote "secularization"; literary artists pictured the cruel injustice involved in the strict Catholic teaching; Gallicans and Josephists made common cause against the Church's claims; ethnology, economics, eugenics were drawn upon for scientific arguments.⁶⁰ The French constitution of 1791 proclaimed that "the law considers marriage as only a civil contract"; and in the following year, incompatibility of temper was made a legal justification of divorce—with results so grave that the statute was soon amended.

As already narrated, Prussia, Austria, France—and other states also—interfered repeatedly with the Church's jurisdiction over marriage, occasioning an unending series of pronouncements—papal documents, decisions of Roman congregations, decrees of provincial councils. Practical necessity has led to many concessions by the Church. In the celebrated *Declaratio Benedictina* of 1741, Benedict XIV modified the Tridentine decree, *Tametsi*, both for Catholic and mixed marriages. To free bishops of the empire from the danger of offending the emperor, who had forbidden any recourse to the Holy See for dispensations, Pius VI gave them extraordinary faculties. Particular importance attaches to his rescript of 1782 in which he forbade the priests of Belgium to bless mixed marriages (allowing them to be present "materially," if the marriage were contracted not "*in loco sacro*," not with sacred vestments or ritual prayers, and not without a sworn promise of Catholic education for future children).

Worship: Ruthenians at the Synod of Zamosc in Poland (1720) amended the Byzantine rite in certain respects, in order to place their unity with the Holy See beyond the possibility of misunderstanding. They introduced the name "Ruthenian Rite" to distinguish this new form from the older form.

To remedy confusion in ritual usage, Benedict XIII in 1725 published the so-called *Memoriale Rituum*, or Little Ritual, which prescribed the form to be followed when a single priest has to carry out the Holy Week services without the assistance of deacon and subdeacon. Destined originally for use in the

⁶⁰ Montaigne had a share in this movement; so had Voltaire, who denounced indissolubility; so had Pufendorf whose works circulated widely in a French translation.

smaller parish churches in Rome, it was later extended to all smaller churches of the Roman rite; and this "Benedictine Ritual" is still in common use.

Art: The rococo style, which appeared in France under Louis XV, spread to other European countries, notably Austria and Germany, and became especially popular in Italy; in Mexico it combined with the Aztec tradition—as may be seen in numerous churches. It died out when interest in classical art was revived by the study of archaeology.

Communities: Despite the decline of religion, the eighteenth century witnessed the foundation of several new orders, with one or more distinctive features differentiating them from the older communities.

The congregation founded by Mary Ward (1609), had survived in some half dozen local groups; and at the request of the elector of Bavaria and of the exiled Stuart queen, Mary of Modena, Pope Clement XI offered formally to approve the rule of the institute if its members would become cloistered. Persuaded of the great practical benefits of their non-cloistered life, however, the nuns decided to continue as before; and they received only a limited approbation in 1703 under the name, **The Institute of Mary**. This community is known sometimes as the Congregation of English Ladies, and sometimes as the Loretto Nuns. The institute was approved by Pius IX in the following century.

In 1732 St. Alphonsus Liguori founded a society of missionary priests, known as the **Redemptorists**, to give spiritual instruction to the neglected inhabitants of southern Italy. The society, which received papal approbation in 1749, carried on its work mainly by missions and retreats. St. Clement Hofbauer, a Moravian Redemptorist, received permission from his superior to found a house in Austria in 1785; but the emperor would not allow him to proceed with the plan. A few years later (1793) he made foundations in southern Germany, to counteract the influence of Febronianism.

In 1720 St. Paul of the Cross (1694–1775), a native of Genoa, founded a religious order known as the **Passionists**, which seemed to unite the contemplative element of the Carthusian life with the type of missionary activity carried on by the Jesuits. In the first days of their existence they were especially busy with the spreading of the faith in the Balkan countries.

Mention should be made also of the order of teaching sisters called **Filippine** (later **Maestre Pie**) from their founder, St. Lucia Filippini.

Outstanding in the story of religious orders was the suppression of the Society of Jesus, first in Portugal (1759), then in France (1764), then in Spain (1767), and finally in the world (1773). The causes which led to the suppression included some which were general and some which applied only to particular places.⁶¹ It was inevitable that the Jesuits would encounter many powerful enemies in a period characterized by dislike of spiritual authority and by impatience with the dogmatic definitions and the disciplinary regulations of the Church. The Jesuits were outspoken and even aggressive champions of theological orthodoxy and of ecclesiastical rights; they were members of a highly organized, international society, quite beyond the power of any individual sovereign to control; they were influential with the aristocracy of every Catholic country; their schools and colleges gave them opportunities to mould the minds and consciences of the Catholic youth of Europe. Their very success helped to create rivalries and antagonisms.

In Portugal the powerful minister, Pombal, effected the banishment of the Jesuits in 1759, by charging them with complicity in an attempt to assassinate the king, and also with engaging in questionable commercial transactions in Paraguay and Brazil.

In France they suffered particularly from the hostility of Madame de Pompadour, whose scandalous conduct they had rebuked; and also from the results of a bankruptcy in Martinique which involved many French investors in grave loss. The refusal of the Jesuit provincial to accept responsibility for the bankruptcy led to an adverse judgment against the Society in the civil courts and in the Parlement. This episode gave the anti-Jesuits their opportunity; and the hostile sentiment was further stimulated when the Parlement issued a Blue Book compiled of garbled passages from Jesuit writers.

In Spain and its colonies, as well as in the Two Sicilies and in Parma, the campaign against them was carried on relentlessly. On the night of April 2, 1767, six thousand Spanish Jesuits were shipped to the Papal States for reasons which King Charles III said were to be kept forever secret in his own breast.⁶² A few months later Naples banished all Jesuits

⁶¹ See Harney, *op. cit.*, chapters XII to XIV.

⁶² According to a statement attributed to the duke of Würtemberg, the anger of the Spanish king against the Jesuits was aroused by a forged letter from their general to a Jesuit superior in Madrid, declaring that the writer possessed, and might publish at a fitting time, convincing proof of the illegitimacy of the Spanish king. See Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, I, 282.

under pain of death; and the same policy was carried out in Parma early in 1768. All during that year increasing pressure was brought to bear upon Pope Clement XIII to persuade him to suppress the Society throughout the Church; and the Bourbon agent in Rome even threatened schism.

The great issue in the papal conclave of 1769 was the question of electing a pope friendly or hostile to the Jesuits. The question was answered by the election of Clement XIV, who, after long hesitation and with every evidence of reluctance, suppressed the Society in August 1773.⁶⁸

Saints: In addition to saints already mentioned in the text several others are memorable, either by reason of their exceptional careers or because of their social activities. The number of eighteenth-century saints may be increased some day by the canonization of missionaries and lay persons put to death during the persecution in China about the year 1745.

The remarkable **Benedict Joseph Labre** passed his life as a penniless pilgrim living on alms and usually sleeping on the ground in the open air—not very different externally from the homeless wanderers commonly called "tramps." He died in 1783 and was canonized in 1881.

Lucia Filippini, quasi-founder of the *Maestre Pie*, which she introduced into Rome in 1707, died in 1732 and was canonized in 1930.

Veronica Juliana, an Italian Capuchin nun, noted for a series of visions and other extraordinary phenomena, died in 1727 and was canonized in 1839.

The title of "Blessed" has been lately bestowed upon a number of persons who lived in this century. Among the new *beati* are three bishops and one hundred seventy-eight priests imprisoned in the Carmes of Paris during the French Revolution and martyred in 1792; sixteen Carmelites of Compiègne executed by the guillotine in 1794; and thirty-two nuns killed at Orange in the same year.

The list of "Blessed" includes also **Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort**, a Breton priest, renowned as a missionary of the French countryside, who founded the Sisters of Wisdom (to instruct poor girls and to serve in hospitals) and the Company of Mary, a society of missionary priests. He died in 1716 and was beatified in 1888.

Sebastian Valfré, a member of the Oratory of Turin, noted for his devo-

⁶⁸ In the middle of the eighteenth century the Society of Jesus included upwards of 22,000 members, of whom about half were priests. Numerically, Germans ranked first, with Italians, French, and Spanish following in the order named. Some 3,000 were scattered through the various foreign mission fields. The expulsion of the Jesuits from their houses was carried out with considerable cruelty and a large percentage of the older men died from the hardships experienced.

tion to the poor and his zeal for souls, died in 1710 and was beatified in 1834.

Two others recently beatified are **Jane Thouret** (1765-1826), foundress of the Sisters of Charity of Besançon in 1798, and the Armenian priest, **Gomidas Keumurjian**, convert from the Orthodox to the Catholic faith, who was killed by the Turks in 1707, because of his missionary work among his countrymen.

Education: Catholic schools and teaching orders suffered many setbacks; and at the close of the century Catholic education was in distressing condition. Although religious instruction was still included in the curriculum of the elementary state schools,⁶⁴ the religious education thus provided was very superficial; and it soon became evident that the only practical solution of the problem was to establish private schools under Church jurisdiction.⁶⁵

In revolutionary France the attorney general urged that the state should take complete control of the schools and that religion should be excluded from the curriculum; and the Constituent Assembly of 1789 planned a national system of education founded upon these principles. The idea was taken up in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Poland, Russia, and America. In France the destruction of the Jesuit colleges was followed by the suppression of the schools of the Christian Brothers; and a little later the other teaching communities were expelled.

Writers: In contrast with the preceding century, the eighteenth showed a falling off of Catholic scholarship. Yet spiritual works of lasting value were written; and in the field of Scripture, Catholic and Protestant authors alike were aroused to activity in the latter part of the century. In history—where noble beginnings had already been made by the Germans and the French—several Italians now achieved well deserved celebrity. Noted for his contribution to the philosophy of history was Giambattista Vico (d. 1744), a devoted investigator of "the events of history, the roots of words, and the recesses of philosophy," who inspired

⁶⁴ This was the case in Prussia even after the law of 1794 had completed the process of *legal secularization*.

⁶⁵ "Denominational schools," however, were not built extensively until the nineteenth century.

others to undertake work that was beyond his own limited resources. Even more distinguished was the antiquarian Muratori (d. 1750), discoverer of the Muratorian canon, whose prodigious labors won him the reputation of having a greater literary output than any other single worker in all historiography.

The Swiss, Johann von Mueller (d. 1809), a Protestant who was rather sympathetic towards Catholicism, began to consider the possibility of inaugurating a monumental collection of historical sources—an idea which eventually would grow into the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. As interest in history widened, scholars realized more and more the extent to which they were indebted to the monasteries that had been the treasure houses, and the monks who had been the custodians, of the precious material now about to be employed in the construction of the splendid modern edifice. It was to the monks that students went for admission to archives containing manuscripts valuable and irreplaceable. Contrary to the general impression that the revolution opened the path to accurate knowledge of the Middle Ages, the enemies of monasticism were more often responsible for destroying than for saving the records of the past.

Theological Writers: In 1773 the Discalced Carmelites of Salamanca completed the *Salmanticenses*, one of the most authoritative courses in dogmatic and moral theology ever produced. Numerous books of scholastic philosophy and theology also appeared.

Best known among the theological writers was St. Alphonsus Liguori (1691–1787), author of moral and dogmatic works, as well as of ascetical treatises which were translated from Italian into French, German, and English—the English translation comprising twenty-two volumes.

The Benedictine theologian, Schramm (1722–1797), published a treatise on mystical theology.

Two Protestant scholars, Eichhorn (1752–1827)—professor of Oriental languages at Jena and of theology at Göttingen—and Lessing (1729–1781)—a German dramatic critic who was drawn into theological controversy—exercised great influence on the intellectuals of the day.

Pietro Ballerini (1698–1769) and his brother Girolamo (1702–1781) won distinction as theologians and canonists. Pietro was involved in two noted controversies, one in which he defended his theory of Probabiliorism in three volumes, and one in which he condemned all forms of interest-

taking. Girolamo was best known for his editorship of the writings of Cardinal Noris.

Scriptural writers: Among the pioneers in the critical study of the Bible was the Catholic scholar, Astruc (1684-1766), son of a converted Protestant minister and member of the medical faculty of the University of Paris, who wrote a work on the possible sources of the Pentateuch.

Augustine Calmet (1672-1757), a French Benedictine, published a commentary upon the books of the Old and New Testament, which in contrast with current custom stressed the literal more than the mystical interpretation of Scripture. The work was criticized by the Oratorian, Richard Simon, for certain shortcomings; but it went through a number of editions and was translated into several languages.

Charles Francis Houbigant (1686-1783), a member of the French Oratory, one of the best Oriental scholars of the day, published an edition of the Hebrew Bible with critical notes and Latin translation.

Bernard Lamy (1640-1715), a French Oratorian, author of a number of works on Scripture, who was called too "Cartesian," questioned the historical character of the books of Tobias and Judith, and made a distinction between the authority of the proto-canonical and the authority of the deuterocanonical books of the Bible.

Historical Writers: In 1715 the Jesuit **Hardouin** edited a *Collection of the Councils of the Church*, which was immediately suppressed by the French Parlement as too favorable to the papacy; but it was republished by royal permission ten years later.

The Jesuit **Bollandists** continued the *Acta Sanctorum* even after the suppression of their order; but the French government finally withdrew support and sold the Bollandist library to the Premonstratensian Abbey at Tongerlo in Brabant. In 1794 French troops suppressed the work and dispersed the scholars.

Nicola Coleti (1680-1765) published *Collectio Conciliorum* in twenty-three volumes, based upon the earlier works of Labbe, Baluze and Hardouin.

Gian Dominico Mansi (1692-1769), member of the Congregation of Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, Archbishop of Lucca, tireless but hasty and unmethodical, first undertook to supplement Coleti's work, and then began his own immense opus, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, in thirty-one volumes; he left it unfinished. Mansi, who wrote or edited some ninety volumes, got into difficulty with the Index through his treatise on censures; and according to rumor he missed a cardinalate by collaborating on an edition of the French *Encyclopédie*, and thus annoying Clement XIII.

Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), who has been described as a link between the scholastic philosophy and the new age, published in 1725 his *Principi*

di una Scienza Nuova, a work highly prized by Michelet who edited it with Vico's other writings in 1835. The bicentenary of its appearance was celebrated at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart at Milan, by a published defense of the Catholic quality of Vico's teaching. Gamble finds in Vico's work that same "organic evolutionary conception which underlay the historical views of the German Aufklärung and of the nineteenth century afterwards." (Gamble's essay, *The Monumenta* . . . , p. 133.)

Luigi Antonio Muratori (1672-1750), ordained a priest at the age of 22, spent half a century as archivist and librarian for the duke of Modena. He published many previously unedited manuscripts, and brought out in twenty-eight folio volumes his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (1723-51). In the third volume of the collection *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (1738-42) which he edited, he included a celebrated eighth-century Latin manuscript, the so-called Muratorian Canon, (which contains a second-century list of New Testament books) together with much pertinent historical information. Although involved in several theological and political disputes, Muratori was greatly respected by his contemporaries, notably by Pope Benedict XIV and Pope Clement XIV.

Spiritual Writers: Two Franciscan authors were St. Leonard of Port Maurice (1676-1751), a missionary of great renown, and Ambrose Lombez (1708-1778), whose *Peace of the Soul* has long been regarded as a classic for the use of persons inclined to scrupulosity.

Among the Jesuit writers were Caussade (1693-1751), author of the extraordinary little book, *Abandonment*; Grou (1731-1803), author of *How to Pray*; and Scaramelli (1687-1752), author of an *Ascetical* and a *Mystical Theology*.

In connection with spiritual literature may be mentioned the books of sermons—especially those of Massillon (d. 1742), a member of the Oratory, Bishop of Clermont, and court preacher, who delivered an eloquent discourse at the funeral of Louis XIV. His contemporaries ranked him even above Bossuet and Bourdaloue.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: At first the strain between civil and ecclesiastical authorities was caused chiefly by the prevalence of a Jansenistic or a Gallican spirit. As the century wore on, however, rulers not directly interested in religion undertook to build up political support among hierarchy, clergy, and people by supervising the appointment of bishops, the education of the clergy, the growth and activity of religious orders. The monarchs who during the "Age of Enlightenment" were intent upon

reforming the Church often went too far, interfering unjustifiably in religious affairs and giving occasion to protests and quarrels.⁶⁶

The issue between Church and State usually resolved itself into a question of freedom—the freedom of Catholics to worship, and the freedom of the ecclesiastical authorities to manage Church affairs. Paradoxically, the Protestant states at times gave more liberty than the Catholic states to the Holy See, the hierarchy, and the religious orders; and towards the end of the century the Church enjoyed greater freedom of action in the United States of America than anywhere else in the world.

Heresies: Of immense significance in the history of Christianity was the influence exercised by John Locke (d. 1704), David Hume (1711–1776), pioneer of modern skepticism, and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), whose Transcendental Philosophy dominated Germany and England for generations. To these writers and their followers may be traced the widespread reaction against organized churches and formal theology which now manifested itself in two tendencies—a drift towards subjective, highly emotional religion, and a rejection of supernatural belief in favor of rationalism. “About the middle of the eighteenth century Protestantism looked back on its orthodox period as sunken in deep error and considered pure Christianity the champion of a natural religion, rational in its metaphysics and its morality.”⁶⁷

In England where the Established Church had been placed on the level of a government department in charge of public morals, little groups of like-minded persons gathered together

⁶⁶ In these disputes the supporters of the crown were called “Regalists”; the supporters of the Church were called “Curialists.” The name “Jurisdictionalism” was given to the theory which minimized the claims of the Church in relation to the state.

A typical dispute took place in 1785 over the erection of a nunciature in Munich at the request of the elector of Bavaria. Before its close this quarrel involved the cathedral chapters, the suffragan bishops, the archbishop of Salzburg, four of the imperial electors, the Imperial Diet, the Emperor Joseph II, and Frederick William II, king of Prussia; and it was ended only by the French Revolution. See Sister Mary Clare Goodwin, *The Papal Conflict with Josephinism*.

⁶⁷ Schaff-Herzog, *New Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, IX, 300, s.v. “Protestantism.” Semler, “the Father of rationalism” was appointed professor of theology at Halle in 1752. From Halle, despite the opposition of orthodox Lutherans, German Pietism, which minimized doctrine and tended towards subjectivism and rationalism, spread to other universities, notably Königsberg and Würtemberg.

for religious worship. From one such group came the movement known as Methodism, led by John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.⁶⁸ Resembling Catholics in their appreciation of the spiritual life, but indifferent to doctrine, the Methodists stressed the value of prayer and of the Christian virtues; and before long they acquired a large following in all the Protestant sects. After the death of Wesley, English Methodism—confessedly an interpretation of Anglicanism rather than a distinct church—divided, subdivided, and ceased to be so important; but it left Protestantism transformed.⁶⁹

Meanwhile Arian views involving denial of the Divinity of Christ had attained a wide circulation among English and American Protestants. Joseph Priestley (a distinguished scientist) adapted the Anglican liturgy to the worship of the Father only; and in 1774, at a newly opened chapel in London, he "introduced organized Unitarian Dissent as a working force in the religious life of England."

*Rationalism:*⁷⁰ Theological Rationalism originated in Germany with Christian Wulff (1679-1754). He was expelled by the Pietists from his professorship at Halle, but was later recalled by Frederick II. Holding that reason is the ultimate judge of truth, he made religion equivalent to the observance of the moral law, and while not denying revelation, practically ignored it. In the field of biblical study, Semler (1725-1791), and

⁶⁸ John Wesley (1703-1791) has been rated one of the greatest men of eighteenth-century England; and Lecky credits him with having been an effective bulwark against the invasion of revolutionary ideas from France. From impulses traceable to him came the temperance movement, the Sunday-school movement, the anti-slavery agitation, and indirectly in a sense, Catholic Emancipation and the Oxford Movement.

Charles Wesley was the poet of the Methodists. Many of the 6,000 hymns produced by the two brothers are still in use. See Maximin Piette, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ "Since the days of Wesley no one returns to the teachings of Luther, Calvin, Knox, or Cranmer." Edward Hawks, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁷⁰ Rationalism—an ambiguous term—is sometimes applied to the theological movement in Germany which formed one part of the general European "Enlightenment." It is also applied to the theory that the mind should assent only to those truths which are proved by reason: and in this sense it represents a stage in the progress of Protestantism from the principle of private judgment towards the repudiation of all supernatural faith. Rationalism is allied to Deism, Materialism, Naturalism, and in general to all atheistic, pantheistic, and skeptical tendencies. It has been condemned by the Holy See as a distortion and mutilation of the Catholic teaching that one of the functions of reason is to establish the foundation of faith, that is to say, the rational basis supporting the claim of a supernatural authority to teach truths, not indeed, contrary to reason, but quite beyond its unaided power to understand or to prove.

in philosophy, Kant may be taken as representative of the rationalistic school. The result of their teaching was to belittle theology and metaphysics and to discredit previously accepted proofs of the existence of God, the freedom of the will, and the immortality of the soul.

The rationalistic trend was particularly strong in France, where the dominant characteristic of the foremost writers was opposition to the received doctrines. Voltaire (1694-1778), although nominally a Catholic, used his extraordinary powers of satire to destroy the hold of Christianity on the intellectuals of the period. Diderot and d'Alembert, in the *Encyclopédie*, summarized all the available arguments against Christian doctrine.⁷¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in *The Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar*, in *Émile*, and in the *Contrat Social*, presented religious emotionalism as a substitute for Christianity; and he contributed perhaps more than any other writer to the ideology of the French Revolution.⁷²

In England the exercise of the right of private judgment led to the claim of free thought in matters of religion. Deism, in its early stage, asserted that God dwells apart from and is unconcerned with the universe; later deists held that revelation is im-

⁷¹ The *Encyclopédie* was published 1751-1765. Persons inclined to regard the Encyclopedists as apostles of enlightenment persecuted by obscurantist theologians should look into the pages of the Jesuit periodical, the *Journal de Trévoux*. "If we examine the issues for the year 1751, we find slight evidence to support the claim of the *philosophes* that the Jesuits from the first were jealous and fearful of the superior enlightenment of the *Encyclopédie*. What we do find is rational criticism. . . . In the first reception of the Encyclopedia by the Jesuits there was little, in short, that an American university professor might not have said." Robert R. Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France*, pp. 18-20.

⁷² "Much less vile and much less despicable personally than Voltaire, whom he had the merit of *hating*, Rousseau, in reality, is a thousand times worse than Voltaire because he provided men no longer with a mere negation, but with a religion outside the indivisible Truth. . . . By nature he himself tends directly to an abominable sentimentality, to a devilish parody of Christianity." The mysticism of the *Contrat Social* "which looks reasoned and rational, is just as mad as the mysticism of sentiment and passion which we find in *Émile* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse*." Jacques Maritain, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40, 159-60.

Rousseau's exaltation of the majority led to the abandonment of the conception of natural individual rights which cannot be infringed, and justified popular government in doing whatever it chose to do. "Thus it is Rousseau's theory, as developed in the French Revolution, that has furnished the basis of the modern collectivistic state." J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926, pp. 354-55.

possible, and that the Gospel represents no improvement on the law of nature; and eventually, the school of Hume taught the subjective origin of religion, denying that philosophical knowledge of God is possible.

Toleration: The policy of religious toleration spread gradually, sometimes as a reaction against political absolutism, sometimes as a consequence of the propaganda carried on by rationalists who, because of their "religious indifference," regarded all denominations as entitled to equality. Voltaire, whose influence was international, Montesquieu, foe of all arbitrary power, Rousseau, champion of political, economic, and religious emancipation, wrote in defense of religious freedom; Edmund Burke assailed intolerance in speech and writing; John Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* was republished frequently.⁷³

In Prussia, Frederick the Great and Frederick William II established freedom for all churches, and allowed Catholicism to remain the prevailing religion of Silesia, after the Prussian conquest of that territory. Generally speaking, Protestants were less tolerant than their principle of private judgment would imply—partly for political reasons. Switzerland, Holland, the Baltic countries, England and her colonies discriminated against religious dissidents. As it happened, however, political interest motivated a relaxation of persecution by England and the government conceded religious liberty to the Catholics of Canada on the eve of the American Revolution, granted a measure of relief to English Catholics in 1786, and attempted to lessen the danger of an Irish revolt during the war with France by enfranchising a number of the Catholics of Ireland in 1793.

The bishops of France encouraged Louis XV in his policy of extreme intolerance; ⁷⁴ and Pius VI manifested displeasure at the toleration introduced into Austria by Emperor Joseph II in 1781.⁷⁵ But the necessity of recognizing dissidence as "an accomplished fact" became more and more obvious; and both State and Church began to adjust themselves to the changed conditions. Louis XVI, in 1787, having already recognized children of Protestants as legitimate, granted new concessions in an "Edict concerning those who do not profess the Catholic Religion."⁷⁶ Eventually theologians set down as a guiding norm for Catholic rulers the principle that for the sake of the common good, "In a genuinely Catholic state, public authority should not permit the introduction of new forms of religion;

⁷³ Three times in Boston before 1743.

⁷⁴ His edict of 1724 classified Protestantism as apostasy, denied the validity of Protestant marriages, and prohibited Protestant children from inheriting unless their parents had been married by a priest.

⁷⁵ This law had to be annulled in Flanders because of popular opposition.

⁷⁶ See Sturzo, *op. cit.*, p. 360,

but when several denominations have already been established the State may, and generally should, permit them all to exist and to function.”⁷⁷

Witchcraft was dying; but its temporary revival in some places occasioned a renewal of persecution and also protests against the severity employed in the treatment of suspected persons. The use of torture in witchcraft trials, abolished by Prussia about the middle of the century, was retained by Hanover and Bavaria until after 1800. The latest recorded trial for witchcraft in Germany occurred at Würzburg about 1750, and the last trial in Switzerland resulting in execution took place in the Protestant canton of Glarus in 1783.

Other Disputes: Jansenism. The *Pax Clementina*, which had lasted for nearly thirty years, was broken early in the century by a bitter dispute over the so-called “Case of Conscience”—the widely debated question: Could sacramental absolution lawfully be given if a penitent accepted the condemnation pronounced by the Holy See, but remained unconvinced that the propositions condemned were contained in the *Augustinus* and on this point observed a respectful silence. Forty members of the faculty of the Sorbonne, including Natalis Alexander, the Church historian, decided in favor of the theory of “respectful silence”; but it was condemned by Clement XI. Shortly afterwards the Jansenistic Abbey of Port Royal was suppressed; and the religious were transferred to neighboring convents. All the nuns submitted to the decision of the Holy See except the mother prioress, who died without the sacraments in 1716.

Fresh controversy was occasioned by the republication of *Moral Reflections*, a Jansenistic book written by the Oratorian, Quesnel. It was condemned by several French bishops and by Pope Clement XI; and in 1713 the pope renewed the condemnation in the *Unigenitus*. Many members of the clergy refused to accept the papal censure; and Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, supported by nearly twenty bishops and by three thousand priests, appealed “from the pope mistaken to the pope better informed.” The Parlement refused to permit the publication of the document; and the clergy who remained loyal to the Holy See were persecuted by the government. Pope Clement excommunicated the appellants in 1718; but it was not until

⁷⁷ Ryan and Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Clement had died, and only six months before his own death, that the cardinal submitted to the Holy See in 1728.⁷⁸

Soon afterwards Jansenism, as an organized movement, died out in France. In Holland, however, a little group of Jansenist priests, supported by the Dutch government, elected one of their number as bishop. He received episcopal consecration from a Catholic bishop at that time under suspension; the schismatical group established a diocese at Haarlem in 1742; and their organization has survived to the present day.

Febronianism and *Josephism*: These movements reflected German dislike of Roman jurisdiction.

The theory called Febronianism—a sort of German Gallicanism—first found expression in a book written (1763) by von Hontheim, Auxiliary Bishop of Trier, under the pen name of "Febronius." He assigned the direction of religious affairs to the local secular ruler, and made ecumenical councils the courts of final appeal. His book quickly won general favor with the European governments and was translated into five languages. Von Hontheim, whose book was condemned by Clement XIII in 1764, signed a recantation in 1768, under pressure from the elector of Trier; but he continued to defend his ideas; and he assisted the three electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier to prepare a list of their grievances against the Holy See. At the Congress of Ems (1786), these three bishops, together with the prince bishop of Salzburg, published a document known as the *Punctuation of Ems*, demanding from the Holy See certain concessions in favor of the German hierarchy. A few years later, on the eve of Napoleon's invasion of Germany, the German bishops withdrew their demands; but the "Febronian" spirit continued to afflict the Church for many years.

Josephism—so named from its author, the Emperor Joseph II—was an attempt to make the Austrian Church almost independent of the pope. Joseph claimed the right to appoint bishops, abolished all the religious communities of women and the

⁷⁸ Cardinal de Noailles was so antagonistic to the Jesuits that, for a period of 13 years, he refused to give priestly faculties to members of the order. The influence of Gallicanism was evident in the resistance to papal authority described in the text.

contemplative orders of men, replaced the diocesan seminaries with five general seminaries under state control, and planned the abolition of clerical celibacy. He published decrees regulating the liturgy, dictated the number of Masses allowed in each church, and fixed the number of candles to be lighted at Mass—winning from Frederick II of Prussia the nickname, “my brother, the Sacristan.” Some of his offensive decrees were cancelled soon after his death; but others remained in force until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Synod of Pistoia: In northern Italy the emperor’s brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, undertook the control of religious affairs and appointed the Jansenist, Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoia. At the Synod of Pistoia (1786) Ricci denied the jurisdiction of the pope, petitioned the grand duke to abolish certain matrimonial impediments, and tried to have all religious communities consolidated into one order under the Rule of St. Benedict. Ricci was repudiated by all the Tuscan bishops except three, was deposed by Leopold’s successor, and was condemned by Pope Pius VI. He submitted to the judgment of the Holy See.

Freemasonry: Among the destructive influences of the period must be included Freemasonry—first condemned by Pope Clement XII in 1738.⁷⁹ Modern Masonry took on its distinctive character with the organization of the Grand Lodge system in London in 1717; and a new Grand Lodge, established in 1751 under the name of the York Rite, soon gained control of English Masonry.⁸⁰ From England, Masonry spread into France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Russia. In these countries it underwent various modifications according to local circumstances, lending itself easily to the political plans of men weary of religious controversy and impatient to better social conditions by

⁷⁹ In this century no less than twelve papal documents contained condemnations of Freemasonry. Curiously, the first royal protector of Freemasonry was the Emperor Francis I, Catholic founder of the family which still claims the throne of Austria, whereas the first steps to repress Freemasonry were taken by the Protestant governments of Holland (1735), Sweden (1736), and several Swiss cantons (1738 and 1745). Spain, Portugal, and Italy restricted Masonry about the same time, Bavaria in the year 1784; Prussia and England in 1789; Austria in 1795.

⁸⁰ The Grand Lodge in the Scottish Rite (and the Grand Orient in the French system) is a body exercising supreme legislative, judicial, and executive functions.

means of secret organizations. Thus it played an active part in the revolutionary movements which took place in these countries. Masonry claimed a large share of the credit for the American Revolution of 1776 and for the French Revolution of 1789. A significant principle of the order is that treason and rebellion against civil authority do not affect the good standing of a member. Emphasizing the brotherhood of man, and minimizing theological differences, Freemasonry during the eighteenth century functioned as the religion of a steadily increasing number, both in England and on the Continent.

The Moslems: The Ottoman empire—pushed back by the advance of Russia in the Crimea, of Austria in Rumania, and of France in Egypt—continued to decline; and the capture of Belgrade in 1739 was the last major military success of the Turks. Indeed, the Russian empress, Catherine II, planned a total partition of Turkey; and only the rivalry of the European powers saved it from complete destruction. Islam deteriorated in other respects too. Moral principles were repudiated; Moslem culture vanished; and religious practice degenerated into puerile superstition. The reaction provoked by this condition finally occasioned a reform movement; and the Arabian Wahabis attempted to restore social order and religious orthodoxy with the slogan, "Back to the Koran."

In India the Mohammedan Great Mogul possessed little real control over the local princes and almost no hold at all upon the vast multitudes of Hindus. After the collapse of the Mogul dynasty early in the eighteenth century, European trading companies brought India under white domination; then they quarreled among themselves. The Dutch, who expelled the Portuguese, were in turn ousted by the British; and after a brief struggle the British pushed the French aside also. Both the Moslems and the Hindus came under the administration of the British "Raj," with the control of the country actually in the hands of the English East India Company. The government pursued a policy of benevolent paternalism; trade and communication developed swiftly; and European ideas began to affect the mentality of the native upper classes.

The Jews: During the first half of the century the Jews remained a despised and persecuted race. In France and Sweden they lived under the old restrictions. Prussia enacted new anti-Semitic laws. The Jews were banished from Russia in 1727, and from Little Russia a few years later. In Austria they were suspected of having conspired with the enemy during the "War of the Austrian Succession"; and Maria Theresa expelled them from Bohemia and Bavaria in 1745. In England an Act for the Naturalization of Jews was ratified in 1753; but popular opposition brought about its repeal.

In the latter part of the century anti-Jewish prejudice diminished. Among the men who contributed to this change were the popular Jew, Moses Mendelssohn, and the influential Christian writer, von Dohm, whose recommendations in favor of the Jews were adopted by Emperor Joseph II in 1781. Prussia abolished the special Jewish tax, and the Empress Catherine II gave the Jews civil rights. The French Revolution established equality for the Jews of France in 1791; and soon afterwards many countries adopted a policy of toleration.

In the Western Hemisphere the Maranos of Brazil were gradually absorbed into the population. Jewish immigrants to the Americas were relatively few; but a number of Jews fought in the Colonial army during the American Revolution; and among the chief financial contributors to the American cause was the well-known Jew, Haym Solomon.

4. MISSIONS

Foreign missions suffered from lack of harmony among the missionaries, local wars, hostile native rulers, unsympathetic colonial governors. They received a most serious blow in the suppression of the Jesuits; the French Revolution nearly completed their destruction.

Asia

The Near East: In the Turkish dominions, where missionaries of different religious orders were ministering to Catholics and working for the

reunion of schismatics, the Holy See had to remind the Latin clergy to respect the usages of the Oriental Church. Alarmed at the progress of the faith, the sultan in 1723 forbade his Christian subjects to leave schismatical bodies and go over to the Roman allegiance.

The Middle East: India. As a reprisal for the pope's action in placing vicars apostolic over the missions of India, the Portuguese authorities in 1709 expelled the Italian Carmelites. The Holy See then removed the Portuguese Franciscans from the Bombay mission field and placed the Italian Carmelites there.

Early in the century French Capuchins denounced the Jesuits for their tolerance of certain native customs; and the Malabar Rites controversy began all over again. Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, was delegated by the Holy See to investigate the case and his decision was against the use of the rites. His decision was confirmed by several popes and after vigorous and long-continued protest by the Portuguese and a short-lived schism, the controversy finally died down almost entirely. Nevertheless, these disturbances had the effect of slowing up conversions; and the spread of the faith was further checked by Tippoo Sahib, Sultan of Mysore, who raided southern India during the closing years of the century and made thousands of natives renounce Christianity.⁸¹

Ceylon. The Christians were forced into hiding by the Dutch authorities; but missionaries from Goa made occasional secret visits to the scattered congregations, and there were still some fifty thousand Christians in Ceylon when England took over that territory in 1796.

The Far East: China. The papal delegate, Tournon, who condemned the use of native customs in China as well as in India, was seized by the Emperor Kang-Hi and imprisoned in Macao where he died in 1710—having been made a cardinal in the meantime. Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Lazarists, and missionaries from the Paris Seminary continued their work in various regions until persecution broke out in 1724. Except in Peking, where the French Jesuits were most influential, priests were banished, and several suffered martyrdom. The persecution blazed up again furiously in 1772; nevertheless the end of the century found nearly 300,000 Christians still in China.

Japan. Christians remained under the ban; and three Jesuit missionaries who attempted to enter the country in 1749 were never heard of again.

⁸¹ Tournon's attitude towards the Malabar and the Chinese rites was confirmed by Clement XI, Innocent XIII, Clement XII, and finally by Benedict XIV (for China in 1742 and for India in 1744). Missionaries were required to bind themselves by oath to observe the decree. "The controversy had dealt a death blow to missionary progress. The whole conflict and its negative conclusion left the missions in a state of complete upset and disorder, and contributed in no small degree to their stagnation or retrogression . . . it appears questionable whether the advantage derived from the theoretical and fundamental rejection of all syncretism outweighed the many ill consequences." Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

Apparently Christianity had been completely destroyed; but a little group at Nagasaki, although without priests, still held fast to the faith.

Korea. The real founder of the Korean Church was the son of an ambassador, named Ly, who had been baptized in Peking. He converted a number of Korean scholars and nobles, and they in turn converted many others. The refusal of the Christians to participate in ancestor veneration brought on a persecution in 1791, with the result that some apostasies occurred. Nevertheless the Christians numbered ten thousand in 1797, the year in which a report on conditions in Korea was sent to the bishop of Peking.

Indo-China. Despite the effects of persecution and civil war, this region contained more than three hundred thousand Catholics who were served by over one hundred priests.

English and Dutch colonies. The English government favored the Protestant missions. In the Netherlands Indies as a result of Dutch persecution, hardly any native Catholics remained; the island of Java held not more than three hundred.

Oceania

Missionary work in the Pacific was confined chiefly to the Philippines where the Dominicans maintained their celebrated mission of Santa Cruz on Luzon;⁸² and the Jesuits centered their labors at Zamboanga. The Augustinians were especially active in the literary field and by the year 1780 they had published more than 200 volumes including works in Chinese and Japanese. Franciscans and Recollects also worked in this region. Many of the population of about four million became at least nominally Catholic. Peace was disturbed, however, by clashes between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities, by Mohammedan raids, and by the British invasion of Manila under Draper in 1762. After the suppression of the Jesuits the Spanish government attempted without much success to replace them with native priests.

Elsewhere in the Pacific, Protestant missionaries preceded the Catholics in areas which were under the control of the Dutch and the English; and Protestants have been charged with responsibility for the difficult conditions encountered by Catholic missionaries who arrived at a much later date.

Africa

These missions yielded comparatively small return for much labor. The Jesuits established a center at Cairo about the beginning of the century; yet here, as throughout Mohammedan North Africa, the missionaries could do little more than minister to Christian slaves. In the latter half of the

⁸² They baptized the sultan of Sulu in 1750.

century a French secular priest, Father Demanet, and a Jesuit, Father Coste, converted natives on the west coast; but the Benedictine bishop of Angola reported a distressing condition of decay in the missions he visited in 1781. Jesuits and Dominicans were preaching in East Africa about the middle of the century; and on the islands of Reunion and Mauritius the Lazarists converted nearly the whole population. After the French Revolution the government confiscated the mission property and expelled the priests; and the missions collapsed.

The West

In the Western World the story of the missions is bound up with colonial history. As in the previous century, religious orders ministered to colonists and natives in the vast area of the three Americas, North, Central, and South.

SUMMARY

This century is memorable for a redistribution of political power very advantageous to Protestantism, for the adoption of antipapal policies by almost all prominent statesmen, for the systematic oppression of several Catholic peoples, for the notable disloyalty of prelates and clergy in many quarters, and for a general lowering of religious vitality and zeal. The construction of an English empire in India and the defeat of France in the Seven Years' War made Britain supreme in both hemispheres. The military genius and shrewd diplomacy of Frederick the Great gave Prussia the leadership of the German States. Catherine the Great raised Russia to high rank.

The Catholic sovereigns, King Louis XV and Emperor Joseph II, persistently embarrassed the Holy See; and Bourbon pressure effected first the partial and then the total suppression of the Jesuits. Shortly after Poland had suffered complete dismemberment in the Third Partition, Ireland lost her fight for political and religious freedom. The spread of disunity was reflected in bulls against the Jansenists, in the condemnation of Febronianism, in the censure of the four archbishops who met at Ems, in the papal denunciation of the Synod of Pistoia.

As if promising better things to come, the Quebec Act gave liberty of worship to the Catholics of Canada, and relief acts eased the lot of Catholics in the British Isles. On the other hand, as if to warn the Church of a new danger, Clement XII published the first condemnation of Freemasonry, and Benedict XIV renewed the condemnation. Hardouin and Alphonsus Liguori worked to good effect in Church history and in theology; but Voltaire and the Encyclopedists were active propagandists of unbelief.

Missions attained some degree of success; yet on the whole they did not flourish, being impeded in the East by the opposition of the natives, by the disputes of the missionaries, by the censure of the "Malabar Rites" and the "Chinese Rites," and in America (notably in Paraguay, California, and Canada) by the political vicissitudes of the Old World. Practically all the British colonies subjected Catholics to ill treatment.

In the final quarter of the century two tendencies, destined to become world forces, made themselves felt. The American Constitution established complete religious liberty; and the French Republic, in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, inaugurated a Reign of Terror. A few years later Napoleon invaded the Papal States and carried Pius VI a prisoner to France.

Dan Larrally.

Thos. Fitzsimons

Courtesy of Boston Public Library

CATHOLIC SIGNERS OF THE CONSTITUTION, U.S.A.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

- 1707 Tournon vs Malabar Rites
 1709 Nuncio expelled from Spain
 1713 *Clement XI's* constitution, *Unigenitus*
 1724 Persecution in China
 1728 *Benedict XIII* condemns Jansenists
 1732 Alphonsus Liguori founds Redemptorists
 1738 *Clement XII* condemns Freemasons
 1742 *Benedict XIV* condemns Chinese Rites
 1744 *Benedict XIV* condemns Malabar Rites
 1747 St. Paul of the Cross founds Passionists
 1751 Freemasons condemned
 1759 Portugal expels Jesuits
 1764 France expels Jesuits
Clement XIII condemns Febronianism
 1767 Spain expels Jesuits
 1773 *Clement XIV* suppresses Jesuits
 1778 Catholic Relief Act in England
 1784 Missions in Korea
 1786 The Punctuation of Ems⁸⁸
 Synod of Pistoia
 1788 *Pius VI* recognizes Prussia
 1791 Second Catholic Relief Act
 1796 Napoleon invades Papal States
 1799 Death of *Pius VI*

- 1701-14 War of Spanish Succession
 1713-14 Peace of Utrecht
 1715-74 Louis XV
 1718-26 English conquest of India
 1729 Wesleyanism
 1740-48 War of Austrian Succession
 1740-86 Frederick the Great
 1745-80 Maria Theresa
 1756-63 Seven Years' War
 1762-96 Catherine the Great
 1765-90 Joseph II emperor
 1765 Encyclopedia completed
 1771 Irish Penal Laws relaxed
 1772 First Partition of Poland
 1780 "Gordon Riots"
 1781 Austria tolerates Protestants
 1784 Paine's *Age of Reason*
 1789 French Revolution
 U.S.A. guarantees religious liberty
 1793 Second Partition of Poland
 Execution of Louis XVI
 1795 Third Partition of Poland
 1798 Irish Rebellion

⁸⁸ In law a punctuation is a preliminary written statement of the proposed material of a contract.

CHAPTER XIX

(The Eighteen Hundreds)

Democracy and Catholic Revival

PREVIEW

PROBABLY no era was ever so consciously and so completely self-satisfied as the nineteenth century; indeed, few could present a more plausible excuse for complacency. In its early decades, the forces that had produced the French Revolution carried on, uprooting tradition, abolishing privilege, opening new opportunities. Before the century passed, it had exploited the whole physical universe; it had achieved scientific miracles; it had widely extended political freedom and education; its men and women had dedicated themselves in multitudes to the aiding of the underprivileged; and no general European war occurred after the fall of Napoleon.

Not only were the nineteenth century's highest hopes of progress never realized, but, as we now perceive, it planted the seeds of later catastrophe.¹ Its popular movements, however legitimate in theory, actually fell under the control of extremists—Democrats who justified the rule of brutal majorities; Nationalists who

¹ Hayes, in *A Generation of Materialism*, finds the last three decades of the nineteenth century a fertile seed-time for totalitarianism, personal dictatorship, social degradation, mechanized destruction. Ferrero, in *The Reconstruction of Europe*, speaks of the nineteenth century's smugness, its mental confusion, its readiness to regard every subversion of law and order as the beginning of a new and better orientation of humanity. Sorokin, in *The Crisis of Our Age*, discovers in the nineteenth century definite signs of the disintegration which has assumed a catastrophic magnitude in this present century. Ortega y Gasset, in *The Revolt of the Masses*, after crediting the nineteenth century with having established a higher level of public life than any preceding century, adds that the century's radical vices and constitutional defects have occasioned the present danger that Europe will revert to barbarism. William L. Langer, editor of *The Rise of Modern Europe*, says the late nineteenth century when viewed historically emerges as an age of materialism, of smug confidence, of uncritical assurance.

inculcated the ideal, "my country, right or wrong"; Liberals who repudiated all authority superior to man. Scientists undertook to discredit faith in the supernatural. Educators assumed that Christianity was moribund. Although the Church has more often been the victim than the ally of despotism, and although the typical priest is the champion of the downtrodden, the foes of religion were quick to take advantage of the blindness of those ecclesiastics who defended the entire old order. The Communist Manifesto of 1848 declared war on all religions; an international organization, frankly secularistic, advocated universal class struggle in behalf of economic determinism and proletarian dictatorship. Meanwhile papal pronouncements anathematized Communism, Rationalism, Liberalism.

Amazingly, Catholicism not only survived, but gained new strength. A spiritual revival, beginning in the second quarter of the century, brought into the Church hundreds of thousands of new members, including a considerable number of intellectuals. In the transatlantic world, moreover, the Church demonstrated that her teaching provides the surest foundation for social morality and that Catholics are the staunchest defenders of supernatural revelation, of the inspired Bible, of the divinity of Christ.

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The influence of the French Revolution spread far and wide; forces which had already transformed Great Britain gradually affected the whole western world; industrial and political innovations announced the approaching doom of aristocracy; here, there, and everywhere the bourgeoisie and a considerable proportion of the intellectuals arrayed themselves against the old order. The historical keynote of the century was sounded in the Concert of Europe—a device of the great powers not now linked by emperor or pope—to prevent, or at least delimit, war. This policy of balancing power by agreement—not ineffective from the Napoleonic era onward—encountered during the final decade a

serious obstacle in threatening combinations of nationalism, militarism, and imperialistic ambition. When the first Peace Conference assembled at the Hague (1899) two huge rival alliances were watching with alarm the delicately balanced *status quo* gravely menaced by disputes over territory and competition for world markets.²

Early in the century it became the political fashion to reform every institution that had survived from the Middle Ages; and statesmen assumed, as a matter of course, that the Church could fit into the modern order only by amending its constitution. The proposed readjustments, as a rule, involved confiscation of ecclesiastical property and close government supervision of religious affairs. Not infrequently the state appropriated educational and charitable endowments, ejected teaching communities from their schools, eliminated religion from the curriculum. For a short period it seemed possible that the Church might enter into partnership with the progressives; but they were so saturated with irreligious philosophy and anticlericalism that this proved to be impractical. Catholics devised programs of their own, therefore. But unfortunately they divided into factions, some favoring labor organization and state intervention, others regarding such measures as "socialistic."

During these years many of the working classes came to believe that the Church was in collusion with the old oppressive regime; and, both in nominally Catholic and in professedly Protestant countries, anticlericals were often able to seize control of the political machinery. Yet, on the whole, events worked to the advantage of the Church. Governments, in need of support against subversive elements, adopted a more friendly policy towards Catholicism. Moreover, increasing familiarity with democratic processes enabled Catholics to defend their rights by organized action. As restrictions and disabilities were removed, the ancient Church showed fresh vitality, making progress almost in direct proportion to the spread of liberty and education

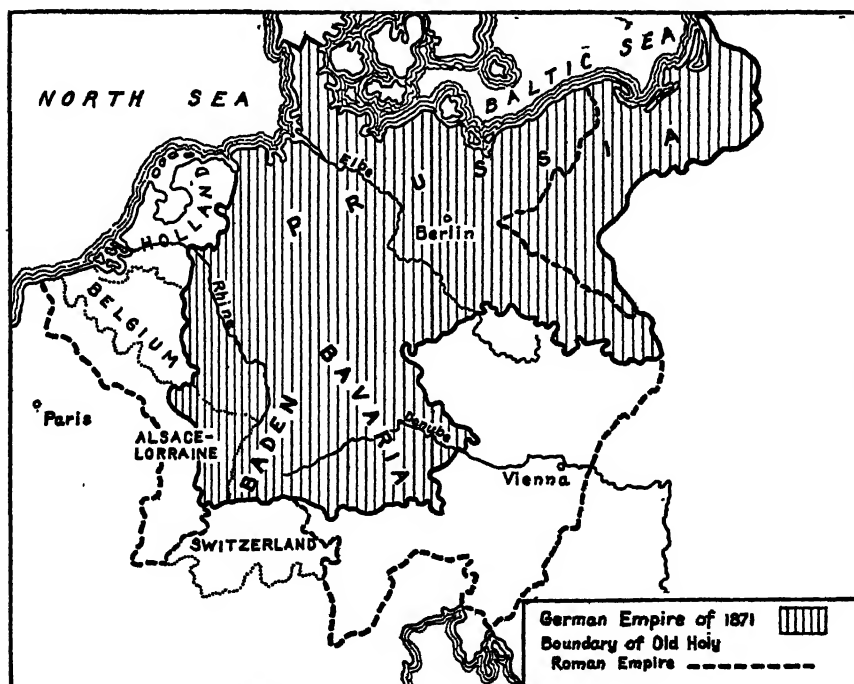
² A satisfying account of the complicated political maneuvers of this era is given by Carlton J. H. Hayes in *A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900*. Parker Thomas Moon's *Imperialism and World Politics*, paints an excellent picture of the economic situation. Ross Hoffman interprets events in *The Great Republic*.

—a fact illustrated notably by the Church's enfeeblement in the Latin countries, where liberty was denied, and by her growth in the English-speaking countries and in Switzerland, where liberty was conceded. Catholics came to form the strongest single group in the Austro-Hungarian Diet and in the Reichstag of the new German empire; for years they kept political control in Belgium; they held the reins of government in many of the Swiss cantons; they often decided political issues in England, Holland, France, and Spain; and generally speaking, the Catholic parties gave valuable aid to moral reconstruction and civic progress. But while Catholicism was thus extending its influence, the new atmosphere of freedom was proving fatal to doctrinal Protestantism.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

a. The German States

The Hapsburg Emperor, Francis II, having fared badly in war with Napoleon, dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1806,



and ruled as Francis I, first Emperor of Austria. The Confederation of the Rhine, which Napoleon formed of states friendly to him and hostile to Austria, collapsed with his fall; and the Congress of Vienna (1815) established new political boundaries. Persistent rivalry between Prussia and Austria led finally to the battle of Sadowa and to Prussian dominance. The Hapsburg dominions were reorganized in a Dual Monarchy which recognized the emperor of Austria as king of Hungary (1867); the North German Federation developed into the German empire under William I (1871).

Austria-Hungary and Germany—hostile both to France and to Russia and disturbed by the French occupation of Tunis—made an alliance with Italy. To balance this Triple Alliance, France and Russia formed the Dual Alliance (1894).

Austria: The interference of the government in Church affairs caused a series of clashes. Francis I (1804–1835), continuing his predecessor's policy of Josephism, nominated court favorites as bishops and prevented free communication with the Holy See. Under Ferdinand I (1835–1848) the people showed a growing resentment of governmental interference with religion; and the bishops openly defied the civil law which required priests to assist at the mixed marriages of persons who refused to promise Catholic training for their children. In 1840 this issue was referred to Rome; and Gregory XVI allowed "negative assistance"—that is, the priest was permitted to be present as a mere witness if all religious ceremonies were omitted. The abdication of Ferdinand was followed by the long reign of his nephew, Francis Joseph I (1848–1916); and a movement headed by Cardinal Rauscher destroyed what remained of Josephism and forced through a concordat guaranteeing the rights of the Church as defined in canon law (1855). A few years later, when Austria became a constitutional monarchy (1861), an Edict of Toleration was passed in favor of non-Catholics.

The Dual Monarchy formed by Austria and Hungary encountered a number of serious obstacles. The government, predominantly German, had great difficulty in controlling the nationalist tendencies of various racial minorities—Poles of Galicia, Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes. As a rule, the clergy of the different racial groups supported their own people. A major cause of disturbance was the pan-Slavic movement which drew the Slav subjects of the Dual Monarchy into sympathy with Russia and the Balkan States.

In 1891 Catholics of Vienna, led by Dr. Lueger and allied with the anti-Semitic party, wrested local control from the anticlerical Jewish Liberals. The Lueger party was denounced to Rome; but the Holy See refused to condemn it and at the end of the century the Catholic Democrats formed the strongest group in the Austrian Chamber.

Hungary: In the first half of the century the national feeling of the Magyars was aroused by the repressive policy of Metternich. Religious sentiment entered into the situation, too; and the clergy supported the revolutionary movement headed by Kossuth in 1848 which set up a short-lived Hungarian republic. Austria made concessions to the Magyar demands and the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was then established. The Austrian concordat of 1855 was extended to Hungary; but the Hungarian bishops protested against this; and in general they refused to allow the imperial government to dictate to them in religious affairs. When in 1868 a law was passed that the sons of mixed marriages should be educated in the religion of the fathers and the daughters in the religion of the mothers, the clergy, with the encouragement of Rome, ignored the law, and the Hungarian courts refused to condemn them. In 1894, against Catholic opposition, a law was passed to make civil marriage obligatory; and in 1895 the state recognized the Jews as a legal religious body. A few years later the government prohibited, under heavy penalties, any attempt on the part of clergymen to use churches for political meetings or religious emblems for political purposes.

Bohemia: In Bohemia, where the imperial government followed the policy of Germanizing the country, a Czech revolutionary movement developed into a religious schism; and a group of thirty-five ecclesiastics formulated a demand for the abolition of clerical celibacy. In 1897 came the *Los-von-Rom* movement under German leaders who hoped by exploiting the racial feeling of the Germans in Bohemia to draw them away from Catholic Austria and unite them with Protestant Prussia.

Prussia: In this foremost Protestant state of Germany, **Frederick William III** (1797-1840) exacted from Pius VII certain concessions in the nomination of bishops. He came into conflict with Pius VIII in 1830 over the extension to the Rhine provinces of the Prussian law requiring the children of mixed marriages to follow the religion of the father. The pope forbade priests to bless marriages contracted in accord with this law, permitting only "passive assistance," so that the marriages would not be invalid. Archbishop von Spiegel of Cologne came to an understanding with the government in 1834; but his successor, von Droste-Vischering, and Archbishop von Dunin of Gnesen-Posen defied the law and were imprisoned. Serious agitation by German Catholics led to a compromise by the more friendly **Frederick William IV** (1840-1861). But the exclusion of Austria from the

German Confederation in 1866 weakened the prestige of Catholicism; and the formation of the German empire in 1871 was a victory both for Prussia and for Protestantism.

Attempting to suppress religious differences in all the twenty-six confederated states, Bismarck encountered immovable opposition in the strongly Catholic regions; and this clash brought on the *Kulturkampf*, or "religious war." Falk, as Minister of Worship, carried through the intolerant May Laws of 1873, practically annulling papal jurisdiction over German Catholics. The Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and other religious orders were abolished; and the Poles of German Poland were forbidden to use the Polish language. German bishops who resisted were fined; and Archbishop Ledochowski of Gnesen-Posen was imprisoned.³ The *Kulturkampf* spread from Prussia into many other German states. However, the Catholics of the Rhine provinces, of Bavaria, and of Prussian Poland, working under the leadership of Windthorst in a party known as the *Centrum*, became so strong politically that Bismarck, anxious to secure support against the Socialists, arranged a *modus vivendi* with the Vatican in 1887.⁴

Cordial relations with the Church were openly sought by Emperor William II (1888-1918). In 1890—the year in which Bismarck was dismissed from his office as imperial chancellor—the Catholic clergy were exempted from peacetime military service. Two years later William II visited the Holy See; and in 1894 the government gave permission to the Redemptorists and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost to re-enter the empire.⁵

Saxony: The kingdom of Saxony, established in 1806, was under a Catholic dynasty, although the population was almost entirely Protestant. The status of the Church here resembled the status in Prussia, with some minor restrictions added.

Bavaria: As a reward for having abandoned Austria, Bavaria was made a kingdom by Napoleon in 1805. Montgelas, the Febronian-minded minister of Maximilian I, secularized Church property, expelled religious orders, and placed the Universities of Ingolstadt and Würzburg under Protestant control. A similar policy was carried out in the Tyrol, where

³ While in prison he was made a cardinal by Pius IX (1874).

⁴ It was said that Bismarck had "gone to Canossa" in allusion to Henry IV. In America, public opinion seems at first to have approved in a general way of Bismarck's policy, but, "By 1882, the American attitude had become unsympathetic and severely critical. There was general agreement that Bismarck had destroyed the federal character of the Empire, that he constantly forced his will on Parliament, and that he sought to bend all parties to his will." Sister M. Orestes Kolbeck, O.S.F., *American Opinion on the Kulturkampf (1871-1882)*, p. 73.

⁵ The government admitted Bishop Kopp of Fulda to the House of Peers, allowed seminaries to be reopened, withdrew certain restrictions on the power of the bishops, and allowed religious orders (excepting the Jesuits and other specified congregations) to return.

Hofer and the Capuchin, Haspinger, led a vain fight for freedom.

The court of Ludwig I (1825-1848) was a center of Catholic scholarship. The University was transferred from Landshut to Munich in 1825. The "Munich School," led by Joseph Görres, included Möhler, Klee—and also Döllinger, later excommunicated for refusal to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility. Under the influence of the notorious Lola Montez, Ludwig grew less friendly to the Church. Maximilian II (1848-1864) made some concessions to Catholics, but, disliking Archbishop Reisch of Munich, had him transferred to Rome. Interference by Ludwig II (1864-1886) and his minister, von Lutz, moved the Catholics to organize politically; and they defeated the Hohenlohe bill which excluded religious instruction from primary schools.

The Upper Rhine: Ecclesiastical properties on the right bank of the Rhine were handed over by Napoleon to rulers ejected from the left; and Church affairs remained in disorder, even after the reorganization undertaken by the Congress of Vienna—partly because religious issues were left in the hands of individual rulers whose policies were often dictated by Protestants, Freemasons, or Catholics unsympathetic to the Holy See. A program of reform, prepared by several German states in a meeting at Frankfort in 1818, was rejected by the Holy See as unsatisfactory. Eventually, in 1827, Pope Leo XII erected the province of the Upper Rhine—with metropolitan see at Freiburg and suffragan sees at Fulda, Mainz, Limburg, Rottenburg. The governments of these areas still interfered from time to time, sometimes with the support of individual bishops; but other prelates boldly resisted the encroachments of the civil authorities.

In Baden—two-thirds Catholic—where the Liberal party was strong and included many of the clergy, seminarians had to study at Freiburg University under Protestant professors. Protests against these conditions were ineffectual, until Hermann von Vicari became archbishop of Freiburg (1842-1868). He strenuously defended the rights of the Church until his death; but then governmental vetoes kept the see vacant until 1882.

The Duchy of Würtemberg was formed into a kingdom by Napoleon and given an increase of territory which doubled its population and raised the proportion of Catholics. Disputes occurred over the rights of the theological faculty of the University of Tübingen (1858), over the teaching of religion in the public schools, over the education of the clergy. Influenced by Freemasons and Liberals, the diet rejected an agreement made by the king and the Holy See, and held that the rights of the Church were to be defined by civil law and not by negotiation (1862). Further discussion led to the adopting of a *modus vivendi*; and the Catholic bishop was given charge of Catholic religious instruction in the schools, including the state-supported seminaries and the Wilhelm theological

school of Tübingen. The state permitted the existence of religious orders of women, but refused all requests to permit orders of men. During the German *Kulturkampf*, peace prevailed in Württemberg. In Hesse the government was generally—but not always—friendly to the Holy See. Von Ketteler, archbishop of Mainz in 1850, defended the rights of the Church for thirty years.

b. Poland, Russia

Poland: Through the tragic era that lasted to the first World War, Poland experienced mass deportations, the implanting of Germans in Prussian Poland, hopeless revolts, savage reprisals.

In Russian Poland—which from 1815 included most of Napoleon's Duchy of Warsaw under the title "Kingdom of Poland"—the harsh policy of the government provoked plotting by patriotic Freemasons within and by émigrés abroad. An armed uprising occurred in 1830. An abortive revolution in 1863 was followed by official atrocities so brutal that England, France and Austria (not however, Prussia) protested. Thereafter a relatively small group undertook to collaborate with the czar while remaining Polish; whereas the vast majority, shifting from a policy of violent resistance to one of organic development, held fast to the vision of independence. Among the outstanding figures of the mid-century renaissance were: the historian, Lelewel; the musician, Chopin; the poets, Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski. Later came the novelist, Sienkiewicz. Prussian Poland—especially after the formation of the new German empire—was "germanized," notably in Upper Silesia and West Prussia; but this policy helped to unite the Poles, who clung desperately to their own language, culture, religion. In Austria—where Slavs were next to Germans and Hungarians in numbers—Polish risings took place in 1846 and 1848. The government gave Galicia a provincial diet and a school system of its own, and tried to win the Ruthenians by granting them some chairs in the University of Lwow.

Russia: Catholics were harassed persistently; and the policy of "russification" brought suffering also to the Protestants and to the five million Jews of Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Bessarabia, driving hundreds of thousands of them to the United States.

Alexander I (1801–1825), conspicuous as a soldier against Napoleon and as a statesman at the Congress of Vienna, renewed diplomatic relations with the Holy See and gave university rank to the Jesuit college at Polotsk. His minister, Araktcheyeff, pursued a policy of general intolerance. The Jesuits were expelled from St. Petersburg in 1815 and from Russia in 1820.

Nicholas I (1825–1855) forbade Catholic bishops to communicate with Rome, prohibited the use of the Latin rite, and required all seminarians to study at the University of St. Petersburg. Many Catholics were imprisoned and thousands were forced into schism.

Alexander II (1855–1881), who emancipated the serfs in 1861, continued the tradition of anti-Catholic violence, especially against the Polish clergy who were suspected of revolutionary plotting. After the Polish revolution of 1863 (in which some priests participated), the government entered upon a campaign of indiscriminate severity; and in 1864 all religious orders were suppressed. Pius IX protested in vain; and finally diplomatic relations were broken off.

Alexander III (1881–1894) sent a representative to the Vatican and in 1882 entered into a concordat which was, however, nullified by means of new laws; and **Nicholas II** (1894–1917) continued the persecution of Catholics.

c. The Balkans

The Balkans: At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Turkish empire included two areas—Asiatic Turkey and the Balkan peninsula. Except for the Turks dwelling in Constantinople and its vicinity, the peninsula was occupied by Christian races—in the north, Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, Rumanians, and Bulgarians; in the west, Albanians; in the south, Greeks.

All these peoples were affiliated with the Orthodox Church, recognizing the jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, but retaining their own national spirit and their own religious traditions. As individual states secured independence in the course of the century, they re-established the Orthodox religion. Catholics formed a small minority of the population; and the Church carried on her work in the face of great obstacles. During the Turkish era the sultans followed a fairly liberal policy towards the Church; not so, however, the minor Turkish officials.

Greece—aided by Russia, England and France—secured independence by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, and **Serbia** secured autonomy. In 1878 the Congress of Berlin recognized Serbia and **Rumania** as independent, and Bulgaria as autonomous. But boundaries were unsatisfactory. Serbia was especially bitter towards Austria. Catholic immigration into Rumania from Austria led Rome to erect a see at Bucharest in 1883.

The history of **Bulgaria** is rather more significant. In 1887 the Catholic prince, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, was invited to occupy the throne of Bulgaria; and for the sake of promoting friendship with Russia he made his son, Boris, a member of the Orthodox Church. About that time there

occurred a strong agitation in Bulgaria for union with the Church of Rome; and sixty thousand Bulgarians petitioned Pope Pius IX for admission into the Roman Church with the privilege of retaining their own liturgy. But Sokolski, consecrated archbishop of the Bulgars by Pius IX in 1861, lapsed into schism. Eventually nearly all the Catholics followed his example, joining the new national Orthodox Church after its organization in 1870.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

In all the Latin countries religious and political issues brought the Church serious embarrassment. Everywhere the new time-spirit clashed with the old order; military dictators and Masonic organizations, exploiting this situation, extended their own power, promoted anticlerical policies.

France: Quick to see the practical advantage of having the clergy under his control, Napoleon negotiated a concordat which gave him rights previously possessed by the kings of France, including the nomination of bishops. The concordat made possible the revival of religion; but on the other hand it displeased monarchists, aristocracy, and higher clergy. During the rest of the century the Church was caught in cross currents set up by successive political changes—the Bourbon restoration, the July Revolution, the Second Republic, the Second Empire; and the Holy See was unable to mend the internal break between conservative and progressive Catholics. In the National Assembly which set up the Third Republic, Catholics possessed a majority; but they lost their hold on the people by dissension and by agitating in behalf of the pope's temporal power at the risk of war with Italy. Political control passed to Freemasons;⁶ and, although Leo XIII in later years attempted to "rally" Catholics to the support of the republic, bishops, priests, and people remained hopelessly divided. In the closing decade of the century, the Dreyfus⁷ case split the country into two hostile camps with

⁶ On the campaign against the religious orders and the legislative crippling of Catholic education at this time, see Evelyn M. Acomb, *The French Laic Laws (1879-1889)*.

⁷ Captain Dreyfus, a Jew, was convicted in 1894 of betraying military secrets to

monarchists, army officers, clericals, nationalists, and conservatives aligned against socialists, pro-Semites, anticlericals, and antimilitarists. The victory of the latter groups was followed by more thorough secularization of the schools, disestablishment of the Church, and a systematic weakening of the nation's armed forces.

The concordat of 1801 (ratified in 1802) required bishops and priests to take an oath of allegiance to the government, and renounced the Church's claim to property previously alienated. Pius VII bound himself also to call on all existing bishops to resign their sees under pain of being superseded by new appointees should they refuse.⁸ Possibly in order to lessen French opposition to the concordat, Napoleon secretly prepared a number of "Organic Articles," still further restricting the rights of the Church, and published them as part of the concordat.⁹ In 1804, under pressure, Pius agreed to crown Napoleon emperor in Paris, on the condition that Napoleon and Josephine would first go through a religious marriage ceremony. At the coronation Napoleon manifested his displeasure with the pope by crowning himself and the empress with his own hands. Later he secured from the diocesan court of Paris a nullification of his marriage to Josephine without even referring the matter to the pope. In 1809 he brought Pius as a prisoner to France; and in 1813 he wrung from the pope privileges with regard to the appointment of bishops by the government—concessions revoked by the pope within a few weeks.

The story of the Catholic Revival in France is intertwined with political history. An early pioneer of that revival was the Viscount de Chateaubriand (1768–1848)—ultraroyalist in sympathy, but later an advocate of

Germany. Evidence of his innocence, discovered two years later, was suppressed; powerful influences attempted to prevent a reopening of the case; anti-Semitic prejudice was exploited; and nearly every prominent public man in France was involved in the long, bitter controversy. Émile Zola was sent to prison for his attack upon the government. Dreyfus was pardoned in 1899; several years later the verdict of his guilt was reversed and he was restored to rank. Irrefutable proof of his innocence was disclosed in 1930.

⁸ Of the eighty bishops who lived in exile, forty-two resigned at the request of the pope. Pius then reorganized the French Church, substituting sixty new dioceses for the former one hundred thirty; and the thirty-eight supplanted bishops offered no opposition.

⁹ In these Articles the government claimed a right over the publishing of papal documents, the holding of ecclesiastical synods, the appointment of pastors, the number of priests ordained, the catechism to be studied, the rules of seminaries, the garb of priests; and it prescribed the teaching of the Gallican Declaration of 1682 in all seminaries. Pius VII, who had not been consulted, immediately repudiated the Articles; but they remained part of the law of France till 1905. After the Restoration, Louis XVIII and Pius VII negotiated a new concordat abrogating the Organic Articles; but opposition from Liberals and Gallicans prevented its ratification.

constitutional monarchy—the most celebrated French author of his day, who in 1802 published *La Génie du Christianisme*, a romantic and popularly effective defense of Christianity. Other leaders in the war on Liberalism were the statesman-philosopher, Viscount de Bonald (1754–1840), and Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821), royalist and ultramontane, author of *Du Pape* (1819) and *De l'Église gallicane* (1821).

It seemed natural enough that Catholics should be closely associated with the Bourbon kings of the Restoration, but it came as a surprise that the Abbé de Lamennais, the Abbé Lacordaire, and the Count de Montalembert organized a Democratic movement during the reign of Louis Philippe (1830–1848). In their paper, *L'Avenir*, they drew up a Catholic Liberal program, advocating universal suffrage, freedom of conscience, a free press, and separation of Church and State as a necessary condition of the Church's liberty. The exclusion of *L'Avenir* from the diocesan seminaries was followed by an appeal to Rome; then came papal condemnation in the encyclical, *Miran vos* (1832).¹⁰

Notable in the next chapter of the revival were Lacordaire's sermons in the Cathedral of Notre Dame; Montalembert's political and literary activities in behalf of religious and educational liberty; Frederick Ozanam's work with the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; and the vigorous journalism of Louis Veuillot (1813–1883), editor of *L'Univers* and author of numerous books and pamphlets. Steady pressure from many quarters forced the government to enact educational laws more favorable to Catholics; Benedictines, Dominicans, Jesuits returned to France; and pupils in Catholic schools doubled their numbers. Of great importance, too, was the contribution made to the revival by two progressive members of the French episcopate, Cardinal de Bonald who became bishop of Lyons in 1839, and Félix Dupanloup, made bishop of Orleans in 1849. Both of these men, while thoroughly loyal to the Holy See, supported the Republic; and their influence helped to destroy what was left of Gallicanism which practically disappeared from the French Church soon after the condemnation of Dupin's (Gallican) book on ecclesiastical law, by sixty-five bishops in 1845.

Catholics were active in the revolutionary movement of 1848 which displaced Louis Philippe and made Prince Louis Napoleon president of the short-lived Second Republic. A definite change in the popular attitude towards the Church was indicated when the cross was carried through the streets of Paris by parading revolutionists and *Veni Creator* was sung at the first public reading of the new constitution. A Catholic, M. Falloux,

¹⁰ Out of consideration for men who had defended the Holy See against Gallicanism, Gregory XVI did not name the editors, yet he felt obliged to condemn certain principles and methods with which *L'Avenir* had been identified in the campaign which had drawn down upon the journal the censure of many French bishops. The three editors submitted to the decision of the Holy See; but de Lamennais left the Church shortly afterwards and died in 1854 without the sacraments.

became minister of education, and a coalition of Catholic Democrats and Catholic Royalists controlled the Chamber. Despite the efforts of Pius IX, however, the extreme conservatives, led by Louis Veuillot and Bishop Pie, fought against the moderates, led by Montalembert, Lacordaire, and Bishop Dupanloup.

The *coup d'état* of 1851 brought about the coronation of **Emperor Napoleon III** (1852–1870), who favored the Church at first, but then changed his policy, became anticlerical, reached an understanding with Cavour, and despite his promise to defend the Papal States, secretly favored the pope's enemies. He appointed an anticlerical, Duruy, minister of education in 1863; and he forbade the publication of the papal *Syllabus* in 1864.

After the proclamation of the Third Republic in 1870 the refusal of Comte de Chambord (grandson of Charles X, and heir to the throne) to accept the Republic identified Catholicism with the cause of royalty in the popular mind; and the Republican leaders, notably Gambetta and Jules Simon, openly declared war upon the Church.¹¹

Leo XIII's anxiety to effect a "Ralliement" of Catholics to the Republic, caused excitement amounting to consternation. In 1879 the papal legate suggested that Catholics should face the facts and give up all hope of restoring the monarchy; and in 1892 the pope in an encyclical letter recommended acceptance of the Republic. Six French cardinals supported Leo; but generally speaking the Royalists maintained their intransigent attitude, with the result that, as the pope had foreseen, discord between the Church and the Republic grew more acute.

Spain: The history of Spain at this time is complex to the point of bewilderment. Revolutions, depositions, restorations, republics, new constitutions, confiscations of Church property, expulsion of religious orders, the violating of concordats—all enter into the making of a tangled story. To understand the situation one must remember that numerous political parties were contending for control—traditionalists and revolutionaries, moderates and extremists, republicans and monarchists, Cristinos and Carlists, clericals and anticlericals, Freemasons, Liberals, the army, the aristocracy, the crown; and meanwhile the governments of England and France were dictating or interfering.

The great curse of Spain was particularism—which so easily begets intolerance. The inability of the factions in power to op-

¹¹ Books typical of the spirit which dominated a large section of the French intellectuals were *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, by Auguste Comte (1798–1857); *On the Intelligence*, by Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893); and the *Life of Jesus*, by Ernest Renan (1823–1892).

press a strong minority occasioned a temporary compromise now and then; but no party ever followed a really liberal policy, and so-called "Liberals" were the worst offenders. Neither was there any true democracy; elections were settled by force or by collusion.¹²

Charles IV abdicated in 1808, and his son **Ferdinand** was forced to surrender the crown to Napoleon who made his brother, **Joseph Bonaparte**, king of Spain. The clergy had opposed the change of rulers; and the new king seized Church property and suppressed the monasteries. The constitution adopted in 1812 expressed the anticlerical spirit of the French Revolution, thus still further alienating the clergy from the foreign king.

With the aid of an English army under Wellington, the Spanish people expelled the French and restored **Ferdinand VII** in 1814. He repudiated the new constitution, imprisoned or banished the Liberal leaders, re-established the Inquisition (which had been abolished by Joseph Bonaparte), opened the monasteries, recalled the Jesuits, and gave back to the clergy all the privileges that had been taken away. Highhanded methods and heavy taxes weakened his hold upon the people; and in 1820 he had to yield to pressure from the Liberals and Freemasons and subscribe to the constitution of 1812. As soon as the Liberals gained control they again enacted anti-Catholic legislation, suppressing the monasteries, banishing the Jesuits, and prohibiting communication with the Holy See. The result was a civil war, with the aristocracy in arms against the Liberals.

The civil war ended in 1823; and again Ferdinand was restored to his throne—this time with the aid of a French army sent by the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, and supported by the Holy Alliance,¹³ despite an English protest. On his restoration, Ferdinand at once annulled the anticlerical

¹² The following chart shows how religious "liberty" operated in Spain.

Freemasons control government	1805
Anticlerical cortes	1810
Liberal constitution abolishes Church privileges	1812
Church property confiscated	1812
Freemasons banish Jesuits, suppress monasteries, take Church property	1820
Friars massacred in Madrid	1834
Religious houses suppressed, Jesuits expelled, Church property confiscated ..	1835
Cortes plans Civil Constitution of the clergy, takes Church property	1837
Priests and bishops expelled	1840
Papal nuncio dismissed	1841
Government appoints bishops independently of pope	1842
All but three religious orders excluded	1851
Espartero advocates confiscation of church property.....	1855
Church property confiscated	1868
Liberals attack Church	1873
Radicals attack religion	1875
Government secularizes schools	1881

¹³ Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

laws. He died in 1833 after a reign of twenty years, during which the excesses of the revolutionary party had forced Catholics in self-defense to support the old order, to fight in behalf of an incompetent ruler, and to oppose the Liberal program which combined advocacy of democratic government with hostility to religion.¹⁴

Ferdinand had provided for the succession of his daughter, **Isabella II**; but another claimant appeared in the person of his brother, **Don Carlos**, whose followers, the Carlists, during seven years of civil war, fought against the Cristinos, supporters of Isabella's mother, the **Regent Cristina**. The queen regent, having agreed to a new Liberal constitution, obtained the support of the Liberal party. Don Carlos was backed by the clericals; and thus the Church was again involved.

During the Carlist war Pope Gregory XVI followed a policy of neutrality, refusing to recognize either the Carlists or the Cristinos. The Liberal administration gave civil officials charge of religious affairs; an organized propaganda spread the rumor that monks had caused the cholera epidemic; riots took place with the tacit approval of the government. In Barcelona six convents were burned and more than thirty monks were killed. In 1837 the government banished the Jesuits, suppressed practically all the monasteries in the kingdom, and confiscated their property. The government refused to appoint any bishop acceptable to the pope; and many of the Spanish sees were vacant for years. In 1841 only six bishops remained in Spain.

The leader of the queen's forces, **Espartero**, after winning the war, made himself dictator and deposed bishops and pastors in order to create vacancies for clerics friendly to the government. Espartero was soon displaced; and the thirteen-year-old Isabella came to the throne. The helpless young queen was made a pawn of the scheming statesmen of England and France and of her own ministers. She antagonized the Liberals by annulling certain provisions of the constitution; and she offended the Catholic party by her bold immoralities.¹⁵ After several years of successful administration by her minister, O'Donnell, the revolutionists gained ground, violence broke out; and in 1868 Isabella took refuge in France.

Seven years of near-anarchy saw the drawing up of a new constitution and the offering of the Spanish crown, first to the king of Portugal, then to the duke of Genoa, then to the prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, then to **Amadeo, Duke of Aosta**, son of the excommunicated king of Italy, who accepted the dubious honor and reigned from 1870 until Spain de-

¹⁴ Under Ferdinand VII, Spain lost all her colonies on the American continent.

¹⁵ The marriage of Isabella occasioned bad feeling between England and France, for in an attempt to overreach England, Louis Philippe forced Isabella to marry her cousin, Don Francisco, who, according to rumor, "was notoriously incapable of having heirs." The resulting scandals of the queen's reign had an unfortunate political effect on the country.

clared itself a republic in 1873. The republic lasted only two years. In 1875 **Alfonso XII**, son of Isabella, aged seventeen, was placed on the throne by a military coup of General Campos; and, with the help of gifted ministers, notably the Conservative Canovas and the Liberal Sagasta, he reigned until his death in 1885. The constitution he adopted in 1876 was a compromise between the more conservative document of 1845 and the more democratic document of 1869. It nullified the ancient *fueros* of the Catalans and the Basques, and placed control of the whole country in the hands of a two-party government functioning in Madrid. The religious orders were readmitted; and sufficient concessions were made to prevent the clericals from aligning themselves with the Carlist faction. In 1881 Leo XIII discouraged a national pilgrimage to Rome which had, in the minds of some, taken on the character of a Carlist demonstration.

Alfonso died in 1885; and in 1886 his posthumous son, **Alfonso XIII**, became king. The **Queen Regent**, **María Cristina**, continued to rule until the end of the century. Anarchists plotted to kill the young queen on the very day that she gave birth to her child, as they had attempted to assassinate her husband ten years earlier. But Sagasta, the premier, utilizing Masonry on the one hand and cooperating with the Conservatives on the other, governed with a strong hand. Pope Leo XIII consented to be godfather to Alfonso XIII and consistently exercised a powerful influence in favor of the regency, urging the Carlists—greatly to their indignation—to accept the established government. Liberals and Conservatives alternated in power during the rest of the century, which closed with the disastrous Spanish-American War and the loss to Spain of her remaining colonies in the western world.

Portugal: Events resembled those in Spain, with the Church suffering even more at the hands of the Liberals. The higher clergy had been closely identified with political absolutism; and progressives were disposed to support the anticlerical program which aimed to destroy both the old order and the power of the Church. Early in the century the French invaders of Portugal were welcomed by Liberals and Freemasons.¹⁶

After the death of John VI,¹⁷ his son Pedro IV (while still reigning in Brazil as its first emperor) drafted a new and more moderate Portuguese constitution or Charter in 1826 and appointed his brother, Miguel, to act as regent. Miguel, encour-

¹⁶ The Liberal constitution of 1822, drawn up on French lines, called for the ending of class privileges, confiscation of Church property, suppression of religious orders.

¹⁷ Prince John, son of Pedro III, who had retired to Brazil (which became an independent kingdom in 1816), returned to rule over Portugal as John VI in 1821.

aged by the aristocracy, the clergy, and many of the army, put himself at the head of a conservative reaction and attempted to seize the crown; but he renounced his claim in 1833, leaving the political field to be disputed between the Liberals favoring the old constitution of 1822, and the Chartists supporting the constitution of 1826.

Pedro IV, who returned to Portugal from Brazil in 1831, went far beyond the rights conceded in the concordat (of 1773), claimed the power of nominating to all sees, parishes, and ecclesiastical offices, had several bishops consecrated by the patriarch of Lisbon without consulting the pope, expelled the papal nuncio, dismissed a number of bishops, banished the Jesuits, and abolished religious orders, confiscating their property. Dependent on the state for support, the clergy were not allowed even to administer the sacraments without permission of the civil authorities. Pope Gregory XVI's threat to excommunicate Pedro brought no relief, and the people were deprived of nearly all opportunity of religious instruction. Pedro died in 1834 and his daughter, Maria da Gloria, although personally sympathetic to the Holy See, was helpless to make headway against the Liberals who insisted upon enforcing the anti-Catholic provisions of the constitution of 1822.

In 1840 the more moderate Chartist party gained control, arranged a *modus vivendi* with the Holy See, and surrendered all claim to religious properties confiscated in 1833 and 1834; but the government continued to interfere in the education of the clergy, appointing professors and selecting the textbooks in the seminaries. The effect of this policy became evident; the chief theological school of the country, the University of Coimbra, became the intellectual center of Portuguese Freemasonry; and the Portuguese bishops declined the invitation of the pope to attend the canonization of the Japanese martyrs in Rome. In some places people refused to accept the bishops appointed by the government without papal approval, and the country was thrown into a state of religious confusion.

Many of the difficulties between Church and State were adjusted by the concordat of 1886. The crown relinquished its

claim to appoint bishops in the old Portuguese colonies of India; the bishops in Portugal were to be nominated by the government but appointed by the pope; and (a few years later) religious orders received permission to exist under certain restrictions. Yet other conditions remained unsatisfactory. Parish priests were still selected by the minister of justice (who was often an active Freemason)—an arrangement seriously affecting the quality of the clergy. Political disputes, religious controversies, and armed risings continued to disturb the country; and a republican movement organized in 1881 grew rapidly.

Italy: The readjustment of boundaries by the Congress of Vienna made Austria dominant, giving Venice and Milan to the emperor and Tuscany, Parma, Modena to other Hapsburgs; and nearly all the rest of Italy was divided among three sovereigns, King Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia, the pope, and the Bourbon king of Naples and Sicily. Soon the dislike of foreign mastery and the desire for Italian unity led to the forming of a secret league, known as the Carbonari, bent on achieving independence, ready to encourage assassination and rebellion, and guilty of forging a papal brief to acquire good standing. A series of conspiracies and revolts brought on imprisonments, executions, and in 1821 a papal condemnation of the Carbonari.

Towards the middle of the century Mazzini formed the Society of Young Italy, largely composed of anticlerical Freemasons, for the purpose of establishing an independent Italian republic; and concurrently a number of Catholic leaders, including Gioberti, Rosmini, Ventura, and Tosti, advocated a federation of Italian states under the presidency of the pope.¹⁸ The king of Sardinia was ready to lead a movement for the expulsion of Austria from the Italian peninsula; and Napoleon III promised to help the revolution on the condition that first, Italy should be united under the presidency of the pope, and secondly, France should receive Nice and Savoy by way of compensation. Hostilities began in 1859 and the Austrian army was

¹⁸ In 1849 Mazzini with the aid of Garibaldi actually established the short-lived Roman Republic. For the effect of the revolutionary movements on the papal states, see "States of the Church" *Catholic Encyc.* XIV, 265-67. For brief sketches of the four priests named above, consult the same source under their respective names.

defeated at Magenta; but as Pope Pius had expressed his dissatisfaction with the revolutionary program and had refused to be drawn into the war against Austria, the cause of Italian independence grew more and more anticlerical and antipapal in character.

Cavour, the Prime Minister of Sardinia, devised the war cry, "A free Church in a free State," and appealed to patriots to divorce religion from politics. He adopted an antireligious policy and suppressed all religious orders not engaged in education and social service. Led by Cavour, supported by Napoleon III, and aided by Garibaldi with his Red Shirt volunteers, **Victor Emmanuel II**, King of Sardinia, after having defeated the Austrian army and the hastily equipped papal forces, effected the unification of Italy, and in 1861 was proclaimed its king. In 1870 the Italian army entered Rome on the twentieth of September. A plebiscite was ordered for the second of October. The pope forbade Catholics to take part in it and consequently most of those who voted declared themselves in favor of unification. Victor Emmanuel then annexed Rome.

In 1871 the Italian Parliament passed the Law of Guarantees, giving the pope possession of three palaces, the Vatican, the Lateran, and Castel Gandolfo, and settling on him an annual pension of about three and a quarter million lire—equivalent to over \$600,000. Laws were passed confiscating Church property and suppressing monasteries; and the government claimed the right of veto over the appointment of bishops to Italian sees—except in the six dioceses close to Rome, the sees of cardinal bishops. The pope refused to recognize the Law of Guarantees or to accept the pension, and made himself a voluntary prisoner in the Vatican. During the next few years the Italian government was responsible for a number of insulting speeches and acts of oppression towards the papacy. Victor Emmanuel died in 1878, having been reconciled to the Church on his deathbed; and Pope Pius IX died a month later. The Romans remained divided into two factions: the *Bianchi* (the Whites—friends of the king) and the *Neri* (the Blacks—friends of the pope).

The accession of **Leo XIII** in 1878 occasioned an interchange of courtesies between **King Humbert** and the pope; and in the same year the government deleted offensive clauses from the official forms which the bishops were obliged to use when applying for their salaries.¹⁹ A pamphlet on conciliation published in 1887 by the learned Benedictine, **Tosti**, aroused hope of an official reconciliation between the Vatican and the Quirinal; but nothing definite came of it.

¹⁹ The salaries were paid by the state out of revenues which had previously been in the hands of the Church.

For a few years after the formation of the kingdom of Italy the government was controlled by the conservatives, the Constitutional Right; but thereafter it was controlled by the radical party, the Liberal Left, in which southern Italians had almost a dominant influence. The abstention of Catholics from political life gave the Liberals and Socialists a free hand. The Freemasons showed their power by numerous public insults to the pope and to the Church. Among the unhappy incidents of this period were the attempt to throw the coffin of Pius IX into the Tiber, the erection of a statue to Giordano Bruno in Rome, the suppression of religious houses, the claim to exercise jurisdiction over the Vatican, the confiscation of the property of the Propaganda, the appropriation of goods belonging to religious and charitable fraternities, and the exclusion of priests from boards of charity. Italy gradually abolished the civil disabilities of the Jews.

Prime Ministers Giolitti and Crispi were forced out of office—the one because of political scandals in 1893, the other because of the failure of his colonial policy and the disastrous defeat at Adowa (Ethiopia) in 1896. The Socialist party made use of these events to increase its hold upon the people; an anarchist assassinated King Humbert in 1900; and the century ended with the Vatican and the Italian government still unreconciled.

b. The British Isles

England, Ireland, Scotland

The British Isles: As a result of amazing expansion and political reforms, England gained greatly in wealth, population, international influence; this has been called "the English century." To Ireland, however, English rule brought disaster—eviction of farmers from the land, great famines costing over a million lives, forced emigration; in little more than fifty years the population was cut almost in half. The population of Scotland, too, decreased; large areas were left almost uninhabited—a condition partly compensated for by the entrance of immigrants from Ireland.

England: The question of liberating Catholics from the burden of the penal laws was raised in Parliament early in the century; and, although George III and George IV opposed all concessions, "emancipation" was eventually offered to Catholics on condition that the crown would possess the right of veto

over the appointment of Catholic bishops. Some members of the English hierarchy favored acceptance of the offer; but it was successfully opposed by Bishop Milner, outstanding figure in the English episcopate, by the Irish hierarchy, by the Catholic aristocracy (then comprising about five hundred families), by the majority of Catholics of the middle and lower classes, and by the "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" (the name given to the Jesuits until they resumed their own title after their restoration in 1814). Unconditional emancipation was granted in 1829.

The growing influence of Catholicism was indicated in the thirties by the conversion of a little group of Cambridge men, including George Spencer, son of Earl Spencer, Ambrose de Lisle, and Kenelm Digby; and about the same time the distinguished young architect, Augustus Webb Pugin, entered the Church. The Catholic revival was advanced by the writings and lectures of Nicholas Wiseman, who became president of Oscott College in 1840; and the Oxford Movement, inaugurated about 1833 by Newman, Keble, Pusey, and Hurrell Froude (urging a return to Apostolic Christianity), brought William George Ward, Newman, Manning, Faber, and many others into the Church. The distinguished poet, Coventry Patmore, became a convert in 1864. During the terrible famine years, refugees from Ireland raised the total number of Irish in England to nearly a half million. These laborers, dockmen, coal miners, railway navvies, textile workers who formed the great majority of the Catholic body were regarded with anything but favor by their English co-religionists.

Two notable episodes occurred during the closing years of the century. In 1895 Leo XIII, withdrawing a prohibition which had been in force for years, gave permission to Catholic students to attend the national universities, provided that their faith would be properly safeguarded. A little later the discussion of possible reunion of the Church of England with the Holy See caused the pope to appoint a commission to investigate the validity of Anglican orders. The pronouncement that these orders are invalid, published in the papal letter *Apostolicae curae* of Sep-

tember 1896, aroused a furor among Anglicans; but English Catholics in general welcomed the decision.²⁰

Historians point out as characteristic features of this era the enormous growth of population; the transformation of a people chiefly agricultural to one mainly engaged in manufacture and trade; the bloodless revolution which achieved extension of the suffrage by the Reform Law of 1832; the rise of the middle classes at the expense of the aristocracy; the naval development and the colonial expansion which made English influence dominant in all quarters of the world; the cruel oppression of Ireland which in course of time presented a major obstacle to the permanence of England's prosperity.²¹

The growth of religious tolerance was promoted by the scholarly priest, John Lingard, who wrote an excellent *History of England* in 1819, and by the Protestant, William Cobbett, who about 1825 published a *History of the Protestant Reformation* extremely sympathetic to the Catholic Church. But the marriage of Queen Victoria to Prince Albert and the fall of the Melbourne ministry in 1841 ended the tolerant policy of the preceding years and introduced the suspicious, and even bitter Protestantism typical of Victorian England.²² William Gladstone, a dominant figure in English politics during the latter part of the century, showed open hostility to Rome. Nevertheless, Catholic prestige rose steadily. In 1850 Pius IX re-established the English hierarchy, naming Wiseman first archbishop of Westminster. Wiseman was succeeded at his death in 1865 by one of the Oxford converts, Henry Edward Manning, a distinguished champion of the rights of labor.

A small group of intellectuals, known as "Liberal Catholics," founded *The Rambler* in 1848, and criticized the narrowness and the antiquated educational system of the old English Catholics. This occasioned a spirited controversy with the *Dublin Review* which, under the editorship of William George Ward, expressed the views of the "Ultramontanes," or Conservatives. The Liberal Catholics, with Lord Acton at their head, came out strongly against the expediency of defining papal infallibility; but, after the definition, Lord Acton explained his attitude in a way that was accept-

²⁰ Among many available books, see the brochure, *Reasons for Rejecting Anglican Orders*, by Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J.

²¹ England "had to deal with an Ireland which had been crushed and the treatment of which was wholly at variance with the whole of Western European feeling since the principles of nationality and the French Revolution had spread. In other words, she had to see to it that Ireland, though it would certainly be a material danger, should not be a moral danger. It was an Ireland then, be it remembered, the destruction of which had not yet been accomplished; which had a population of more than one-third of her own, and rapidly rising to be half of her own." Belloc, *A Shorter History of England*, p. 555.

²² See Lecture III in Newman's *Present Position of Catholics in England*.

able to his bishop. Gladstone's attack on the definition was answered by Manning and by Newman, both of whom became cardinals—Manning in 1875 and Newman four years later.²³

Cardinal Newman died in 1890 and Cardinal Manning in 1892. They had come to be universally regarded as truly great Englishmen, Newman for scholarship and Manning for public achievements, notably the settlement of the dock strike of 1889 which involved 200,000 men.

Ireland: Against the determined opposition of two Irish leaders, Grattan and Plunket, the English Premier, Pitt, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Castlereagh, by shameless bribery induced the Irish Parliament to vote itself out of existence; and in 1800 the Act of Union established the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. As the Irish Parliament had been both intolerant and corrupt, many of the Catholic clergy favored the Union; and when the government offered emancipation in return for a veto on episcopal appointments, some of the Irish bishops favored the making of this bargain. Twenty-eight members of the hierarchy, however, vigorously opposed it; and the veto was never actually granted.²⁴ Catholic emancipation was won in 1829 after a stirring political campaign under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell.²⁵ New concessions to the Irish were made from time to time; yet at the end of the century Catholics were still excluded from almost all the higher offices within the gift of the government.

The disastrous potato famines from 1845 to 1851 caused indescribable suffering and a tremendous decrease of population by death and emigration; pauperism, evictions, outrages, conspiracies, riots followed.²⁶ In 1850

²³ On the divergent views of Manning and Newman, see (for a detailed account) the lives by Leslie and Ward; and (for a brief account) John J. O'Connor. *The Catholic Revival in England*, and David Mathew, *Catholicism in England*.

²⁴ During the imprisonment of Pius VII in France the acting secretary of the Propaganda, Quarantotti, exceeding his powers, endorsed the veto plan; but the pope, on his return to Rome, reopened the question. See John Tracy Ellis, *Cardinal Consalvi and Anglo-Papal Relations, 1814-1824*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1942.

²⁵ The Catholics of Ireland were admitted to the suffrage in 1793, but a few years later (in connection with the Act of Union) an effort made to secure further rights was thwarted by George III. In 1828 Daniel O'Connell was elected to Parliament by an Irish constituency in defiance of the law; and in view of widespread agitation the Premier, Lord Wellington, reluctantly consented to the Catholic Emancipation Bill, freeing Catholics of the British Isles from their chief disabilities.

²⁶ In 1845 the population of Ireland was 8,000,000. At the end of six years it had fallen to 6,500,000, and by the end of the century, to 4,500,000.

The failure of the Young Ireland uprising led by William Smith O'Brien in 1848

the Tenant Right League began its fight for the three "F's" (Fair rent, Fixed tenure, Free sale); in 1866 agitation by the Fenians drew world-wide attention to the unhappy state of Ireland. The Reform Act of 1867 gave the Irish a larger representation in Parliament; and Gladstone, leader of the Liberal party, took up the question of redressing Irish grievances (going no further than to disestablish the Irish church, but thus freeing Catholics from the obligation of supporting Protestant worship by taxation). Another famine occurred in 1879; and then an Irish Protestant, Charles Stewart Parnell, "the Uncrowned King," took command of the Irish members and carried on a skillful parliamentary campaign for Home Rule, while extremists were waging war by boycott, arson, and assassination, and the United Irish League under William O'Brien was agitating for a law to compel absentee landlords to sell. Although Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill of 1886 failed of passage, Parnell's obstructive tactics proved so effective that he was on the verge of success in 1890, when he lost the support of the Irish hierarchy and fell from power as a result of having been named cor respondent in an (undefended) suit for divorce brought by Captain O'Shea. In 1893 the second Home Rule Bill passed the Commons but was defeated in the House of Lords; Gladstone's retirement in 1894 ended the struggle on this front for the time being; and Ireland turned towards the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin.

Scotland: In the year 1800 the Church in Scotland consisted of some thirty thousand members, with forty priests and twelve chapels. During the first quarter century, Catholics doubled in number, largely through immigration from Ireland; and, after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed the principal Catholic disabilities, the Church made rapid progress. Successful missionary work was done in Glasgow by Bishop Scott (1805-1845) and in the eastern district by Bishop James Gillis (1835-1864). In 1878 Leo XIII re-established the Catholic hierarchy of Scotland, erecting the metropolitan see of St. Andrews at Edinburgh.

was followed by the founding of the secret Fenian Society, with an organ in Dublin, *The Irish People*. The paper was suppressed in 1865; *habeas corpus* was suspended in 1866; and the following year a small armed force which sailed from America in the ship "Erin's Hope" to help the insurgents was quickly dispersed. During an attempt to rescue two of the invaders who had been arrested, a policeman was killed in Manchester, and the three men sentenced to death for the slaying were honored by the Irish as "the Manchester Martyrs." Two raiding parties of Fenians also crossed from the United States into Canada in 1866 and 1870. Membership in the Fenian Society was prohibited by the Holy See in 1870 under pain of excommunication.

By the end of the century the Church in Scotland possessed about a half million people, five hundred priests, and two hundred primary schools. The Education Act of 1897 placed Catholic schools on a more satisfactory basis, with the government paying approximately three-quarters of the cost of maintenance.

c. Other Countries

The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Scandinavia

The Congress of Vienna (1815) established the kingdom of the Netherlands, which included the Protestant Dutch of the north and the Catholic Belgians of the south. Although Belgians were very nearly twice as numerous as Dutch, the two peoples received equal representation in the government; and Dutch was made the official language of the country. Racial and religious disputes caused incessant trouble, especially when an anti-Catholic administration attempted to control Catholic education, even in ecclesiastical seminaries. The obstructive attitude of the Liberal party prevented the signing of a concordat with the Holy See until 1827. The highhanded policy of the Dutch provoked a Nationalist movement on the part of the Belgians which was promoted by the lower clergy, though opposed by the bishops; Belgium achieved independence in 1831.

The Netherlands: Small in territory after the secession of the Belgian provinces, the kingdom of the Netherlands retained an immense colonial area in the East Indies (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, part of Papua) more than fifty times as large as the mother country and with a population six times as great—in addition to other possessions in South America and the West Indies. King William I, an obstinate conservative, was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, William II, in 1840; and in 1848 the constitution was liberalized. Catholics were strong enough to secure recognition of their rights in the constitution; and from time to time they improved their position. Despite hostile agitation by Calvinists and Jansenists, the Holy See re-established the hierarchy in 1853. The Liberal party stubbornly opposed

state assistance to denominational schools; but in 1889 Catholics and Protestants joined forces and secured an educational subsidy.

Belgium: Under Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as king, religious harmony prevailed during the first years of independence. Then a Liberal attempt to secure control of the schools provoked a series of quarrels; and in 1880 educational disputes aroused so much feeling that the government recalled the Belgian ambassador to the Vatican. Catholics won the elections of 1884 and thereafter retained control. Two universities represented the mutually opposed educational views of the two political parties—the University of Brussels, founded by Liberals in 1834, and Louvain, re-opened by Catholics in 1835.

The industrial troubles of 1886 led to the forming of strong Catholic labor organizations; and Belgium took a foremost place in the enactment of advanced social legislation.

Switzerland: During the second quarter of the century, the country developed along revolutionary and "liberal" lines; and the cantons were reorganized without sufficient respect for religious differences. In violation of the federal constitution, the canton of Aargau undertook to suppress religious houses and to confiscate their property in 1841; several Protestant cantons began to agitate for the expulsion of the Jesuits; the educational system developed by Pestalozzi and other able schoolmen was used as a weapon against the Church. A few years later the Catholics organized the *Sonderbund* (Separate League) to redress their grievances by force of arms; but they were defeated in 1847.

The following year the diet modified the federal constitution, and guaranteed religious freedom in all the cantons. This encouraged Catholics to migrate in large numbers into Protestant territory, where they erected churches, organized societies, and founded newspapers. Isolated instances of religious persecution by the Liberal party occurred during the next twenty years; and, during the reaction against the definition of papal infallibility, Berne and Geneva gave important civil posts to the "Old Catholic" schismatics, Herzog and Père Hyacinthe. The constitution

of 1874 imposed serious disadvantages upon Catholics; and relations between the government and the Holy See became strained.

In 1883 Leo XIII began the approach to a better understanding; and most of the churches that had been transferred to the Old Catholics were returned. The University of Fribourg, inaugurated in 1886, became a home of Catholic scholarship. The Catholic democratic movement directed by Cardinal Mermillod and M. Decurtins grew to be important. In 1895 a Catholic, Dr. Zemp, was elected president of the Swiss Confederation. At the end of the century Catholics formed a majority in ten of the twenty cantons.

Scandinavia: In Denmark, when religious freedom was granted in 1849, there were hardly more than a thousand Catholics; and the Church had to be supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Many conversions took place; the Church grew; a vicar apostolic was appointed in 1892.

In Norway, which separated from Denmark in 1814, Lutheranism remained the official religion of the state; but Catholics were tolerated after 1845. In 1892 the first Catholic bishop was consecrated; and in 1897 most of the legal disabilities of Catholics were removed. All religious orders were admitted except the Jesuits.

In Sweden, where banishment had been the penalty for abandoning the state religion, a law was passed in 1873 permitting persons over eighteen years of age to change their religion after having notified their pastors. No Catholic religious communities were allowed except nursing sisters.

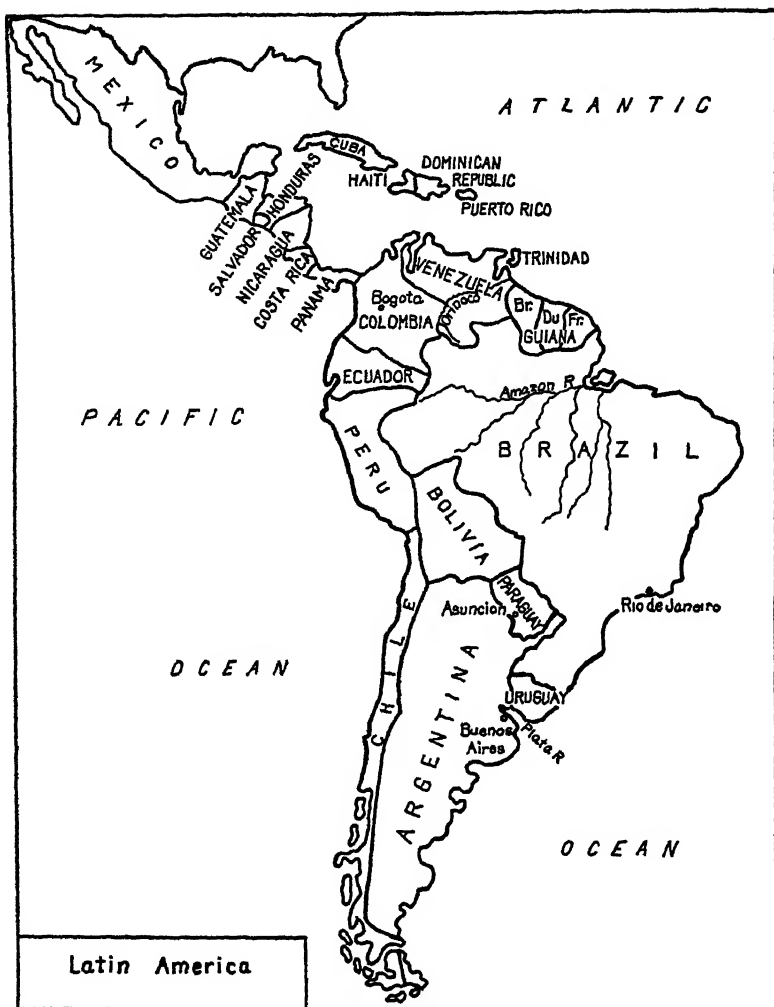
3. AMERICA

(Except the United States)

a. Latin America

(Mexico, Central America, South America, West Indies)

In order to approach an understanding of the problems presented by Latin America, one must bear in mind that this region at the beginning of the century was still to a great extent



in the feudal stage, dating back politically to the pre-revolutionary era, and religiously to pre-Reformation times. Family traditions were patriarchal; the aristocratic social system was based upon the possession of Spanish blood and the ownership of rich mining-lands and vast estates; the culture was high and distinctly Latin; universities formed on the model of Salamanca ranked with the best in Europe.²⁷ One must remember too, that Cathol-

²⁷ Notably the University at Córdoba, once in Chilean, later in Argentinian territory. See Carlos E Castañeda, "The Beginnings of University Life in America" in *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXIV (July 1938), 153-174; and John T. Lanning, *Academic*

icism, established by law and protected from competition, suffered from certain drawbacks inherent in too close an association with the state.²⁸ Finally one must not forget that Latin America, inhabited to a great extent by a fusion of white, red, and black peoples, faced a unique set of racial difficulties.²⁹

The new spirit which already had revolutionized England, France, and (to some extent) Spain, and had created the United States of America, made itself felt in Latin America early in the century. The French seizure of Spain and the enthronement of Joseph Bonaparte was the signal for a series of revolutionary outbreaks in the Spanish colonies; and, once begun, the struggle for independence continued even after the restoration of the Bourbon sovereign to the throne. After a long, desultory war, the battle of Ayacucho (1824) terminated European control in all Spanish America with the exception of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Continental Latin America then comprised the Republic

Culture in the Spanish Colonies. For a summary description of conditions in one part of Latin America, see *The Church in the South American Republics*, by Edwin Ryan.

²⁸ The extensive rights obtained from the Holy See by the Spanish crown applied in all their force to the American colonies, where bishops, parish priests, and religious superiors were political appointees, where reports to the Holy See had first to be forwarded through local representatives to the king, where unworthy incumbents in high ecclesiastical positions could not easily be removed, where many unfit European priests entered either under pressure or of their own accord, and where, in some places at least, clerical education left much to be desired.

²⁹ In the days of the conquistadors, Latin America was inhabited by a vast number of Indian tribes, four groups of which had attained a high degree of civilization—the Mayas of Guatemala and Yucatán, the Aztecs of Mexico, the Chibchas of Colombia, the Incas of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, persons of pure Indian blood formed less than half the population. With racial fusion went social fusion and, although the racial line has not vanished completely, “it has grown less and less in many countries until it has become shadowy, and persons are judged not by their skin’s pigment, but by their own qualities.” *Latin America and the United States*, published by the Catholic Association for International Peace, Committee on Latin American Relations, p. 10. See also C. E. Marshall, “The Birth of the Mestizo in New Spain,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 160.

In certain regions natives who had eagerly accepted Christianity had not always entirely relinquished the old pagan worship, but had grafted Catholic doctrines on a modified Maya cult and continued to practice their ancient rites in secret; and these habits proved especially disastrous when government interference, political revolutions, and the expulsion of the missionaries left whole colonies of Christian Indians without any religious ministrations whatever. Some Indian groups, nominally Christian and at heart reverent and religious, fitted Catholic devotion to our Lord and the Blessed Virgin into a semi-pagan framework. The fairly general habit of civil interference in ecclesiastical affairs, particularly in the conduct of schools, of course relieved the Church of responsibility for the later spiritual backwardness of the people and for their lack of education.

of Mexico, the five republics of Central America, and the region which after much strife and various political changes became the ten republics of South America.³⁰

The revolutionary movements were favored and in several cases were led by the lower clergy of native birth; but they were usually opposed by Spanish-born bishops who held office by favor of the crown.³¹ As a rule the new republics made Catholicism the official religion; yet before long complications with the Holy See arose, for Spain refused to relinquish its old power of appointing bishops, and meanwhile the republics claimed to have inherited that power.³²

The governments set up by inexperienced revolutionaries proved to be unstable; national rivalries occasioned long, disastrous wars. With the dawn of the modern age, Latin America began to be affected profoundly by a number of modifying influences: aggressive foreigners, experienced in commerce and industry, backed by abundant capital and political pressure; Protestant missions financed in the United States; new methods of education that served also as propaganda channels for alien religions, for secularism, for unbelief.³³ Wealth that the Church had used for the support of parishes, schools, asylums, and mon-

³⁰ Brazil became a kingdom in 1816. Cuba acquired independence and Puerto Rico became a possession of the United States at the end of the Spanish War of 1898. The island of Hispaniola (alternately divided, reunited, and shifted back and forth between Spain and France) finally emerged as two political entities, the Black Republic of Haiti and the Republic of Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), both of which had stormy careers.

³¹ Among the insurgent leaders were the priests Hidalgo and Morelos in Mexico; Bolívar (who died a Catholic) in Venezuela; the Catholics, San Martín, O'Higgins, and Belgrano in the south.

³² The confusion increased when the Holy See decided to depart from the pre-revolutionary usage and keep the nomination of bishops exclusively under its own control. Owing to these conditions, large regions remained without bishops for a number of years. Eventually most of the states arranged concordats with the Holy See and stationed representatives at the Vatican. The story of the three-cornered negotiations (Latin America, Spain, and the Holy See) is told by J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Papacy and Spanish American Independence," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IX (1929), 155-75. See also his *Church and State in Latin America; A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations*. On the disputed bull of Leo XII and on other points involving Pius VIII and Gregory XVI, see W. Eugene Shiels, "Church and State in the First Decade of Mexican Independence" *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (1942), 206-228.

³³ The United States was consciously hostile to the Latin American tradition. See Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830*, pp. 36, 188, 336, 413 and elsewhere.

asteries was appropriated, sometimes to provide revenue for the government, sometimes to enrich politicians. In several states Masonic groups grew strong enough to trample upon ecclesiastical rights and even to inaugurate religious persecution;³⁴ thus churchmen, traditionally active in the political field, were stirred to fresh vigor by motives of self defense.

Of enormous moment in political history were two declarations made when the Latin American countries were achieving independence—the enunciation of the principle of Pan-Americanism by Henry Clay in 1820, and the warning to European powers issued by President Monroe three years later.³⁵ From the religious point of view, an event of immeasurable benefit was the later convocation of the Latin American Council in Rome (1899).

Mexico: The unstable condition of Spain during the first quarter century brought to the surface of Mexican public life conflicting elements which were to make the country confused and unhappy for generations. The Spanish constitution of 1812 produced more discontent in Mexico than in Spain itself; and Mexican independence was achieved largely through the aid of the clergy, active politically, but divided. Some clerics upheld

³⁴ "The earlier leaders of the liberals in robbing the Church were however usually idealists who did not rob the lands for themselves; they sold the lands for the benefit of the State. It was lesser men who were avaricious and into whose hands church property fell. Often enough foreigners built up rich estates for themselves out of the confiscated lands of the Church." C.A.I.P. Committee on Latin American Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁵ Pan-Americanism affirms the common interest of all the Americas in commercial and political affairs; and the Monroe Doctrine formulates a dual policy—first, that the American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers" and secondly, that any intervention in the domestic affairs of other American countries is to be regarded "as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Simon Bolívar's plan to organize a Latin American federation in 1826 fell through; and the aggressive attitude of the United States in Mexico and elsewhere aroused suspicion in Latin America; but the trend towards hemispheric coöperation made itself felt again in later years. In 1895 President Cleveland of the United States went so far as to threaten Great Britain with war in defense of Venezuela. In 1889 the International Conference of American States brought together in Washington representatives of all the nations except the Dominican Republic and set up the American Republics Bureau which later became the International Bureau of American Republics and then the Pan-American Union (with headquarters in Washington). The Union publishes a monthly bulletin in three editions, Spanish, Portuguese, and English, and functions as a clearing house for inter-American activities. For a summary of "Pan" movements in Latin America see Clarence H. Haring, *South America Looks at the United States*, pp. 44 ff.

Spanish sovereignty; others favored an empire; still others desired to form a republic on the model of the United States. The Holy See refused to recognize the new government's claim to the old right of patronage: by 1830 Mexico was left without a bishop and with only two-thirds as many priests as before; and, meanwhile, the control of the chief political parties had been taken over by two Masonic groups, the more conservative Scottish Rite and the more radical York Rite. The pope's slowness to recognize the change from colonial status was widely resented; the Liberals were soon ready to separate Church and state, and to appropriate ecclesiastical property; and Mexican history began to follow the familiar pattern in which clericals insist on their traditional privileges, while admitting no responsibility for abuses, whereas anticlericals rob the Church and the poor, while professing to defend liberty and democracy. Throughout the century the fortunes of the Church rose and fell with political tides.³⁶

The first native revolt was led by the priest **Hidalgo**; his army was defeated and he was executed by the Spanish in 1811. **Bishop Pérez** of Puebla was second president of the revolutionary Junta; and the Constituent Congress of 1822 swore to maintain the Roman Catholic religion. Although supported by the clergy, **Iturbide's** empire was soon overturned (1823),

³⁶ As to the evil influence of Masonic leaders in the early days of Mexican independence, there is general agreement, although details are debated. Different writers give varying estimates of Joel Poinsett, U.S. Minister to Mexico (1825-29), through whom authorization was obtained to form a Grand Lodge of the York Rite, first introduced into Mexico by the priests, Arizpe and Alpuche. According to H. H. Bancroft, most of the Yorkinos were "ambitious and unscrupulous men, by whom the national welfare was held in no consideration." This verdict was justified by their record—for example, the part taken in the destruction of the Franciscan missions of California by Arizpe, Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs. According to Gruening, the division of political groups into Centralists and Federalists, Scottish and York Rite Masons, is deceptive. "These were ephemeral alignments for a massed assault on the treasury," he says in *Mexico and Its Heritage* (p. 51).

It is difficult to obtain a satisfactory account of this period. The standard authority is Alamán (*Disertaciones sobre la Historia de la Republica mexicana and Historia de México . . . hasta la epoca presente*). The *Historia de la Iglesia en México* of Cuevas is valuable in many respects, although the author sometimes leaves himself open to grave criticisms, as for example, when he charges (V, 196) that the Americans had the University of Mexico closed so that they, rather than the Mexicans, might have the honor of possessing the oldest university. See Mecham's biting comment on this statement, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

Consult also Kelley's *Blood-drenched Altars*, Magner's *Men of Mexico*, and the well documented article by W. Eugene Sheils cited above,

partly because of the emperor's mistakes, and partly because powerful enemies were allied against him. Next came a republic (1824); and, for approximately sixty years, Mexico was at the mercy of one military leader or another, with the determined anticlerical *Santa Anna* in power at intervals from 1833 to 1855. He was overthrown by *Juarez*, the remarkable Indian who, with the help of the United States, exercised control from 1857 to 1871, attempting among other schemes to establish an independent Mexican church. French intervention led to the founding of the empire of *Maximilian* (1864-67). When American pressure caused the French to withdraw, the empire collapsed, Maximilian was shot, and Juarez came into power again—to retain control, until displaced by the revolution of 1871; then Mexico was under *Porfirio Díaz* for very nearly forty years. During all this time the peasantry led a wretched existence; wealth was highly concentrated; there was almost no middle class. Permanent antagonism divided the supporters of the Church and the supporters of the revolution; and, until 1871, except for short intervals, the government curtailed religious freedom with more or less rigor. Under Díaz, who ruled with a strong hand, put down lawlessness, and brought greater prosperity to Mexico, the government was lenient in its dealings with the Church—often against the letter of the law. The revolution had almost entirely destroyed the numerous schools attached to the parish churches of cities, towns, and villages; and the clergy were obliged to carry on the corporal and spiritual works of mercy without the help of the ecclesiastical revenues which had been confiscated.³⁷

³⁷ The constitution of 1824 established Catholicism as the state religion; but the Liberals protested against the making of a concordat with the Holy See. Confiscation of ecclesiastical property took place in 1833 under *Santa Anna*, and in 1856 under *Juarez*. In 1857 the new constitution ordered the suppression of religious orders, in 1859 Church property was confiscated again; in 1863 religious orders of women were prohibited; in 1874 a decree forbade religious instruction and religious exercises of all kinds in federal, state, or municipal schools. Yet the separation of Church and state inaugurated by the constitution of 1857 proved to be in part a benefit; for at least the Holy See was left at liberty to nominate bishops without consulting the government, and the hierarchy was allowed to direct ecclesiastical seminaries without interference.

Emilio Portes Gil, late Attorney General of Mexico, made this strange accusation: "The clergy . . . tried to exploit the people by means of their education, and to that end it founded rural schools in the Indian villages as well as primary, superior and preparatory schools in various centers, in the Capitals of the States and in the Federal District. . . . In the matter of public charity the clergy took charge for the purpose of speculation, of asylums, hospitals, founding hospitals and foundations, placing these institutions in charge of nuns and members of different orders." (*The Conflict Between the Civil Power and the Clergy*. Mexico: Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1935, p. 84.) Portes Gil adds a long list of institutions established by the Church—which should be considered carefully when critics are tempted to blame the ecclesiastical authorities for the present poverty and ignorance of the Mexican peasant.

Central America: The captaincy general of Guatemala which in Spanish days comprised all the present area of Central America, formed part of Iturbide's empire until 1823, when it broke into five states, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. These states then formed the Central American Federation controlled largely by Guatemala, at that time under Liberal leadership. Resistance to Guatemalan hegemony on the part of the other states, and the rise of the pro-clerical conservatives effected the dissolution of the Federation in 1839. In later years the republics quarreled frequently among themselves; and Nicaragua suffered from internal discord. Costa Rica had a less turbulent history than her sister republics. Concordats with the Holy See, arranged by all five states were grossly violated, notably by Barrios, Liberal dictator of Guatemala, who suppressed the religious orders in 1873 and thus practically cut off a half million Indians from the Church. Honduras and Nicaragua enacted similar legislation about the year 1894.

South America: The first uprisings—about the year 1810—were revolts against the dominion of the French, who had taken possession of Spain; but, with their European link thus broken, the colonies decided to refuse obedience to Spain, even after Ferdinand VII had regained his throne. Although the Spanish viceroy in Peru soon suppressed the rebellions everywhere except in the region of the River Plata (the future Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay), two later revolutionary movements coalesced and succeeded—one under San Martín and O'Higgins in Argentina and Chile, and another under Bolívar and Páez, which liberated four future states (Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador).⁸⁸ Brazil, a kingdom in 1816, proclaimed itself an empire in 1822.

The history of the Church in the ten countries of South America, although varying in details, followed a fairly definite model. Masonry was powerful, and a considerable proportion of the population was strongly anticlerical. Usually the government accepted the Catholic Church as the official religion and then

⁸⁸ And the later Panama.

undertook to dominate it, resorting to persecution and even violence when bishops resisted civil officials.

Apart from Portuguese-speaking Brazil and Guiana, the South American States divide into two groups—four southern and five tropical countries. In the southern group (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile) Indian and Negro strains have been for the most part eliminated or gradually assimilated; immigration has confirmed the dominantly European character of the people; political history has been more uniform. In the tropical group (Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador), where immigrants have been comparatively few and Indians form half or nearly half of the population, political history has included numerous sudden and violent changes.

Four Southern Countries

Argentina: The United Provinces of the River Plata declared their independence of Spain in 1810 and drove the Spanish out of Montevideo in 1814. An unsuccessful attempt to gain control of upper Peru, an inconclusive war with Brazil for possession of the Banda Oriental (the eastern shore of the Plata and Uruguay Rivers), and a series of civil conflicts were followed by recognition of the Banda Oriental as the independent (buffer) state of Uruguay in 1828. After battling for years to conquer Uruguay, the dictator, **Rosas** (1829–1852), fell from power; and in 1868 the country chose as president **Domingo F. Sarmiento**, an enthusiastic disciple of Horace Mann and founder (during his earlier exile) of the first normal school in Chile.³⁹ Notable in the story of the century were the struggles between Federalists and Separatists; the large Spanish, Italian, German, and Irish immigration; the developing of ranching, of agriculture, of industry; the gradual shifting from the dominance of powerful Creole landowners to the ascendancy of more democratic elements.

Nine ecclesiastics sat in the Constituent Assembly of 1819; and the constitution adopted at that time gave the Church permanent representation

³⁹ This "apostle of primary education" was so extravagant in his admiration for the United States that he believed "the North Americans are the sole enlightened people on earth." Convinced that education is a panacea, and critical of the Church's views on education, he came into conflict with ecclesiastics in Chile and Argentina. See Watt Steuart and William Marshall French: "Influence of Horace Mann on the Educational Ideas of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (1940), 12–31. Sarmiento was the author of a devout life of Christ published with Church approval and still in circulation, *Vida de N.S. Jesu Cristo*, Santiago de Chile, 1937.

in the senate; yet both Rivadavia, Chief Minister in the first administration, and Rosas, during his long term of office, pursued the policy of keeping the Church under strict political control. The Jesuits were expelled in 1817. The constitution of 1853 affirmed that "the Federal government supports the Roman Catholic religion," and that the president must be a Roman Catholic. It established freedom of worship for all religions, but declared members of religious orders ineligible for Congress.

The assembling of a (Mason-inspired) educational congress at Buenos Aires in 1882 was followed two years later by the enacting of a federal school law which prohibited religious instruction in public schools during school hours; and a quarrel over the right of a bishop to prohibit parents from sending children to a school directed by Protestants caused the abrupt dismissal of the apostolic delegate. A civil marriage law was enacted in 1888. About the same time a Catholic revival effected the organizing of the Catholic National Union and the beginning of a Catholic press; a few years later the Redemptorist, Father Grote, commenced to organize working men's clubs; and before long Catholic labor unions were founded in different parts of the country.

Uruguay: Recognized as independent in 1828, this little country of only 60,000 inhabitants had still to fight for freedom and to endure years of civil strife. The constitution of 1830, which remained in force throughout the century, established the Catholic Church, made religious instruction part of the curriculum of the public schools, and claimed the rights of patronage and exequatur.⁴⁰ Although the status of the Church remained technically the same during the rest of the century, interference and even persecution by the authorities were habitual; and political control was retained either by the Colorados of the Left, who were strongly anticlerical, or by the Blancos of the Right, who were lukewarm defenders of Catholic interests. Convents were suppressed; Church property was confiscated; the Jesuits were expelled, readmitted, expelled again; the government enacted a number of definitely anticlerical laws; and in 1885, despite ecclesiastical opposition, the civil form of marriage was made obligatory—although divorce was still excluded.

Paraguay: Having declared independence in 1811, the republic suffered for sixty years from a series of ruthless dictators—**Francia**, who died in 1840, **Carlos López**, and **Francisco Solano López**, who succeeded his father in 1862. Under the last named ruler, Paraguay became involved in

⁴⁰ The request of the government to have a separate diocese in Uruguay was not granted for nearly a half century. Montevideo became a see in 1878. The right of "patronage," i.e., of "presentation" to a church or ecclesiastical benefice, may be considered the practical equivalent of the right of nominating an incumbent. The right of "exequatur" is the right to allow or prohibit the publication of papal pronouncements. More precise and adequate definitions of these two terms will be found in the Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. "Patron and patronage" and "Exequatur."

a calamitous war with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, losing population, wealth and territory (including the southern Chaco taken by Argentina).⁴¹ Petty civil wars between military chieftains (*caudillos*) continued almost without interruption. Conditions improved somewhat in the latter part of the century.

Among the worst features of this unhappy period was the ruinous interference of the state in Church affairs. Francia, who suppressed religious orders, also passed a law requiring priests to marry. Carlos López had his brother Basilio appointed bishop and thus controlled the whole ecclesiastical organization. At the end of the century the people were poor and ignorant; and the Church was helpless. The new constitution of 1870 recognized Catholicism as the state religion, claimed for the government the right of nominating bishops and stipulated that the head of the Church in Paraguay should be a native, and the president of the republic a Christian.⁴²

Chile: More than once attention has been drawn to the high quality of the stock produced by the blending of the native Araucanians of this region with the newcomers from northern Spain and the later immigrants from Ireland and other countries of Europe. The nation made rapid material progress during the century; industry and mining developed; the War of the Pacific gave Chile possession of considerable Peruvian territory and of the Bolivian nitrate fields.

The original constitution of 1818 declared Catholicism to be "the sole and exclusive faith of the State of Chile" and excluded all other religions; but relations between the dictator **Bernardo O'Higgins** and the Church were complicated by the fact that the higher clergy, who remained loyal to Spain, were sometimes unreasonable. **Freire**, who succeeded O'Higgins, confiscated religious property, welcomed the British and Foreign Bible Society, and by insisting on the right of patronage while following an anticlerical program provoked unpleasant incidents. In 1865 the *Ley Interpretativa* made concessions to Protestants in the matter of worship and education; and in 1874, the question of disestablishing the Church was raised in Congress. The Minister of the Interior, **Balmaceda**, put through the so-called "theological laws" which deprived the Church of certain ancient privileges. The apostolic delegate was expelled in 1883. **Balmaceda**,

⁴¹ The war which ended in 1870 left alive not more than one-third to one-sixth of the total population, almost all of them mestizos. Not for a half century did the population regain its pre-war level.

⁴² On conditions in Paraguay in the preceding century, when the Church was free, see **R. B. Cunninghame Graham**, *A Vanished Arcadia*. By 1800 the Indians of the missions had dwindled to less than one-third of their former number. Paraguay offers a good example of the evil results of lay control; it also illustrates the way in which later critics blame these results on the Church itself. Note the unfairness, for example, of **Charles A. Washburn**, American Minister to Paraguay, whose *History of Paraguay* is the best known work on the country in English.

who was not only a liberal freethinker, but also a clever diplomat, adopted a conciliatory policy after his election to the presidency in 1886, and effected a compromise which opened the way for a Catholic revival. Communication with the Holy See was renewed; and in 1895 the vigorous Archbishop Casanova of Santiago convoked a synod which inaugurated a new era in the ecclesiastical life of Chile.

Five Tropical Countries

Colombia: This state has been described as the most Catholic and the least tolerant in South America. True, the Republic of New Granada, which came into independent existence at the death of Bolívar⁴³ was organized at a convention in which bishops played leading parts; the head of the provisional government was the archbishop of Bogotá; the first constitution recognized the obligation of protecting "the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion"; the earliest national leaders were enthusiastic Catholics and in many cases ecclesiastics; and Colombia was the first of the Latin American republics to be recognized by the Holy See (1835). On the other hand, it must be remembered that Colombian policy has conformed to the notions of the state officials rather than to the wishes of the ecclesiastical authorities; the highhanded first president, Santander (1832-1836) claimed rights over the Church wider than those previously enjoyed by the king of Spain; a papal brief was once withheld from publication for five years; the Liberals in control of the administration from 1849 to 1884 legalized divorce (temporarily), abolished traditional clerical immunities, expelled the Jesuits, interfered with ecclesiastical seminaries, confiscated Church property and banished protesting bishops. In fact the Church was in a desperate plight when Nuñez, a penitent ex-liberal, re-elected president in 1884, brought about a change. The new constitution of 1888, which is still the fundamental law of Colombia, recognized Catholicism as the reli-

⁴³ Bolívar's revolutionary movement in the viceroyalty of New Granada brought together representatives of seven provinces at Caracas in 1811. Great Colombia, with a constitution modeled on that of the United States, included Venezuela, and a little later, Ecuador. The dissolution of the Union at Bolívar's death was followed by the establishment of the Republic of New Granada (1831), the Granadine Confederation (1858), the United States of New Granada (1861), the United States of Colombia (1863), and the Republic of Colombia (1886). Bolívar is sometimes credited with the authorship of Pan-Americanism; but his (abortive) plan envisaged rather the confederating of all the Spanish-speaking republics, possibly as a balance to the powerful English-speaking federation of states in North America. See Haring, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Although not a practical Catholic, Bolívar appreciated the importance of securing the aid of the Church; and it was as a result of his tactful dealings with the Spanish-born bishop of Popayán, who had excommunicated the rebels and planned to return to Spain, that this prelate resumed his office and promised allegiance to the new republic. A difference of opinion with regard to the Church was in part responsible for a break between Bolívar and his comrade in arms, the Venezuelan leader Páez. Bolívar received the sacraments at the hour of death.

gion of Colombia and bestowed upon the Catholic Church "complete liberty and independence of the civil power." ⁴⁴

Venezuela: By contrast with Colombia, Venezuela might perhaps deserve to be called the least Catholic of the Latin American states.⁴⁵ An early omen of coming unhappy events was the threat made by Páez, violently anticlerical leader of the revolution, to separate from Colombia, if the latter country should restore freedom to the Church—a threat made good in 1830. After the separation, Páez held control until 1847, and again from 1861 to 1863; and religion suffered in varying degrees all the century. A Venezuelan priest was found guilty of sedition for having published a tract on Masonry, previously printed without objection in Colombia; the archbishop of Caracas was exiled twice, and two other bishops were also exiled; warring *caudillos*, powerful in Masonic organizations and active in the political field, rivaled one another in devising new restrictions for the Church; and a climax was reached under Guzmán Blanco, grand master of the Masons and president of the Republic from 1870 to 1888, who suppressed religious communities of women, despoiled churches, seminaries, and other institutions, and showed favor to ill-behaved ecclesiastics.⁴⁶ An official attempt to legalize marriage of priests failed only because a popular outcry caused the statute to be repealed. The people ignored the obligation of civil marriage, and most of the children were technically illegitimate. After the fall of Guzmán Blanco conditions improved in some degree; religious communities of women were allowed to serve in the hospitals, to labor among the poor, and to open schools; the Capuchins were admitted in 1891, the Salesians in 1894, the Augustinians in 1899. But the Church remained impoverished and enfeebled.

Peru: The acquisition of independence in this country—where three-quarters of the population are of Indian blood—was followed by revolutions, counter-revolutions, and a shortlived Peruvian-Bolivian confederation; and the War of the Pacific cost Peru possession of two provinces.⁴⁷ Religion suffered from government interference, defective education, clerical misconduct, and political conflict. The constitution of 1860 recognized Catholicism as the state religion; and in 1874 Pius IX granted the govern-

⁴⁴ The concordat ratified in the same year has been called by the archbishop of Cartagena "one of the best in the world." It is reproduced by Mecham, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162.

⁴⁵ See Mary Watters, "The Present Status of the Church in Venezuela," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIII (1933), 23 ff., and also her *History of the Church in Venezuela*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

⁴⁶ The president was angered at the refusal of Archbishop Guevara to order a *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for victory unless the political prisoners should be released. The hostility of the government was modified when, at the suggestion of Pius IX, the archbishop resigned his see. See Dr. Navarro, Rector of the Seminary of Caracas, in *Cath. Encyc.*, XV, 327-33.

⁴⁷ Tacna and Arica were to be held by Chile until a future plebiscite.

ment the ancient rights of the Spanish crown in the nominating of bishops. Religious instruction was made obligatory in all primary and secondary schools; and each parish priest became a member of the local board of education. An agitation which took place in 1887 resulted in the expulsion of the Jesuits; and about this time an unsuccessful attempt was made to suppress all religious communities.

Bolivia: After separating from Colombia the country went through a period of strife with neighboring states and of internal disorder.⁴⁸ Boundary disputes with Chile led to a secret treaty between Bolivia and Peru, and to the War of the Pacific; and the treaty which ended the war ceded the Bolivian coast to Chile. The constitution adopted in 1880 (which lasted until 1936) established Catholicism and prohibited other churches; yet in practice all forms of worship were tolerated. Religious orders suffered persecution at various times.

Ecuador: Having separated from Colombia, Ecuador, weak by comparison, had to yield territory to that country and to Peru;⁴⁹ but during nearly half a century, despite considerable political disorder, the country prospered—particularly during the rule of **García Moreno** (1861–1875). Honest, able, unambitious, he used his autocratic powers for the civil and spiritual betterment of the people, dedicating the country to the Sacred Heart; and he even refused to sign a concordat unless the Holy See would undertake to reform the clergy and the religious orders. Encountering violent opposition from Liberals and anticlericals, he forced many of them into exile; and in 1875 he was assassinated. His death was followed by alternations of disorder and of comparative peace, with the Church suffering much violence and injustice from Liberals and anticlericals. In pursuance of the policy advocated by García Moreno, the Holy See in 1886 suspended nearly all the native priests and installed a new hierarchy.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Between 1826 and 1898 Bolivia had sixty rebellions, ten constitutions, and six murdered presidents.

⁴⁹ The territorial dispute between Ecuador and Peru lasted until 1942.

⁵⁰ "The prominence given, both by admirers and by detractors, to Moreno's theocratic polity has tended to obscure his educational, administrative and constructive work. Schools for the people were opened everywhere. Zealous for science and for higher education, Moreno founded an astronomical observatory and invited from Europe eminent scientific men belonging to the Jesuit Order to be professors of mathematics and physics." Chief spokesman of the opposition was "the fiery liberal Montalvo, whose masterly prose has won a recognized place in Spanish literature. From his retreat in Peru, Montalvo—a man of pure Spanish descent, like Moreno himself—poured out his eloquent diatribes upon the despotism and the theocracy of Moreno. And when in 1875 García Moreno, just after his election to another presidential term, was struck down by assassins in the plaza of Quito, Montalvo boasted, 'it was my pen that slew him.'" *Latin America*, by F. A. Kirkpatrick, pp. 246 and 247. See Richard F. Pattee, *Gabriel García Moreno y el Ecuador de su tiempo*, Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941.

Non-Spanish Countries

Brazil: From 1808 to 1821 John VI of Portugal kept court at Brazil; his son Pedro (left in Brazil as regent) was declared **Emperor Pedro I** by the Liberals in 1822. During the long reign of the second emperor, **Pedro II** (1831-1889) the country gained in wealth and population; but the government interfered constantly with the Church, confiscating property, closing religious novitiates, dictating the curriculum of seminaries. A dispute with the Holy See over the right to nominate bishops led to the expulsion of the nuncio in 1883; a settlement was effected later. Schools were few until after the middle of the century. Alarmed at the increasing demoralization, the bishops finally took steps against Freemasonry which had grown enormously, had won over a large number of priests, and in some localities had gained control of the Third Order of St. Francis, excluding all non-Masons from membership. The new attitude on the part of the bishops occasioned outbreaks of violence; but a letter from Pope Pius IX made the position of the Church clear, and thereafter Brazilian Catholics were held strictly to the rules established by anti-Masonic papal decrees. Having antagonized the rich landowners by emancipating the slaves in 1888, the government was too weak to resist the pressure of the revolutionist party and Brazil was transformed into a republic in 1889. This change was followed by a series of uprisings which greatly disturbed the country. The new constitution separated Church and state; yet the government aided the missionaries in their work among the pagan tribes and by the end of the century marked religious improvement was visible.⁵¹

Guiana: ⁵² This area—the scene of disputes involving English, Dutch, and French since the middle of the seventeenth century—took shape in the nineteenth as a group of three colonies belonging to the powers just named. Dominican, Capuchin, and Jesuit missionaries had long been at work among the natives when Gregory XVI established vicariates apostolic in British Guiana (1837) and in Dutch Guiana (1842). About a century earlier a prefecture apostolic had been erected in Cayenne which in 1855 became a French penal settlement.

West Indies: In this cradle of American Catholicism, two of the principal islands, Cuba and Puerto Rico, remained Spanish colonies until the close of the century; on a third, the independent states of Haiti and Santo Domingo were established.

⁵¹ Although the Church has been accused of resisting the emancipation of slaves in Brazil, it is a matter of record that the Brazilian bishops advocated emancipation in 1888. See *Hispanic American Review*, XIII, 195.

⁵² The name originally designated the whole region between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers including a large part of present Venezuela.

Haiti: After France took over the western part of the island from Spain in 1697, the rapid importation of African slaves made the population dominantly Negro—427,000 blacks (5 per cent of them free), in contrast with 28,000 whites (1788). Unfortunately the ill-trained clergy did little to instruct the Negroes, nominal Christians, yet still addicted to their inherited African voodooism. Nevertheless, when the French Revolution undertook to “constitutionalize” the Church, the Negroes, under the leadership of Toussaint l’Ouverture, rose in revolt (1781); and the first constitution of the Black Republic (1801) established Catholicism. The Holy See refused to concede the right of patronage, however; Haiti grew unsympathetic to the Church; and after the government had annexed the eastern Spanish part of the island (1822), the archbishop of Santo Domingo was expelled. Bishop England of Charleston (1836) and Bishop Rosati of St. Louis (1842) participated in diplomatic negotiations which eventually led to a concordat between Haiti and the Holy See in 1860—an agreement still effective. The Church began to rise from its ruins; but, as few natives entered the ranks of the clergy, most of the religious activities were carried on by French priests, brothers, and nuns.

The Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo): The eastern part of the island of Haiti achieved independence in 1844 and made Catholicism the state religion. Trouble between the ecclesiastical and civil rulers in the fifties and sixties, over the pro-Spanish sympathies of the hierarchy, ended at the termination of the brief Spanish regime (1861–1865); friendly intercourse between Church and State continued, without a formal concordat; in 1880 *Padre de Meriño* (later archbishop of Santo Domingo) was elected president.

b. British North America

Canada: Early in the century the Anglican bishop of Quebec, together with the chief justice, the attorney general, and the governor general, undertook to bring the entire educational system of Canada under state control, and to protestantize the Catholic Canadians by administrative pressure—a plan which failed owing largely to the courageous opposition of Bishop Plessis and to the loyalty of Catholics to England during the War of 1812. Then in 1822 came an ineffectual attempt to reunite the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada by an act which would deprive French-speaking Catholics of all political power. Union was finally effected in 1840 on a more enlightened basis; and a law enacted in 1851 granted to all subjects of the crown

in Canada "free exercise and enjoyment of profession and religious worship without distinction or preference."⁵³

The high fertility of French Canadians and the large influx of Irish during the famine years brought a rapid increase of Catholics; new sees were established; religious communities multiplied. In 1861 Quebec contained more than 940,000 Catholics, whereas Ontario had a Protestant population of about 1,140,000.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the Catholics were divided by racial antagonisms so strong that English-speaking Catholics for years were unable to obtain ecclesiastical permission to open a church in Montreal. Educational differences occasioned several disputes with the government in which stubborn resistance by the Catholics forced the authorities to desist from an attempt to encroach upon constitutional rights.⁵⁵

Newfoundland: In Newfoundland, Catholics suffered from official discrimination. After the British Parliament had enacted Catholic Emancipation in 1829 the government of Newfoundland refused to extend the privileges of the Act to Catholics until forced to do so by Bishop Fleming after a long and determined struggle.

The Maritime Provinces: In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the Catholic body (numbering about a quarter of a million, which was approximately a third of the whole population) included some fifteen hundred members of the entirely Catholic Micmac tribe of Indians, together with descendants of the original French settlers of Acadia and later immigrants from Ireland and Scotland. Few differences occurred between the civil and ec-

⁵³ The British North America Act of July 1867 confederated Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in the "Dominion of Canada." Into this union Manitoba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873. Newfoundland remained outside; and the western provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were not admitted to the confederation until the following century (1905). For a brief account of Canadian development during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see Alfred Leroy Burt, *A Short History of Canada for Americans*.

⁵⁴ Quebec had a Protestant minority of nearly 170,000, and Ontario a Catholic minority of some 250,000.

⁵⁵ In Manitoba the Protestant majority attempted in 1890 to deprive Catholic schools of the rights guaranteed under the Act of Union of 1870. An appeal to the Canadian Parliament and a hotly contested election (1896) resulted in a compromise which assured religious instruction to Catholic children, when demanded by a sufficient percentage of parents—an arrangement satisfactory to the Catholics in certain sections but not in others.

clesiastical governments. Nova Scotia anticipated Catholic emancipation in England by electing a Catholic to the provincial assembly in 1827; and in areas dominantly Catholic it became customary to appoint Catholic teachers to the public schools. In New Brunswick, however, the provincial government attempted to abolish the rights of denominational schools after they had been recognized in the Federal Constitution of 1857; and the bishops of the province counseled their people to refuse to pay the school tax. In 1874 a compromise was arranged whereby Catholic children were grouped in separate schools and instructed by Catholic teachers.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

Of this century's six pontificates (three of which covered nearly eighty years), Pius IX's was the most eventful; hardly had the Vatican Council defined papal infallibility to be an article of Catholic faith, when Pius was expelled from the kingdom over which the popes had reigned for more than ten centuries. This loss of temporal power, however, was more than compensated for by the general growth of the Church. In the United States, in Australia, and elsewhere, Catholicism developed amazingly through the influx of European immigrants driven across the sea by persecution, famine, unsuccessful revolution; and the Holy See, no longer dependent upon the good will of rulers, became the recognized headquarters of a powerful, highly centralized religious government, supported by generous contributions from all over the world.

On the whole then, this era instead of being disastrous, proved to be a period of extraordinary development for the papacy. Before the century ended the dogma of papal infallibility had been accepted by the whole Catholic world; America contained an immense body of people, fervent in faith and rich in material resources; and the spirit of loyalty to the Holy See was probably more widespread and articulate than in any preceding age.

Pius VII (1800-1823)—a compromise candidate in a conclave protracted for three months by Austria's veto of several prominent cardinals—was an Italian Benedictine, sixty years old, who had attracted notice in 1797 when, as bishop of Bologna, he declared that Catholicism was compatible with democratic forms of government and advised his people to accept the Napoleonic regime that had been imposed upon them. Approached by Napoleon to effect a reconciliation between France and the Holy See, he authorized Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, to discuss the matter with Napoleon's representative, Talleyrand; and in July 1801 a concordat was concluded which remained in force throughout the century. Both from a political and a religious point of view, this concordat inaugurated changes unique in the relationship of Church and State. Later Pius offended the emperor gravely by insisting on a religious marriage ceremony between Napoleon and Josephine, by refusing to grant a divorce to Jerome Bonaparte, and by protesting against the French occupation of the papal city of Ancona during France's war against the Allied powers. When Napoleon's army seized the Papal States, Pius excommunicated the emperor; and the pope was thereupon carried off a prisoner to Savona (1809). Removed to Fontainebleau to forestall a rescue by the English, Pius VII in 1813, under duress, signed a new concordat granting Napoleon even wider powers, but within a few weeks repudiated the agreement.

At the Congress of Vienna (1815) Consalvi—a cleric but not a priest, who was one of the ablest statesmen of the day—obtained the restoration of most of the old papal kingdom. On the other hand, the congress sanctioned the secularization of certain ecclesiastical lands—with a population of at least three million—taking no further notice of the pope's protest than to insert it in the minutes of the congress.⁵⁶ A concordat concluded with Bavaria in 1817, followed by a series of concordats with other states, gave the papacy new international importance.⁵⁷

Revolutionary agitation disturbed Italy towards the end of this pontificate; and the pope's advisers differed as to the proper policy to be pursued. Consalvi advocated generous concessions which would bind the Progressives to the papacy; but he was regarded as a dangerous radical by Cardinal Pacca, head of the Conservatives, and Pacca's advice prevailed. Among the definite repressive steps taken by the pope was the condemnation in 1821 of the Carbonari, a secret society, Masonic and revolutionary in character.

The next pope, **Leo XII** (1823-1829), a strict conservative, consistently supported sovereigns against revolutionists—even when said rulers were

⁵⁶ On the Congress of Vienna (at which the outstanding figures were Metternich of Austria, Talleyrand of France, Alexander I of Russia, and Castlereagh of England), see Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, II, 5 ff.

⁵⁷ On the principal concordats of the century, see *American Catholic Historical Rev.*, XVI, 302.

unfriendly to the Holy See. He refrained carefully from recognition of Mexican independence, and urged the clergy to promote loyalty to the restored Bourbons in Spain. His immovable opposition to political changes in the papal government infuriated the advocates of reform.

Pius VIII (1829-1830) is best remembered for his conflict with the Prussian government over mixed marriages in the Rhineland. **Gregory XVI** (1831-1846) was elected at the end of a conclave of six weeks, after Spain had vetoed Cardinal Giustiniani. Soon afterwards a rebellion broke out; and the French, displeased at the entry of Austrians into Italy to aid the pope, seized Ancona. Both of these foreign armies remained in Italy for six or seven years. Secret societies and Protestant organizations—including the London Bible Society and the New York Christian Alliance—helped the factions opposed to the Holy See; and the Papal States were in revolt in 1831, in 1843, and again in 1845.

Representatives of Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and England met in Rome to suggest reforms, and Metternich recommended the introduction of popular elections and lay administration. Gregory, encouraged by his secretary of state, Cardinal Lambruschini, refused to make concessions and pursued a consistently conservative policy.

Pius IX (1846-1878), candidate of the progressive cardinals, having narrowly escaped the veto of Austria, was elected by a margin of three votes. Italy was on the verge of revolution; but Pius inaugurated a liberal policy, freed all political prisoners, and filled the country with enthusiasm. His liberal experiments, however, did not succeed. Metternich ridiculed "the reforming Pope"; critics of the papal policy circulated the report that Pius was a Freemason; the blunders of his friends, together with the machinations of his enemies, placed him in a false and humiliating position. Ready to concede a constitution, he would not go so far as to endorse the extravagant pronouncements of his military representative, Durando, who provoked talk of schism by leading the papal troops into Austrian territory on what he termed a crusade. In an epochal allocution (April 29, 1848), Pius dissociated himself from the revolutionary movement. Then came a series of disasters: the papal army was defeated; assassins killed Rossi, the pope's secretary of state; riots broke out in Rome; the cabinet resigned; Pius fled to Gaeta.⁵⁸ Restored to Rome by French troops, he and his secretary of state, Antonelli, entered upon a determined struggle against the revolutionists; but Rome was occupied and converted into the capital of United Italy in 1870. The ex-Jesuit, Passaglia, counseled Pius to surrender his sovereign rights. The pope's answer was "Non possumus." Ignoring the Italian offer of a yearly income, he confined himself in the Vatican Palace (on which the Italian government bestowed the privilege of extra-

⁵⁸ On the problems confronting Pius, see Chapter X of George F.-H. and J. Berkeley, *Italy in the Making, January 1st 1848 to November 16th 1848*.

territoriality) and made himself dependent upon "Peter's Pence."⁵⁹ Thereafter the pope, "a king without a kingdom," was not generally recognized as a sovereign. Several nations still maintained diplomatic representatives at the Vatican; but most of the governments limited themselves to an interchange of semiofficial messages or to visits of courtesy. In 1868 the Holy See declared it to be inexpedient for Italian Catholics to participate in parliamentary elections "either as electors or as elected."⁶⁰ To keep alive the papal protest against the seizure of the Papal States the official etiquette of the Vatican excluded from audience with the Holy Father any important personage who first visited the king of Italy after arriving in Rome.

After having consulted the bishops of the Catholic world, Pius took the unusual step of defining the Immaculate Conception *ex cathedra*, thus imposing upon all Catholics, as an explicit belief, the doctrine that the Blessed Virgin Mary, from the first moment of her existence, was "immune from all taint of original sin."⁶¹

The pope's censure of modern errors in the *Syllabus errorum* in 1864, and the definition of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1870, aroused widespread antagonism in Europe, and several nations, including Austria and Bavaria, abrogated their concordats. In 1873 Prussia began the persecution of Catholics known as the *Kulturkampf*; and in 1874 Switzerland expelled the papal nuncio.

Leo XIII (1878-1903), a skillful diplomat elected at the age of sixty-seven, regained for the Holy See much of its old prestige. Basing his conception of the relationship of Church and State on the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas, and proclaiming his policy to the world in two encyclicals,⁶² he re-established friendly intercourse with many European states, notably with the German empire, England, Switzerland, and Russia. Among the acts which illustrated his concern for intellectual progress were the raising of John Henry Newman to the cardinalate, the publishing of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (which made Thomistic philosophy official in Catholic schools), and the opening of the Vatican archives (1883).

In 1885 Bismarck asked Leo to arbitrate a dispute between Germany and Spain over the Caroline Islands.⁶³ In 1894 Leo secured from Czar Alex-

⁵⁹ I.e., voluntary offerings from the Catholic peoples of all countries.

⁶⁰ This decree, known as the *Non expedit*, was intended to forestall any seeming approval of the constitution and legislation of the kingdom of Italy. The decree was confirmed by the Holy See on several occasions, 1886, 1895, 1902, 1903; modified in 1905; abrogated in 1919.

⁶¹ *Ex cathedra* ("from the throne") is the technical name of a definition issued by the pope as distinct from one made by an ecumenical council. The definition took place on December 8, 1854.

⁶² *Immortale Dei*, 1885, and *Sapientiae Christianae*, 1890.

⁶³ Bismarck, who had been called "the new Attila" by Pope Pius IX, was made a Knight of the Supreme Order of Christ by Leo.

ander III the relaxation of the anti-Catholic laws of Russia. To the French, the Spanish, and the Irish, Leo counseled the acceptance of existing political conditions; and, although this counsel was not wholly effective, it secured for the papacy a measure of good will from the governments concerned. In Italy, however, the strain between Church and State continued. As the papal decree *Non expedit* kept Catholics from voting in the national elections, the country came more and more under the control of anti-clericals, Freemasons, and Socialists.

An outstanding event of the century was Leo's encyclical, *Rerum novarum* (1891), which did not stop with a condemnation of the injustices inflicted on the working classes, but went on to enumerate the fundamentals of social reconstruction: a living wage, the right of association, legislation in behalf of the workingman. The teaching of the encyclical was received with enthusiasm by almost everyone interested in social reform except the Socialists.

The Church was growing fast, especially in America; new episcopal sees established by Leo in different parts of the world numbered almost two hundred fifty.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: Philosophical principles of extraordinary importance were affirmed by the Holy See—to warn Catholic Liberals, to check rationalistic trends in philosophy, to expose the false teaching, explicit or implicit, of the early Socialists and Communists. Unique was the papal definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin (1854). In 1869 and 1870 came the pronouncements of the Vatican Council on the nature of faith, the authority of the Church, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. Directions were given also in the fields of moral theology and of Scripture study; and, as the century closed, there appeared the celebrated letter on Americanism.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Pius VII</i> (1800-1823)		
1803	Brief to the Archbishop of Mainz	On the indissolubility of marriage.
1816	Letter to the Archbishop of Mohilev	On correct versions of the Sacred Scripture.
<i>Leo XII</i> (1823-1829)		
1824	Encyclical	On correct versions of the Sacred Scripture.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Pius VIII</i> (1829-1830)		
1830	Letter	On mixed marriages
	Response	On usury
<i>Gregory XVI</i> (1831-1846)		
1831-38	Responses of the Holy Office	On usury.
1832	Encyclical, <i>Mirari vos</i>	Condemnation of Indifferentism against de Lamennais.
1834	Encyclical, <i>Singulari nos</i> , to the Bishops of France	Second condemnation of de Lamennais.
1835	Brief	Condemnation of Rationalism against Hermes.
1840	Formula of submission	On the relation of faith to reason; against Bautain.
1842	Decree of the Holy Office	On extreme unction.
1844	Encyclical	On the correct version of Holy Scripture.
<i>Pius IX</i> (1846-1878)		
1846	Encyclical	On the relation of faith to reason; against Hermesians.
1848	Allocution	On the Italian revolution.
1852	"	On civil marriage.
1854	Bull, <i>Ineffabilis Deus</i>	Defining the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
1854	Allocution	On Rationalism, Indifferentism.
1855	Decree of the Index	On the Traditionalism of Bonnetty.
1856	Encyclical	On magnetism.
1857	Brief to the archbishop of Cologne	On the errors of Günther.
1861	Decree of the Holy Office	Against Ontologism.
1862	Letter	On the false liberty of science.
1863	Encyclical to the Bishops of Italy	On Indifferentism.
1863	Letter	On doctrinal innovations in Germany.
1864	Letter of the Holy Office to the Bishops of England	On the unity of the Church.
1864	Encyclical, <i>Quanta cura</i> ; and <i>Syllabus errorum</i>	On Naturalism, Communism, Socialism; and 80 modern errors.
1869-70	Vatican Council (Ecum. XX); 3rd Session, 4th Session	On Catholic faith.
1873	Encyclical	On the Church of Christ.
1875	"	On Church and State.
1875	Decree of the Holy Office	On the liberty of the Church.
1875	Decree of the Holy Office	On Transubstantiation.
1877	Allocution	On lay control of Church affairs.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Leo XIII (1878-1903)</i>		
1878	Decree of the Holy Office	On the procedure in the case of converts from heresy.
1878	Encyclical	On Socialism.
1880	"	On marriage.
1881	"	On civil power.
1884	Encyclical and Instruction of the Holy Office	On secret societies.
1884	Response of the Holy Office	On assisting at duels.
1884	Responses of the Holy Office (also 1889, 1895, 1898, 1902)	On craniotomy and abortion.
1885	Encyclical	On the Christian ideal of the state.
1886	Decree of the Holy Office	On cremation.
1886	" " " " "	On civil divorce.
1887	" " " " "	On 40 errors of Rosmini.
1888	Encyclical	On the nature of liberty.
1890	Response of the Holy Office	On the Eucharist.
1890	Encyclical	On Catholicism, patriotism, and the lay apostolate.
1891	Letter to the Bishops of Germany and Austria	On duels.
1891	Encyclical, <i>Rerum novarum</i>	On property, wages and labor organizations.
1891	Encyclical	On the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mediatrix
1892	"	To the French bishops
1893	"	On Scripture study.
1896	"	On the Rosary.
1896	"	On the unity of the Church.
1896	Letter to the Bishops of England	On Anglican ordinations.
1897	Declaration of the Holy Office	On the status of the "three witnesses" text in St. John, Ep. I., V:7.
1898	Response of the Holy Office	On the necessary prerequisites for baptism.
1899	Letter to Cardinal Gibbons, <i>Testem benevolentiae</i>	On Americanism.

Councils: *Vatican Council*. In the year 1865, almost precisely three hundred years after the adjournment of the Council of Trent, Pius IX appointed a commission of five cardinals to discuss the expediency of holding an ecumenical council. The bull convoking the assembly was issued in 1868; and the council opened in December, 1869. The total number of prelates entitled to attend was somewhat over one thousand, and of these seven hundred seventy-four appeared at the council. The sepa-

rated churches of the East and the Protestant churches, although invited, did not appear; and the Freemasons manifested their antagonism by convening a Grand Congress in Naples on the day that the council opened.

It was generally assumed that the council would undertake to define the doctrine of papal infallibility; and much opposition to that action was displayed in the different countries of Europe, even by Catholics. During the sessions nearly four hundred eighty Fathers signed a petition for the defining of the dogma; but several counterpetitions were signed by "opponents," who, although not necessarily opposed to the doctrine itself, disapproved of its formulation as a dogma at that particular time.⁶⁴

In the course of the debate, fourteen general meetings took place and sixty-four speeches were made. Against the proposal to close the debate and put the question to vote, a protest was made by eighty-one bishops, including three cardinals, Mathieu, Schwartzenberg, and Rauscher. Among those who submitted amendments without success was Bishop von Ketteler of Mainz. Fifty-five bishops from Germany, Austria, Hungary and the United States were absent from the session on the day set for the vote. The fears of those who had anticipated an extreme claim proved to be baseless; for the dogma, as finally formulated, was no more than a moderate statement of what had long been the

⁶⁴ Conspicuous among the opponents were Cardinal Schwartzenberg of Prague, Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna, Cardinal Dubois of Paris, Bishop (later Cardinal) Dupanloup of Orleans, Bishop Strossmayer—together with more than sixty bishops of Germany, Austria, and Hungary; forty of France and Portugal; seven of Italy; twenty-three of England, Ireland, and America; and sixteen from the Orient. The opposition of the Germans and Austrians was motivated largely by fear that a hostile reaction would be provoked in their governments; and the same may be said of the bishops of France. John Henry Newman (later cardinal) represented the opposition in England, and Archbishop Kenrick in America.

The debate on the definition occasioned intense excitement throughout Europe, both in Catholic and Protestant circles. Von Döllinger, professor of Church History at the University of Munich, published a book in 1869 summing up the objections against papal infallibility from the point of view of history. He was answered by Professor Roether of Würzburg. During the sessions of the council an Augsburg newspaper published a series of sixty-nine letters written by Döllinger, by Friederich, the theological adviser of Cardinal Hohenlohe, and by the distinguished English historian, Lord Acton, all three of whom opposed the definition.

The *Collectio Lacensis* prepared by the Jesuits of Maria Laach under the direction of Gerard Schneemann (1829-1885) and his successor Theodor Granderath (1839-1902) includes a volume (VII) *Acta et Decreta Concilii Vaticani*. Many inaccurate notions were corrected in Granderath's explanatory volume *Constitutiones Dogmaticae* (1892) and in his three-volume *History of the Vatican Council* (1903-1906).

common belief of the Church. When the question was put to the assembled bishops, five hundred thirty-three voted in the affirmative and two (one from Sicily and one from Little Rock, Arkansas) voted in the negative.⁶⁵

The dogma was promulgated in the council on July 18, 1870. The following day war broke out between France and Germany, and, with the permission of the pope, a great many bishops left Rome. Those who remained had not finished their work when on the twentieth of September, the army of United Italy entered Rome. On October 20 Pius IX suspended the council indefinitely.

Other Councils: A number of national councils of considerable importance were held in the nineteenth century, including two for the Albanians (1803, 1871), one each for Ruthenians (1891), for the Melchites (1841), for Syrians (1888), for the Copts (1898). Three Plenary Councils were held in Baltimore (1852, 1866, 1884); and a Latin American council was held in Rome (1899).

Organization: The ecclesiastical authorities were engaged in a variety of tasks during this century which saw the population of Europe increase from nearly 200,000,000 to some 400,000,000 and witnessed enormous waves of emigration overseas. In the story of the individual countries we come upon the signing of concordats with new governments; the re-establishment of the French and English hierarchies; the building of the Church in America; the constructing of Catholic school systems; the founding of religious orders; the extension of foreign missions; the administrative centralizing which followed upon the definition of papal infallibility.

Marriage: During the decade preceding and following the year 1800, Catholic writers were concerned to prove that the marriage contract is itself a sacrament; that the Church has the exclusive right to establish diriment impediments; that marriage is absolutely indissoluble; that the Holy See possesses certain powers of dispensation. Nearly every one of the popes of this century published pronouncements on marriage; Pius IX listed the chief contemporary errors upon the subject in his *Syllabus errorum*.

⁶⁵ These two bishops immediately accepted the decision.

From the Catholic point of view this was a deplorable period. The practice of requiring a civil marriage ceremony—introduced by the revolutionary government of France—made its way into one country after another; and concurrently, civil divorce spread through the different nations of Europe and America. As a result people tended to look upon the state as the final judge of all matters matrimonial. Against the advocates of secularization, theologians concentrated on the defense of two fundamental ideas: the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church and the “contract-sacrament.” With the new emphasis laid upon the doctrine of “contract-sacrament” by theologians and by popes, the opposite opinion became for Catholics no longer tenable.

Worship: A trend towards uniformity in liturgical practice resulted in the abolition of certain surviving local customs in France, and brought the common usage closer to that of Rome. Devotion to the Sacred Heart became popular and vast multitudes observed the practice of receiving Holy Communion on the first Friday of the month for nine months in succession.

Other devotions which spread widely were the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, the Stations of the Cross, the Three Hours’ Agony on Good Friday, adoration of the Blessed Sacrament exposed on the altar. In 1847 Pius IX extended the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph to the whole Church, and in 1870 he declared St. Joseph patron of the universal Church and raised his feast to the rank of “Double of the first class.”

Revision of several liturgical books, including the missal and the pontifical, took place during the pontificate of Leo XIII.

Communities: The nineteenth century was marked by an extraordinary revival. The older congregations displayed fresh vitality; and many new orders devoted themselves to the teaching of children, to social service, to foreign missions, to the contemplative life. The growth of religious communities was particularly notable in the United States.

In 1801 Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus in Russia; two years later he gave permission to the English Jesuits to affiliate with the Russian community; the following year he authorized an extension of the Russian community into the kingdom of Na-

ples; and in 1814, upon his return from imprisonment in France, he restored the Society for the whole world. Among the former members who immediately re-entered were some who had in the interim organized communities that followed the Jesuit rule in substance—for example, the Fathers of the Faith and the Fathers of the Sacred Heart.

Of particular interest was the reorganization of the Franciscan order in 1897. The suppression of several minor divisions—the Discalced, the Reformed, and the Recollects—left the order of Friars Minor organized in three distinct families: the Observants (wearing a brown habit), with more than twenty thousand members, following the original rule without dispensation; the Conventuals (wearing a black habit), with about two thousand members, following a rule containing dispensations authorized in 1625; the Capuchins (also wearing a brown habit), with some ten thousand members, following the rule approved by Urban VIII in 1638.

The Benedictines—although impoverished and decimated by reforms and revolutions, with their great abbeys reduced in number to about thirty, with their estates and libraries gone—entered upon a new chapter of history, continuing their practice of the contemplative life and their tradition of scholarship. In 1893 Leo XIII appointed an abbot primate over the nineteen congregations which made up the order, with jurisdiction strictly limited, however, so that the individual bodies remain virtually as independent as of old.

The Cistercians reopened many of their old monasteries and also founded new establishments. The Dominicans likewise acquired fresh vigor and responded quickly to the invitation of Leo XIII to revive the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Numerous institutes and congregations arose in this century and many of their founders have been canonized or beatified. St. John Bosco (1815–1888), a Piedmontese, founded the Salesian Society for the education of boys and young men; and St. Madeleine Sophie Barat (1779–1865) founded the Society of the Sacred Heart for the education of girls. Another community devoted to the same field of work was the Society of the Holy Child Jesus

founded in England in 1846 by Mrs. Cornelia Connelly, a convert to Catholicism. In coöperation with St. John Bosco, Blessed Domenica Mazzarello (1837-1881) founded the *Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice*. Blessed Peter Julian Eymard (1811-1868) founded the Priests of the Blessed Sacrament, then the Sisters (1857, 1858). Ven. Francis Libermann's Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (1841) merged with the Fathers of the Holy Ghost in 1848.⁶⁶

Saints: The Congregation of Rites has given consideration to an impressively long list of names, and has begun (or completed) the process of beatification, or canonization, in the case of two popes, Pius IX and Pius X, some thirty bishops and secular priests, more than fifty religious men, about the same number of religious women, and approximately twenty lay persons, as well as a host of martyrs.

Massacres of Christians which took place intermittently both in Korea and in China brought death to many members of the Paris Society of Foreign Missions and of the various religious orders. Among those slain in Korea just before the middle of the century were a bishop, three priests (including the native priest, Andrew Kim), and seventy-five converts. The Chinese martyrs included two Vincentians, Father Perboyre and Father Clet, beatified in 1889 and 1900 respectively. Other martyrs recently beatified were Emmanuel Ruiz, a Spanish Franciscan, who with ten companions was killed by the Turks at Damascus in 1860, and Michael Appa Ghebre, an Abyssinian converted at the age of fifty, who became a Vincentian priest and suffered death in a persecution decreed by the King of Abyssinia in 1855. In France, under the Paris Commune of 1871, the archbishop of Paris, a number of religious and secular priests, and various lay persons—

⁶⁶ Other *beati* among founders of the new communities are: Michael Garicoits (1797-1863) of the Congregation of Priests of the Sacred Heart of Betharam; Julie Billiart (1751-1816), a helpless cripple for 20 years, who founded the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame in 1804; Mary Euphrasia Pelletier (1796-1868) of the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, organized at Angers in 1835 (from an older community founded by St. John Eudes in 1641); Mary Magdalene Postel (1756-1846), founder of the Institute of Sisters of Christian Schools; Paula Frassinetti (1809-1882), founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Dorothy in 1834; and Benedicta Rossello (1811-1880), who founded the Daughters of Our Lady of Mercy in 1836. Venerable Marie Victoire Thérèse Couderc (1805-1885), with the help of Father Terme, founded the Society of Our Lady of the Cenacle in 1826.

over sixty in all—died for the faith. Numerous martyrdoms took place also in Japan, in Uganda, in Russia, and in Syria.

Among the more popular saints are:

Jean Baptiste Vianney (1786–1859), so poor a student that he completed his seminary course with great difficulty. He became an extraordinary spiritual influence in his little parish near Lyons, and as “the Curé of Ars” was recognized all over the world as a model of priestly sanctity.

Bernadette Soubirous (1844–1879), renowned by reason of her eighteen visions of the Blessed Virgin in the year 1858. Ecclesiastical authorities, cautious at first, eventually declared the visions authentic; and a basilica built at Lourdes became a center for pilgrims from all over the world. The shrine is especially noted for the number of cures—four thousand within the first fifty years—which have taken place there under strict medical supervision.

Thérèse Martin of Lisieux (1873–1897), who became a Carmelite at the age of fifteen and was canonized less than thirty years after her death. Her *Autobiography*, written under obedience, soon made her an object of popular devotion throughout the Christian world and helped to acquaint millions of people with the simple nature of holiness.

Other saints not previously mentioned are **Clement Mary Hofbauer** (1751–1820), a Moravian who labored as a Redemptorist missionary in Poland; **Gabriel of the Seven Dolors** (1838–1862), a Passionist lay brother; **Anna Maria Taigi** (1769–1837), mother of seven children, a member of the Third Order of Trinitarians who devoted herself to prayer and penance and the service of the sick in Rome, and was beatified in 1930.

Education: Governments manifested intense interest in education; and many states proceeded gradually to assume entire direction of schools and to eliminate religion from the curriculum. As the century advanced, almost every considerable European country made systematic efforts to abolish illiteracy; education became secular, free, compulsory, regimented; new regulations restricted Catholic schools and hampered teaching orders. Opposition to this policy came from the Catholic Church; sometimes, although in a lesser degree, Protestants also resisted; occasionally even men with no religious affiliations were wise enough to see the danger of giving the state complete control.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The four names most widely known in the pedagogical literature of the nineteenth century are Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, and Spencer. For a long time their ideas practically controlled both theory and practice in the educational world; and

In many places the Catholic Church succeeded in building up an independent free-school system of astonishing size and efficiency, either with the help of a state subsidy, as in the British dominions, or without state aid, as in the United States of America. In competition with the State, however, the Church was hopelessly outdistanced in the matter of buildings and equipment; it was only because members of the teaching orders accepted a pitifully inadequate wage that Catholic school systems could be developed.⁶⁸

At the beginning of the century Catholic scholarship stood at a low level because of the scattering of religious communities, the destruction of schools and libraries, and other disasters. Seminaries had been closed or crippled by governments; the training of the priesthood was far from adequate; Catholic intellectual traditions were almost forgotten. No substitute had been provided for unpopular scholasticism, although misdirected efforts to reconcile modern philosophy with Catholic faith were frequent. Fortunately, intellectual activities were now stimulated by various forces: the new historiography; German Romanticism; the French Catholic Renaissance; the Oxford Movement. Thomistic thought, long out of fashion, came again into favor, notably among Jesuit teachers of philosophy. The seeds of the revival were planted by many men working in various places.⁶⁹ The restored Society of Jesus—which had formerly directed some 750 colleges and universities—resumed work in the field of education; and a new

religious educators—of no less ability, and certainly of sounder theory—could make no headway against the general current. Catholic leaders such as Dupanloup in France, Overberg in Germany, Rosmini in Italy, had few followers outside the Church.

⁶⁸ In the systematizing of religious instruction, Germans were especially active; catechisms were written by Overberg (d. 1826), Hirscher (d. 1865), the Jesuit, Deharbe (d. 1871). Deharbe's work, which became official in Bavaria, was later translated into Magyar, Bohemian, Italian, French, Swedish, Polish, English, Slovenian, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese.

⁶⁹ Writing in *Theological Studies*, III (May, 1942), 164, Dr. Thomas J. McMahon of Dunwoodie Seminary introduces as a distant herald of the *Aeterni Patris*, Masdeu (1739-1810), a Spanish Jesuit of Sicilian birth, and quotes Msgr. Masnovi, specialist on the beginnings of Neo-Thomism in Italy, "I see in Italy, as the 18th century passes into the 19th, the vital resumption of Scholastic philosophy." Masnovi traces "a hierarchy of influences" back to Buzzetti (1777-1824). Later writers were Liberatore (1810-1892), Sanseverino (1811-1865), Zigliara (1833-1893), Satolli (1839-1909) in Italy; Balmes (1810-1848) and Gonzalez (1831-1892) in Spain; Kleutgen (1811-1883), Clemens (1815-1862), Stöckl (1823-1895) in Germany.

Ratio Studiorum, issued in 1832, modified the old curricula, holding fast, however, to the classical tradition and stoutly resisting the trend to complete electivism, when that grew fashionable. Father Martin Harney (*The Jesuits in History*) indicates the numerous teachers, colleges, writers, and publications through which the Society reacquired influence. The Jesuits, Tilmann Pesch, Hontheim, and Meyer at Maria Laach, published the *Philosophia Lacensis* (1880-1900). Leo XIII, who as archbishop of Perugia had come under the influence of the revival, made Scholasticism official in the Roman colleges and universities; introduced it into the Catholic schools all over the world by his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879); aided in the establishment of the Louvain institute for the study of scholastic philosophy (1891), under the direction of Mercier (later cardinal). Neo-Scholasticism attained a position of commanding influence in the philosophical world, gaining adherents not only in the different countries of Europe, but also in the United States and in Latin America; and it gave birth to a number of serious philosophical reviews. In England the Society of Jesus produced the *Stonyhurst Series*, the first complete set of manuals of Catholic philosophy in English. The study of Scripture began to receive serious attention. A number of distinguished men illustrated the perfect compatibility of religion and science. By the end of the century the intellectual condition of the Catholic body as a whole had been transformed.⁷⁰

Writers: Catholic authors took an honorable, if sometimes belated, part in the varied and intense intellectual activity of the time. That they were not more numerous, or earlier in the field, especially in England and Germany, is sufficiently explained by the demoralizing experiences of the preceding centuries.

The historical treatment of theology was introduced by Johann Möhler in *Symbolik* (1832); Heinrich Klee, his successor in the chair of dogmatic theology at Munich, wrote the first history of dogma (1834). On numerous occasions the "historical" theo-

⁷⁰ The Catholics most widely known in science were: André Marie Ampère (1775-1836); Pierre Simon Laplace (1749-1827); Gregor Johann Mendel (1822-1884); Louis Pasteur (1822-1895); Wilhelm Konrad Roentgen (1845-1923); Alessandro Volta (1745-1827). Others were Becquerel, Bolzano, Dwight, Epée, Fabre, Fraunhofer, Haüy, Laennec, Lamarck, Mivart, Müller, Schwann, Steensen. Much fuller lists have been compiled.

gians clashed with the Neo-Scholastics of Münster and Freiburg; von Kuhn, for example, professor of dogmatic theology at Tübingen, debated the relation of the natural and the supernatural with von Schüzler, the brilliant Bavarian ex-officer, who, after his conversion to Catholicism, entered the Society of Jesus (1862), and, at the University of Freiburg, became one of the recognized leaders of Neo-Scholasticism.

In Catholic apologetics important publications were made in nearly every country, with laymen playing a conspicuous part—Brentano, Görres, the Herder family, and the convert Friedrich von Schlegel, in Germany; de Chateaubriand, de Maistre, de Mun, Veuillot and the Duke de Broglie in France; Donoso Cortés in Spain; William George Ward in England; Johannes Jorgensen in Denmark; Vladimir Soloviev in Russia.⁷¹

The output of Catholic periodical literature was literally enormous. Earliest of the scholarly reviews was the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, founded at the University of Tübingen in 1819. Other important magazines appeared in Austria, Belgium, Holland, France, Poland. Among the best known in the English-speaking countries were *The Dublin Review* (1836), *The Month* (1864), *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1864), *The Irish Monthly* (1873), *The Downside Review* (1880); and in the western world, Brownson's *Quarterly Review* (1844), *The Catholic World* (1865), *The American Ecclesiastical Review* (1889).

In Scripture science the views put forth by Ewald and other rationalistic critics were attacked by a number of Catholics, some of whom were imprudent; books by Lenormant (1880) and by Bartolo (1891) were placed on the Index. Hug of Freiburg, the Sulpicians, LeHir and Vigoroux, and the Jesuits, Knabenbauer and Hummelauer, were sufficiently conservative. Several important scriptural reviews were edited by Catholic scholars in Ger-

⁷¹ Jorgensen (1866-), well known as a journalist and a philosopher, entered the Church in the year 1896 and by his autobiography and other writings, notably the *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* and the *Life of Catherine of Siena*, helped to give Denmark a better appreciation of Catholicism. The Russian, Soloviev (1853-1900), an outstanding scholar and a leading theologian of the Orthodox Church, became a Catholic in 1896 and labored so ardently for the reunion of Russia with the Holy See that he was called "the Russian Newman." Associations have been formed for the study of his writings. His *Russia and the Universal Church* gives his view of the relationship between Russia and the Holy See.

many and France. The effect of *Das Leben Jesu* published by Strauss in 1835, and of Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, written thirty years later, was counteracted, at least to some extent, by Catholic writers, including the Dominican, Lagrange, who in 1890 organized the Biblical School of Jerusalem and founded *La Revue Biblique*. The Abbé Loisy was conspicuous among Catholic Scripture scholars, until his condemnation. Cardinal Newman and Monsignor d'Hulst, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, published views on the interpretation of the Bible which occasioned a dispute among theologians—terminated in 1893 when Leo XIII's encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, formulated the Church's mind on the inspiration and the inerrancy of Sacred Scripture.

In the writing of history, the nineteenth century brought a revolutionary change. The modern phase, which then commenced, followed the appearance in different parts of Europe of a fresh interest in national beginnings; it was contemporary with the gathering of national collections of early and medieval writings, and of state papers; it was hastened by the extraordinary wave of "Romanticism" which brought an appreciation of values discredited by rationalists; it encouraged zeal for the analysis of sources, and readiness to face newly discovered truth. Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Grote, in Germany; Thierry, Michelet, Guizot, Thiers, in France; Robertson, Gibbon, Froude, Maitland, Stubbs, Gardiner, in England, were only the more notable of a large number of scholars who had been rewriting the history of different countries of western Europe, as well as of classical Greece and Rome and of ancient Egypt and India. Their methods created the science of historiography, which, as described by Lord Acton in his celebrated lecture, *On the Study of History*, included critical study of texts, comparison of different sources, scrutiny of relevant testimony presented by topography, epigraphy, archaeology—in a word, tireless gathering and scrupulous sifting of facts gained from every accessible quarter, and a plausible reconstructing of the past on the basis of some reasonable theory of the relationship of events.

In so far as the impulse to seek truth was given free reign, the Catholic Church necessarily benefited. Many a baseless charge,

many a cherished calumny had to be abandoned. In the exploding of popular myths, several Protestant writers were honorably conspicuous—notably Maitland, Stubbs, and Gardiner in England, and Hock in Germany. Nevertheless, in his *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, Newman—himself a convert through the study of history—protested that in mid-century his fellow countrymen were still nourishing their prejudices with fable, inconsistency, ignorance, and distortion.⁷²

Catholic scholarship gave a good account of itself. Among the men universally recognized as leaders in their own fields, were three cardinals (Mai, Pitra, and Hergenröther), Bishop Hefele, Msgr. Duchesne, and the laymen, de Rossi and Lord Acton. Beginning in the year 1836, the Abbé Migne devoted himself to the publishing of collections, the most notable of which was his *Patrologia*, comprising 468 volumes in Latin and in Greek. In 1855 Bishop Hefele began his *History of the Councils*, which was completed by Cardinal Hergenröther thirty-five years later. Mention should be made also of the great storehouse of information, the *Kirchenlexicon* of Wetzer and Welte, published at Freiburg in 1854. The Görresgesellschaft, an association founded at Coblenz in 1876 for the encouragement of learning in Catholic Germany, published many important treatises in the field of Christian antiquity and papal history and a monumental work on the Council of Trent. The *Collectio Lacensis*, dealing with later councils, was a memorable achievement of critical scholarship. Of incalculable importance to historians was Leo XIII's opening of the Vatican archives in 1883, with the impressive declaration: "We have nothing to fear from the publication of documents." Institutes to study the Vatican archives were soon

⁷² Father D'Arcy bears witness to the fact that even among scientific historians prejudice was dying hard; "Wherever we look in fact we can see examples of history wrested to suit a theory. Pollard whitewashes a Henry VIII. Seebohm in his *Medieval English Community* interprets the evidence as indicating a Roman origin for the English manor, and to go back a little Mendell Creighton in his *History of the Popes* turns antipapal when he reaches the Reformation. More curious still perhaps is the fact that the real father of English history, Lingard, who lived before the ideals which came from Germany had made their mark on English writing is on the whole conspicuously fair and detached, and the two who are most free of the vices which the German methods were to overcome, Stubbs and Maitland, owed little to these theories of how scientific history should be written." Eyre, *op. cit.*, VI, 1031.

established by England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Hungary; Belgium and Holland founded institutes in the following century.

In the English-speaking countries most of the spiritual books in use were translations from the works of ancient or contemporary Spanish, Italian, and French authors, including Saints Ignatius, Teresa, John of the Cross, Alphonsus; the Jesuits, de Caussade, Grou, and Lallemant; the German Dominicans, Tauler and Suzo. In France the Benedictine, Guéranger, the Sulpician, Olier, François Fénelon. Spiritual writings of English origin, which circulated widely in the latter part of the century, came from Wiseman, Newman, Manning, and Faber; the Benedictine bishops, Ullathorne and Hedley; the Oratorian, Dalgairns; the Jesuits, Coleridge, Morris, and Gallwey; the Franciscan, Cuthbert Doyle; the nuns, Mother Frances Raphael, Dominican, Mother Loyola of the Bar Convent, York, and Madame Cecilia. Old books—republished and highly esteemed—were the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, the *Imitation of Christ* (at that time generally attributed to Thomas à Kempis), *Holy Wisdom* by the seventeenth-century Benedictine, Father Baker, and several writings by Bishop Challoner who died in 1781.

*Theological Writers:*⁷⁸ In the Roman schools three Jesuit professors of dogmatic theology were particularly prominent. **Johann Baptist Franzelin** (d. 1886), a Tyrolese by birth, who aided in the preparation of the Vatican Council, was named cardinal in 1876; his treatises were used in seminaries all over the world. **Giovanni Perrone** (d. 1876) published *Praelectiones Theologicae*, which went through thirty-four editions, and a compendium of the same work which went through forty-seven editions. **Carlo Passaglia** (d. 1887), professor at the Gregorian University, whose exhaustive researches into the traditional teaching of the Church on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary helped to prepare the definition of the dogma in 1854, encountered severe criticism because his historico-linguistic method seemed to some to be "a substituting of grammar for dogma." He separated from the Jesuits in 1859, and he lost the favor of Pius IX when he criticized the *Syllabus* and aligned himself with oppo-

⁷⁸ A full list of able theological writers would include many more names. Most of the leading theologians in the dogmatic field are mentioned in the article on Theology in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, written by Joseph Pohle of Breslau, himself a scholar of distinction.

nents of the temporal power. His book, *Pro Causa Italica*, published in 1861, was put on the Index. He submitted to the Church before he died. Matthias J. Scheeben (1835-1888), wrote extensively on grace. His *Dogmatik* formed the basis of Wilhelm and Scannel's *Dogmatic Theology*.

Historical Writers: Of these, only a few can be named here.⁷⁴

Conspicuous in the field of Christian antiquities were Angelo, Cardinal Mai (1782-1854), of the Ambrosian and later of the Vatican Library, who discovered Cicero's *De Republica* and published many valuable MSS; Jean Baptiste François, Cardinal Pitra (1812-1889), a Benedictine, who collaborated on Migne's *Patrologia*, supervised a cataloguing of Vatican MSS and published the noted *Spicilegium Solesmense*; Louis Marie Olivier Duchesne (1843-1922), founder of the *Bulletin Critique*, editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, director of the French School of Archaeology in Rome, author of *Christian Worship* (1889) and *Early History of the Christian Church* (placed on the Index); Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1894), founder of the science of Christian archaeology and of the *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, author of a work on Christian inscriptions and of *Roma Sotteranea*, and recognized as the world's best authority on the topography of ancient and medieval Rome; Raffaele Garrucci (1812-1885), Jesuit historian of Christian art; Joseph Wilpert (1857-1941), whose accurate reproductions of catacomb paintings appeared in 1903; Orazio Marucchi (1852-1931), whose *Elements of Christian Archeology* was translated into English (1935); Franz Kraus (1840-1901), professor of Church history at Freiburg, curator of religious antiquities at Baden, author of a history of Christian art; Edmond Le Blant (1818-1897), expert on early Christian inscriptions of Gaul, director of the French school of Rome, who wrote on the early persecutions and the martyrs; Paul Allard (1841-1916), editor of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and author of *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs*.

Among other notables were: John Lingard (1771-1851), member of the faculty of Douai, whose *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church and History of England* disclosed "the critical powers of the true historian"; John Alzog (1808-1878), professor at Freiburg, author of a voluminous manual of Church history which went through nine editions before his death; Godfrey Kurth (1847-1916), professor of medieval history at the state University of Liège and chiefly responsible for introducing scientific methods of

⁷⁴ In 1897 Bishop Stang, then at Louvain, listed more than 500 Church historians from the time of the Evangelists down to date. *Church Historians* (edited by Dr. Guilday) selects as representatives of the nineteenth century, Moehler, Lingard, Hergenröther, Janssen, Denifle, von Pastor. MacCaffrey, in the ninth chapter of his second volume on *The History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, draws attention to schools of historical method, notably at Munich and Louvain, and to reviews dealing with ecclesiastical history or archaeology "of which the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, published from Louvain, is, perhaps, the most widely read and best,"

teaching history into the universities of Liège, Brussels, Ghent, and Louvain; **Jean Maurice Sauveur Gorini** (1803–1859), a French country curé, master of sound historical method, whose *Defense of the Church against Historical Errors* exposed false statements made by Guizot, Augustine and Amadeus Thierry, Michelet, and other prominent historians in France—statements acknowledged and corrected in some cases, yet later reproduced in English textbooks; the **Abbé Auguste Théodore de Broglie** (1834–1895), ex-navy officer, ordained priest in 1870, professor of apologetics at the Catholic Institute of Paris, author of several works on the history of religion; and **Duke Jacques Victor Albert de Broglie** (1821–1901), ambassador to England in 1871, who wrote an apologetic work of high value, *L'Église et l'Empire romain au II^e siècle*.

Johann Döllinger (1799–1890), professor of Church history at Munich, refuted the Protestant historian, von Ranke, in *Die Reformation* (1846–48), published *Paganism and Judaism* (1857), was excommunicated in 1871, for refusing to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility, and died unreconciled to the Church. Associated with Döllinger were **Lord John Acton** (1834–1902), Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge (commonly described as the most erudite man of his generation), who planned the *Cambridge Modern History*, but died soon after the first volume appeared, leaving no writings of his own except scattered essays and lectures. Another friend of Döllinger, **Carl Joseph Hefele** (1809–1893), professor of Church history at Tübingen until his consecration as bishop of Rottenburg, introduced Christian archaeology into the university curriculum, contributed numerous articles to the *Kirchenlexicon*, wrote the life of Cardinal Ximenes, and won scholarly recognition by his *History of the Councils*. He opposed the definition of papal infallibility—leaving Rome before the pronouncement—but promulgated the decree in his diocese. **Augustine Theiner** (1804–1874) of Breslau, member of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, author of numerous historical studies and attached to the Vatican Library, lost his position there, after he had opposed the definition. **Bishop August Roskoványi** (1807–1892) specialized in the history of marriage.

Of great importance were: **Jaffé** (1819–1870), whose *Regesta*, summarizing all known papal documents up to the year 1198, was continued by **Potthast** (both non-Catholics); **Ludwig von Pastor** (1854–1928), Austrian diplomat at the Vatican, whose lifelong work, *The History of the Popes*, remained unfinished at his death; **Horace K. Mann** (1859–1928), rector of the Collegio Beda, Rome, whose *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages* is drawn chiefly from original sources; **Pierre Batiffol** (1861–1929), rector of the Catholic University of Toulouse, author of *Primitive Catholicism*, *Credibility of the Gospel*, *Catholicism of St. Augustine*, and other writings.

Noted for their work on the Protestant Reformation were: **Johannes Janssen** (1829–1891), who died before completing the seventh volume of

his *History of the German People*, a book which placed him in the front rank of living historians; the Dominican, **Joseph Denifle** (1844-1905), writer on German medieval mysticism, expert on the manuscript copies of St. Thomas's writings, subarchivist at the Vatican, author of *Luther and Lutheranism* (1903); **Francis Aidan, Cardinal Gasquet** (1846-1929), abbot president of the English Benedictines, head of the commission on the text of the Vulgate, who wrote a number of books, notably *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (1888).

Mention should be made also of **Samuel Roffey Maitland** (1792-1866), sometime librarian and keeper of the MSS at Lambeth. This expert bibliographer, in whom, according to Frederick Stokes, "the critical faculty existed in its highest perfection," wrote two books of protest against the injustice done to the Catholic Church by his co-religionists: *Essays on the Reformation*, "which no student of the Reformation can afford to be without," and *The Dark Ages*, in which he exposed the unfairness of Robertson, Milner, d'Aubigné, Mosheim, Brucker, and others.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: Clashes between Church and State occurred in every important country, except the United States of America. The quarrel sometimes concerned ecclesiastical property, sometimes the right to nominate bishops, and sometimes—especially during the latter part of the century—the question of religious education. This unhappy condition resulted chiefly from the tendency to regard the churches as mere social organizations. Statesmen saw no reason to exempt them from the control usually exercised over corporate bodies; it became the fashion to turn religious affairs over to the charge of a government bureau; and the jurisdiction previously exercised by the Church was either flatly denied or practically nullified.

In the field of education the state usually claimed supreme control, often denying even the Church's right to provide religious education for her children. The pope's jurisdiction over the universal Church, the bishop's right to govern his diocese, free communication between the bishops and the Holy See, the freedom of the Church to nominate its own prelates, to train its own clergy, and to regulate the conditions of validity for the sacrament of matrimony—all were more or less restricted by legislation. When the Catholic people, the clergy, and the hierarchy

refused to conform, they often had to endure the punishment of political disability, or imprisonment, or even death.

The story of these conflicts may be followed in the account of the various nations of Europe and America. In France and Spain, government intervention in ecclesiastical affairs recurred—with brief intervals of peace—all during the century. In Italy and Germany, the latter part of the century was the worst. In Spanish America, after the revolutions, conflict between Church and State was incessant.

Some of the difficulties were settled by concordats, which represented the greatest measure of freedom that the Church was able to secure by making concessions to the civil power. More of these agreements were negotiated during the nineteenth century than in any preceding century—some thirty in all. Partly as an effect of the concordats, the spirit of persecution diminished in many places; and Catholics, on the whole, enjoyed a greater degree of peace towards the close of the century than at any time during the previous two hundreds years.

Heresies: The principle of private judgment, originally advanced as a limitation of Church authority, gradually became an uncontrollable disintegrating force. Untrained teachers undertook to debate such fundamental issues as the moral law and the divine constitution of the Church; and the net result was a general undermining of Christian faith outside the Catholic Church. This phenomenon, added to political restlessness and social discontent, caused a startling multiplication of sects.

The spread of the scientific method opened wide the rationalistic approach to religious truth. Biblical criticism, originating in Germany, found favor in other parts of Europe; and Protestants were soon divided into three major groups. Some "Liberals" gave up Christianity entirely and either entered upon a propaganda of atheism or took up a position of indifference to all religion. Others insisted upon the literal acceptance of the old Protestant creed and came to be known as Fundamentalists. Another group, the Modernists, abandoned all pretense of belief in the doctrines taught by the churches of which they remained nominal members; and frequently they relinquished faith in the

supernatural. Even where church membership did not dwindle to any great extent, the character of Protestantism underwent a significant change; and social activities became the chief basis of religious fellowship.

English Protestantism was profoundly affected by two books, *Essays and Reviews* (1860) and *Lux Mundi* (1889),⁷⁵ conspicuous amid an immense number of writings which questioned the historical accuracy of the Gospels, the Resurrection, the Divinity of Christ, the authority of the early councils. Meanwhile, the subjection of the English Church to the government was manifested in ways which shocked the more spiritual-minded Anglicans.⁷⁶

Other Disputes: The number and variety of false doctrines that circulated at this period may be gathered from the long list of censures pronounced by the Holy See, especially during the pontificate of Pius IX. His *Syllabus errorum* of 1864 condemned Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, together with other doctrinal, ethical, and political errors affecting either the elementary principles or the logical consequences of the Christian revelation.

The Old Catholic Church: The reaction against papal infallibility occasioned the organization of the schismatical Old Catholic Church, which won the support of several prominent priests and the favor of the governments of Prussia, France, and Switzerland. Among the schismatics were some forty German priests, including Professors Döllinger and Friederich of Bavaria, Herzog of Switzerland, and the Carmelite, Père Hyacinthe, of France. By the end of the century the movement had spent its force.⁷⁷

Philosophical Errors: Measured by their ambitious purpose and by their influence over nineteenth-century thought, the outstanding philosophies opposed to Catholicism were the systems of Hegel and of Comte.⁷⁸ Within the Catholic fold several dis-

⁷⁵ These books were written by a number of collaborators. *Lux Mundi* was edited by Charles (later Canon) Gore, librarian of Pusey House and leader of the Modernist High Church group.

⁷⁶ Between 1830 and 1875 Parliament passed forty acts dealing with church affairs. Between 1866 and 1877 the judicial committee delivered ten judgments involving doctrine, worship, or religious discipline. Eyre, *op. cit.*, VI, 1282.

⁷⁷ The total number of Old Catholics in Europe at present is less than 50,000.

⁷⁸ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), professor at the University of Jena in 1805, won many disciples, especially in Great Britain and the United States. Affirming that "only the rational is real," he undertook to construct a synthesis of all reality

putes occurred about the nature of faith. Among the errors condemned by the Holy See were:

Fideism, which unduly limits the power of reason in the field of religion—put forward by De Bonald and other French writers who held that without the aid of revelation reason cannot attain to a knowledge of God.

Subjectivism (represented by Kantian idealism), which denies the objective reality of the external world—supported to some extent by Catholic teachers in Germany, notably at Munich, Tübingen, and Bonn.

Ontologism (favored by a number of Catholic philosophers in France and Italy), which maintains that the human intellect may in this life possess the immediate knowledge of God—in its extreme form condemned by the Holy See.⁷⁹

Pseudo-Science: After Darwin's theory had been distorted into an argument against the need of a Creator,⁸⁰ many writers—some of them distinguished experts—attacked Christianity, and even theism, under the name of science. Three outstanding protagonists of unbelief in Victorian England were: Thomas Huxley (1825–1895), biologist, coiner of the word "agnostic" to describe the man who recognizes his own inability to know the ultimate; John Tyndall (1820–1893), physicist, whose noted Belfast Address affirmed that the "uniformity of nature" precludes possibility of belief in the value of prayer or in miracles; Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), author of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, who held that the final object of religion and science is a blank abstraction.

Liberalism: The name "Liberalism" has been applied to many

in terms of reason—a project which would require an omniscient mind. Auguste Comte (1798–1857) in his "course of positivist philosophy" taught that every science involves three phases, theological, metaphysical, and positive; and that the third phase excludes knowledge of the absolute, belief in a final cause, and metaphysical speculation. Modified in various ways by Littré, Lafitte, and Taine in France, by Frederic Harrison and John Stuart Mill in England, Positivism wrought much harm to religion and ethics.

⁷⁹ A theory elaborated by the American, Orestes Brownson, from scholastic principles was attacked as not essentially different from the Ontologism censured at Rome; but it was never condemned.

⁸⁰ Charles Robert Darwin (1809–1882) presented the theory that evolution by natural selection explains the differences of species—an hypothesis which may be either theistic or atheistic, accordingly as it includes or excludes the concept of a Creator.

different movements, political and religious.⁸¹ Conspicuous among early nineteenth-century Liberals were the Baroness de Staël (1766–1817) and her associate, Benjamin Constant, who conducted a salon near Lake Geneva, attacked the Church and the clergy as natural enemies of the revolution, advocated the abolition of ecclesiastical privileges, and ridiculed the idea that human authority is derived from God.

On many issues Liberalism came into conflict with the Church. When in possession of political power, Liberals often suppressed religious orders, abolished ecclesiastical courts, limited or nullified the jurisdiction of the pope and of the bishops. Liberalism was repeatedly condemned by the Church.

Socialism: Springing from the same general sources as Liberalism and almost equally difficult to define, was the movement called Socialism, which became more significant after the mid-century revolution had given workingmen a larger share of political power.⁸² The scientific phase of Socialism came in with three outstanding leaders, Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864), Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895); and a new era was announced by the publication of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the founding of the International Association of Work-

⁸¹ Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* lists a large variety of meanings attached to the word "Liberal"; for example, "free; uncontrolled; opposed to legal or moral restraints, to authority, to orthodoxy, to established forms; favoring greater freedom in political or religious matters; tending towards democratic or republican as distinguished from monarchical or aristocratic types of government." The name "Liberal" was applied to English Whigs in the first quarter of the nineteenth century; later to Catholics who rejected or curtailed the authority of the Holy See; still later to Protestants who emphasized intellectual liberty and stressed the ethical in contrast to the dogmatic content of Christianity.

Liberalism, meaning a political system or tendency opposed to centralization and absolutism, is not condemned by the Catholic Church. But no Catholic may defend the sort of Liberalism which implies emancipation from moral and supernatural restrictions—the kind of Liberalism which the French Revolution brought into prominence.

The following passage occurs in Newman's speech on the occasion of his elevation to the cardinalate in 1879. "Liberalism in religion is the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another, and this is the teaching which is gaining substance and force daily. It is inconsistent with any recognition of any religion as *true*." Wilfrid Ward, *Life of . . . Newman*, II, 460.

⁸² The roots of the movement run back to Saint Simon (1760–1825) who recommended the adoption of labor as the sole standard of value, the raising of the working class to the highest social rank, and the abolition of churches and creeds; and to Proudhon (1809–1865), who in 1840 denounced private property and the Christian religion, proclaiming that "Property is theft."

ing Men in 1864, and the appearance of *Das Kapital* in 1867. Prominent in the Socialist program was the call to organize all workers in a political party, to end private ownership of the means of production, and to banish religion from education.

Socialism was opposed by Catholic leaders of the democratic movement—Bishop von Ketteler (1811–1877), Cardinal Mermillod (1824–1892) of Switzerland, the Count de Mun (1841–1914), Cardinal Manning (1808–1892). Unfortunately, despite the solicitude of Leo XIII for the workingman, many influential Catholics, clerical and lay, continued to look with suspicion upon labor organizations, and to fight against all government intervention in industrial life. As a result a large proportion of the working classes turned their backs upon the Church.

Freemasonry: One trend of the times was revealed by the development of Masonry into a world-wide organization with an enormous membership.⁸³ Many lodges adopted a common general program of “unsectarianism” which proved to be anticlerical, anti-Catholic, and, at times, anti-Christian.

It is difficult to say how much truth there is in the claim made by some Masons that their organization played a leading part in all the revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ There exists, however, good evidence to show that Masonry had much to do with official antagonism to the Catholic Church in many countries—Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Belgium, Brazil, Mexico. Nobody questions the large contribution which Freemasons made to the establishment of United Italy and to the founding of the Third French Republic. Mazzini and Garibaldi were Masons; Francesco Crispi—Prime Minister of Italy, 1887–1891, and again 1893–1896—called the Catholic Church “the eternal enemy”; the Grand Orient of Italy claimed to have the backing of the whole Masonic world in its fight against the papacy. The Grand Orient of France in 1877 removed from its

⁸³ Growth in England was especially rapid and in less than a hundred years the number of new lodges organized there amounted to more than three thousand. The English lodges combined to form the United Grand Lodge, presided over at times by members of the royal family—including the prince of Wales (later King Edward VII), who resigned the office soon after his accession to the throne.

⁸⁴ This claim was made at the meeting of the International Masonic Congress at Paris, 1899.

constitution a paragraph which seemed to commit Masons to belief in God; and a quarter of a century later the head of the same Grand Orient declared that the Catholic Church "began to decay rapidly from the very day on which Masonic associations were established." Léon Gambetta formulated his view of the Church in the phrase "Clericalism! there's the enemy."

In view of all this one may readily understand how it happens that the Church has condemned Freemasonry on numerous occasions; that provincial and plenary councils prohibited Catholics from joining Masonic lodges; that Leo XIII in 1884 charged Freemasonry with aiming at the overthrow of the whole religious, political, and social order based on Christianity and at the establishing of a new order based on pure naturalism.

The Moslems: In the nineteenth century Islam began to sense the necessity of defending itself against the ever widening expansion of Christian Europe. Austria had retaken Hungary; Russia had pushed across the Caucasus in the East and taken possession of Bessarabia in the West, thus dominating the whole northern and eastern vicinity of the Black Sea; France had occupied Algeria; Britain had established a protectorate over Egypt and acquired control of India; and the Balkan States—Serbia, Rumania, Greece, and Bulgaria—had gained independence. Just as in the previous century, it was only the rivalry of the great powers that prevented the total dismemberment of the Ottoman empire.

By way of reaction to this growth of Europe at the expense of Islam came a revival of fellowship throughout the Moslem countries of the world. The Wahabis of Arabia, after their military defeat by the Turkish sultan and the Egyptian pasha, shifted their activities from the political to the spiritual field and set about the unifying of all Mohammedans from Morocco to India. Although opposed by fanatical mullahs, fakirs, and dervishes, the leaders of the revival pressed on towards the religious reconstruction of Islam. In Africa a sort of Freemasonry, called the Senoussiya, was organized; and its members, working under the jurisdiction of a grand master, a grand lodge, and numerous local lodges, spread their propaganda from Morocco to Somaliland, bringing countless Negroes into the Moslem fold. The

consciousness of a common interest soon made pan-Islamism a force to be reckoned with by every European government. For a time the movement promised to become world-wide; but it encountered two serious obstacles in the nationalistic particularism of the individual Moslem countries and in the persistent tendency to accept western methods and ideals.

The Jews: The growth of political liberalism and the increased respect for financial ability that accompanied the development of the industrial system, promoted Jewish emancipation; yet Jewish liberties followed an uncertain and fluctuating course.⁸⁵ Favored by the French Revolution and by the Napoleonic regime, the Jews suffered in the later reaction; eventually almost every European country was agitated by the Semitic question. England admitted Jews to parliament in 1858 and a few years later abolished all Jewish disabilities not implied in the Act of Succession. In Germany, where Jews played a notable part in the political upheavals, they gained a large measure of liberty in several individual German states. After they had secured equality in the North German Confederation (1867) and in the Second Reich (1871), they were bitterly assailed; the new state was nicknamed the "Jewish German Reich." When Bismarck, with the aid of the Liberal Party to which most Jews belonged, inaugurated the *Kulturkampf*, Catholics manifested antagonism to the Jews; the German Conservatives launched a "Christianization" program in 1876; and two years later Adolf Stöcker, the Protestant chaplain to the emperor, founded the Christian Social Workers Party to oppose Jews and Socialists. The word "anti-Semitism" appeared about this time; and in 1880 an anti-Semitic league to save Germany from being "Judaized" was founded by the journalist, Wilhelm Marr, Jewish convert to Christianity and author of an appeal to Germans to prevent the Jews from conquering Europe. The historian, von Treitschke, and other intellectuals lent sup-

⁸⁵ Among the champions of Jewish equality was Henri Gregoir a Gallican-minded priest, who spoke in defense of the Jews in the convention of 1794; he later became a Constitutional bishop and died unreconciled to the Church. See the lengthy and objective description of him contributed by Pisani, to the Vacant-Mangenot *Dictionnaire*. The Jews were emancipated by law in Sweden (1784); in Canada (1831); in Turkey (1839); in Germany and Austria (1848); in Denmark (1849); in the Balkan States (1878); in Hungary (1895).

port to anti-Semitism; petitions against the Jews were presented to the government in 1881; Russian Jews were expelled in 1887; several political organizations, some of them secret, entered upon anti-Semitic campaigns; in the last decade of the century a number of "Blood Accusations" were reported, ten of them in the years 1891-94; and in 1899 Houston Stewart Chamberlain published a celebrated work on German superiority.

In Austria the emancipation of the Jews in 1867 was followed first by the influx of many Jews into Vienna, then by the rapid spread of anti-Semitism which allied itself with Christian socialism and pan-Germanism. Thirteen anti-Semitic deputies sat in the Reichsrat in 1891 and a few years later, the anti-Semites and their allies elected as mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger, founder of the Christian Socialist party, the man whom Hitler has called "the greatest German mayor of all times."⁸⁶

The anti-Semitic forces in Germany and Austria found imitators in France where the anticlerical legislation of the Third Republic was attributed to Jewish influence. In 1886 Edouard Drumont published *La France Juive*. This work envisaged the history of France as a struggle between the French and the Jews whose emancipation transformed France into a country ruled by Masons, rationalists, republicans and anticlericals. The year 1890 saw the formation of "La Ligue Nationale Anti-Sémitique de France." The Dreyfus case, 1894-1906, tested the strength of the anti-Semites; and their defeat "served to make liberal Republicanism and with it Jewish emancipation in France safe until 1940."⁸⁷

Anti-Semitic forces made themselves felt also in Hungary, where some eighty anti-Jewish societies existed in 1880; in Galicia, where the Jews were harassed both by Poles and by Ukrainians; in Bohemia where both Czechs and Germans assailed the Jews; in Rumania where no Jew could be naturalized except by a special act of parliament.

⁸⁶ *Mein Kampf*, I, ch. II, 72. This chapter of *Mein Kampf* contains Hitler's reactions to the Jews of Vienna, the first Jews with whom he came into personal contact. In the Reynal & Hitchcock edition, editorial notes point out certain inaccuracies in Hitler's account.

The attempt of Lueger's opponents to have the Holy See intervene was not successful.

⁸⁷ Bernard Dov Weinryb, *Jewish Emancipation Under Attack*, p. 25.

Half of all the Jews in the world were in Russia and Poland in the closing years of the nineteenth century, and the hardships then inflicted upon them by the Czarist government led them to emigrate in large numbers. About one hundred thousand made their way to the home in Palestine prepared by the Zionists. The vast majority emigrated to the United States, where earlier Jewish immigrants from Hungary, South Germany, and the Rhine had already settled.

Attention was drawn to the position of the Jews in the Papal States by the Mortara case. In the year 1857 the ecclesiastical authorities were informed that Edgar Mortara, son of a Jewish family of Bologna, had been baptized at the age of five, during a serious illness, by his Catholic nurse. The fact having been verified after due investigation, the authorities removed the child from his home and placed him in a Catholic school.⁸⁸ Taken up by the public press, the case aroused widespread interest throughout Europe, with the result that several governments made representations to the Holy See in behalf of the parents. Pius IX, however, declined to restore the boy. Mortara, in his fifteenth year, entered the novitiate of the Canons Regular of the Lateran; and he was ordained a priest in 1873. After his ordination he labored for the conversion of Jews in Italy, Germany, and the United States.

It is calculated that during the course of the nineteenth century more than two hundred thousand Jews became Christians; although only a minority of these were converted to the Catholic faith. Among the more notable Catholic converts was the Venerable Francis Libermann (1804-1852), founder of a congregation of priests dedicated to missionary work in Africa. Two other distinguished Jewish converts were the Ratisbonne brothers of Alsace, who became priests and in 1843 founded Notre Dame

⁸⁸ It was pointed out at the time that the Mortara family had violated civil law in employing a Christian domestic; that, even though administered contrary to the prohibition of the Holy See, the baptism was valid; and that the child was entitled to receive a Christian upbringing. The authorities therefore, while allowing the parents to visit the child, declined to restore him to his home.

A writer in the *Dublin Review* (March 1859) showed that the action of the Holy See in the Mortara case was entirely conformable to the legal principles concerning the guardianship of children which were recognized and followed by the English courts. See "The Mortara case and the Murphy case," Vol. 92, pp. 19-42.

de Sion, a community of women, and also a community of priests, dedicated to the winning of converts from Judaism.

4. MISSIONS

Missionary activities now revived, with better organization and with workers more numerous and more carefully trained than before. In 1817 the Congregation of the Propaganda (re-established and endowed by Pius VII) took charge of mission work all over the world. Several colleges were founded.⁸⁹ Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Benedictines, Vincentians freshened their zeal; new congregations of men and many religious communities of women entered the field; hundreds of lay associations gathered prayers and raised funds.⁹⁰ Towards the end of the century a missionary literature of extraordinary richness began to develop.

Several governments—notably Germany and Italy—attempted to secure a right of protectorate over Catholic missions, similar to that enjoyed by France;⁹¹ but the Congregation of the Propa-

⁸⁹ The Paris Seminary for Foreign Missions (reopened in 1815) developed to a point where it supported more than one thousand missionaries and more than five hundred native priests. Other seminaries to train secular priests for the missions were opened at Milan (1850), at Lyons (1856), at Mill Hill, London (1866) and elsewhere.

⁹⁰ More than forty orders of missionary priests (in addition to twelve orders of brothers and over one hundred fifty orders of nuns) were founded for mission work between the French Revolution and the First World War. Largest of the orders of women was the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, founded in 1880.

The first half-century saw the founding of the Picpus Society (1805), the Marists (1816), the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (1816), the Pallottines (1835), the Assumptionists (1845), the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (formed in 1848 by the amalgamation of two existing orders). Among the more important societies founded in the latter part of the century were the Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus (1854), the Salesians (1855), the Scheutveld Fathers of Brussels (1863), the White African Fathers (1868), the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales (revived in 1871), the Society of the Divine Word of Steyl (1875), the Benedictines of St. Ottilien (1884).

Chief financial support came from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith (established at Lyons in 1822 through the united efforts of Mademoiselle Jaricot, Madame Petit, and Bishop DuBourg of New Orleans) which for half a century raised approximately six million francs every year. The Association of the Holy Childhood (founded at Paris, 1843, with the particular aim of caring for pagan children) contributed annually about half as much as the Lyons Society.

⁹¹ The Protectorate of Missions—the right of a government to protect missions and missionaries against oppression in an infidel country—had developed into an official institution during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. France's right in this matter was recognized by religious communities of whatever rite or nationality and was incorporated in several treaties. The protectorate gave France a degree of prestige among the natives of the East (both Near and Far) which could never have been obtained merely by force of arms or by commercial activities.

In 1898 Leo XIII, confirming a decree of the Congregation of the Propaganda, de-

ganda instructed the missionaries to abstain from any innovation in this matter, and (when in need of help) to follow the traditional usage of having recourse to the consuls and other officials of France.⁹² By way of exception Leo XIII, in 1895, allowed the new (Coptic) Catholic hierarchy of Egypt to be taken under the protection of Austria.

Asia

The Near East: At the Congress of Berlin (1878)⁹³ the sultan promised to concede religious liberty to his Christian subjects; but the indifference of the population and interference by Turkish officials rendered mission work almost fruitless. Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Arabia, all taken together, gave few converts.

The Middle East: One after another new areas of India fell under the control of the East India Company; in 1858, after the Sepoy rebellion, the company was replaced by the English crown; and in 1877 Queen Victoria became empress of India. Meanwhile Indian intellectuals, who had been making use of their enlarged opportunities of education, discovered and retold the story of India's past splendor before the advent of Islam; and the people began to dream not only of an ancient Golden Age, but also of a time to come when India would be rid of all foreigners, whether English or Mohammedan. Native leaders agitated for political autonomy; Hindu priests lent support; and a new self-consciousness found voice in the first "Indian National Congress" of 1885. The situation was complicated by an extraordinary biological increase; for the former population of about one hundred million had grown with the aid of modern medical life-saving methods to almost triple that figure—the Hindus outnumbering the Moslems two to one.

clared, "France has a special mission in the East, confided to her by Providence—a noble mission consecrated not alone by ancient usage, but also by international treaties . . . the Holy See does not wish to interfere with the glorious patrimony which France has received from its ancestors."

Objection has sometimes been raised to the system of protectorates as involving the interference of one power in the affairs of another; but, on the whole, it seems to have been the best available way of preventing injustice and forestalling violence.

⁹² See the letter to the Italian missionaries of the Levant and the Far East, 22 May, 1888.

⁹³ The congress came as an aftermath of the Crimean War (1853-1856), in which Great Britain and France cooperated with Turkey to defeat Russia, and of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), which made Russia supreme in the Near East. Great Britain forced Russia to submit the "Turkish question" to the congress. Among other provisions, the Treaty of Berlin guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman empire. As security for his promised reform in the treatment of his Christian subjects, the sultan placed the island of Cyprus in the hands of Great Britain. See Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Political and Social History*, II, 507.

At the beginning of the century India contained almost one-half million Catholics: and the hierarchy consisted of three bishops and several vicars apostolic, attached to the archbishopric of Goa, the only remaining Portuguese possession in India. Because the king of Portugal (who still claimed the right to nominate all the bishops of the country) was unwilling either to appoint bishops himself or to endorse the appointments of the Holy See, Gregory XVI, in 1832, established five vicariates—Madras, Calcutta, Pondicherry, Ceylon, and Madura. The archbishop of Goa refused to recognize this change; and the Portuguese clergy declined to obey the new vicars. After long negotiations with Portugal, Gregory appointed a Portuguese archbishop of Goa in 1844, but the new prelate used his office to deepen the confusion; and the "Schism of Goa" continued until 1886, when Leo XIII arranged a compromise by giving Portugal the right of patronage in Goa and its suffragan sees and also a voice in the nomination of bishops to four other sees. The pope then reorganized the Church by establishing eight ecclesiastical provinces. At the end of the century India contained one thousand native priests and nearly one thousand European priests; and the Catholic population numbered about two and a quarter million.

The Far East: *China.* Thousands of Chinese Catholics died for the faith during the persecution which lasted until 1820; and communication with the western world remained strictly limited until 1834. The British demand that Chinese ports should be opened to foreign trade was followed by two wars.⁹⁴

The Jesuits returned in 1842; the government allowed missionaries to work freely in every part of the Chinese empire; and the Holy See divided the country into regions, assigning them to the Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Vincentians, and the Paris Society. In 1899 an Edict of Toleration brought encouragement to the missionaries; but a little later the "Boxer" movement caused the death of many Christians. The Boxers were checked by the intervention of the European powers. At the end of the century the Catholic population numbered nearly one million.

Japan: The despotic shoguns continued the policy of prohibiting Christianity and of excluding all Europeans except the Protestant Dutch until the development of trade and the introduction of a money economy led to the opening of Japan after Commodore Perry's visits (1853-54). After a short civil war the shogun resigned in favor of the emperor. Missionaries who entered Nagasaki in 1861 discovered there a small group of Catholics

⁹⁴ The first of these, the Opium War (1839-1842), began when the British insisted on maintaining the opium trade at Canton which China wished to outlaw; the second led to the Treaty of Tientsin by which France, England, and the United States secured more important privileges; Christianity was to be tolerated; tariff duties were revised; ministers of foreign powers were allowed to reside in Peking. The Manchus were gradually losing power, and foreign influence increased.

who had preserved the faith for two hundred years, although cut off from communication with the rest of Christendom. Persecution was renewed in 1868; but European intervention finally established toleration. An archbishopric was erected at Tokyo in 1891, with suffragan sees at Osaka, Nagasaki, and Hakodate. At the end of the century Japanese Catholics numbered between fifty and sixty thousand; and the Catholics of Korea were equally numerous.

Indo-China: In the four provinces of French Indo-China⁹⁵—together with Siam (Thailand), the Malay States, the Strait Settlements, and Burma in British India—the missions early in the century contained a half million Christians and almost three hundred priests, three-quarters of whom were natives. A persecution in 1825 caused the death of five thousand Christians, including more than one hundred priests; and later persecutions caused the death of some fifty thousand. France took possession of the country in 1886. After that date, although no bloody persecutions occurred, the missionaries were hampered by the anticlerical policy of the French government.

Netherlands Indies (Dutch East Indies): When the Catholic missions, established in the sixteenth century, were turned over to the Protestants by the Dutch government, many of the Catholic converts reverted to Islam. In 1808 religious freedom was proclaimed, and in 1842 the vicariate of Batavia was established; but there were few priests, and the work was not systematized until 1860. After that date missions began to develop, and Catholics in the Dutch East Indies numbered about fifty thousand at the end of the century.

Oceania

The Philippines: Theoretically a "Christian colonial commonwealth" and, according to statistics, a most successful missionary field, the Philippines left much to be desired in spirituality and in education—although such progress as had been made in religion and in culture was unquestionably due to the influence of the Church. Lack of Catholic schools and of a native clergy properly trained were among the most serious defects; and Freemasonry, introduced in 1860, acquired a powerful influence in the islands. A bright spot was created by the Christian towns which the Jesuits erected on the model of the Paraguay Reductions, bringing by this means some two hundred thousand natives under their salutary influence.

Towards the end of the century revolts took place in which priests were killed and churches destroyed; and the native clergy were, at least to some

⁹⁵ Annam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, and Tonkin. In the Malay States the Foreign Mission Society of Paris established a seminary and at least one hundred of the thousand priests educated therein became martyrs. Indo-China contained a Catholic population of about one million in the year 1900.

extent, involved in movements to expel the Spanish friars. The Spanish-American War of 1898 afforded a political opportunity to the Filipinos, who allied themselves with the Americans; but later, in an attempt to achieve immediate independence, they carried on a guerrilla warfare against the United States until the capture of their leader, Aguinaldo, in 1901. Most of the Spanish religious had been expelled in the meantime with grave disadvantage to the people; the number of the clergy was reduced far below the minimum required for efficiency; schools that had served gratuitously no longer functioned; poor missions supported by the friars were closed; irrigation works and other improvements fell into decay; many tenants on the friars' estates were reduced to a state of peonage by exploiting politicians and "racketeers."⁹⁶

Pacific Islands: Sacred Heart Missionaries (Picpus) entered this area in 1825; the Marists took over the western part in 1836. In 1842 Gregory XVI erected the vicariates of New Zealand and of Central Oceania; and in 1844 he gave the Marists charge of the Solomons and the neighboring region from New Guinea to the Gilbert Islands. By the end of the century missionaries were laboring in a number of vicariates and prefectures.⁹⁷

Australia: This country was but sparsely settled at the beginning of the century. The British government prohibited religious ministrations to the Catholic convicts until 1820; and two Irish priests who went to Australia were expelled. A few years later agitation in England led to the granting of religious freedom; and two Benedictines, William Ullathorne, later archbishop of Birmingham, and John Bede Polding took charge of the missions. Sees were erected at Sydney and Adelaide in 1843 and then in other cities. As religious instruction was barred from the state schools, the Catholics developed a strong school system of their own. The aborigines had dwindled from a million and a half to about one-fifth of that number. By contrast with the Protestants, the Catholics of Australia took little interest in the conversion of the natives.

New Zealand: The first Catholic settler, an Irishman, arrived in New Zealand in 1828—almost two hundred years after its original discovery.

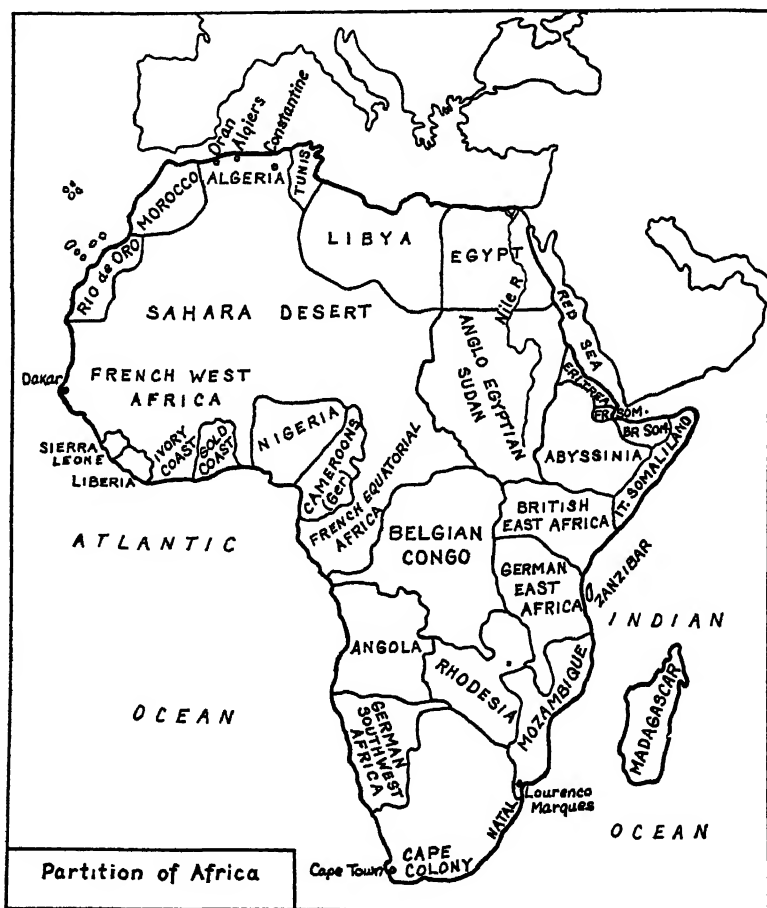
⁹⁶ Some cities of 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants were left without a priest at all. The disturbances were traceable largely to revolutionary groups and to Freemasons. Certain defects, however, have been laid at the door of the missionaries: neglect of catechetical instruction and of preaching; lack of zeal in providing elementary schools, in establishing adequate seminaries, in training the natives in manual arts. As a result, the religious life of the people was confined largely to exterior practices and to a veneration of the saints rather than the worship of God. "Besides the clergy were too prone to resort to physical force and the political arm." Schmidlin-Braun (citing Schwager), *op. cit.*, pp. 635 ff.

⁹⁷ Among them were Fiji, Gilbert Islands, Hawaii, Marquesas, Samoa, New Caledonia, Solomon Islands. Papua, Rabaul, Tahiti. Obstacles to growth were. Savage natives. tropical disease. religious rivalries, interfering European governments. Of eighteen Marists, all but five died within ten years; their leader, Bishop Ppalle, had been slain; several had been eaten by cannibals. For a summary of work in this region (with references) see Stephen J. Brown in *Studies*, XXIV (March, 1935), 111 ff.

The Marist Fathers, under the protection of the French, made about forty thousand native converts; but the Maori rising of 1860 destroyed almost all the Catholic missions. Wellington, a diocese in 1848, became an archdiocese in 1887.

Africa

Almost insuperable obstacles to the spread of Christianity had been presented by the infamous slave trade, the attachment of the natives to polygamy, the prevalence of disease and drunkenness, the lack of material



support for schools and missions, the fearful toll of European lives taken by the climate. Early in the century, except for the priests at the trading stations, there were hardly any missionaries in Africa and—outside the half million Copts of Egypt—there were few Christians. A new phase of

African history, however, began with the exploration of the Dark Continent during the third quarter of the century (by David Livingstone, a Scots medical missionary, and Henry M. Stanley, an English reporter for the *New York Herald*), and the subsequent setting up of the Congo Free State under Leopold II, King of the Belgians, as sovereign (1885). In the next few years almost the whole of Africa was partitioned; France acquired a colonial empire twenty times as extensive as the mother country; Britain controlled one-third of the continent; Germany, a late comer, secured areas rich and extensive, although less choice than those of her predecessors; Spain, Portugal, Holland, Italy, each had a share.⁹⁸

In the missionary field no man played a more distinguished part than Cardinal Lavigerie (1825-1892), Archbishop of Algiers and founder of two congregations, the White Fathers and the White Sisters.⁹⁹ Two other organizations conspicuous in the evangelizing of Africa were the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Missionary Society of Lyons.¹⁰⁰ Within little more than sixty years after the entry of Vincentians into the old abandoned missions of Abyssinia in 1839, some eighty mission territories were established in Africa and hundreds of thousands of natives were baptized. This progress was made at a dismaying cost of life;¹⁰¹ and sometimes without the aid, or even against the opposition, of colonial governments.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ It must not be forgotten that Protestant missionary societies contributed handsomely to the civilizing of Africa; in fact Livingstone was first sent out by the London Missionary Society. The Moravian Brethren established colonies at the Cape of Good Hope before the middle of the eighteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth there were nearly 100 Protestant missionary societies in Africa with more than 1,000 ordained missionaries, nearly 2,000 lay missionaries, and more than 15,000 native assistants. Every dominant Protestant nation took part in this work. Of the American churches, the Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, were most active. There is, however, another point to be remembered, namely, the support given to imperialism by the missionary movement. Moreover, Schmidlin, when discussing areas under the control of the English and the Dutch, attributes to Protestant missionaries the following blunders: dependence upon civil authority, employment of force, exaggerated rigorism, and sometimes low standards with regard to polygamy and divorce.

⁹⁹ It was through Lavigerie's strenuous efforts that the international council at Brussels in 1890 outlawed the slave trade. By that date it is calculated Europeans had taken away some twenty million Negroes from the west coast, and Arabs had taken an undetermined number from the east coast.

¹⁰⁰ A complete list would include Jesuits, Franciscans, Benedictines, Fathers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (the Scheutveld Fathers), Fathers of the Divine Word, Mill Hill Society, and at least a dozen others.

¹⁰¹ The Congregation of the Holy Ghost lost more than 600 missionaries in Africa between 1843 and 1900; in West Africa the Lyons Society lost more than 280 members in less than sixty years, the Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary lost 80 missionaries in less than twenty years.

¹⁰² The political representatives of France, concerned with the exploiting of the country, not with the spread of Christianity, often "hindered rather than helped the missionaries" (Hayes, *Political and Social History*, II, 630); and mission work "has had only in exceptional cases the support of the French government." (Eyre, *op. cit.*, VII, 342.) Missions in German East Africa were destroyed. The Calvinist Boers of South Africa were open enemies,

Particular interest attaches to Liberia, founded by the American Colonization Society in an effort to repatriate Negroes on the west coast of Africa.¹⁰³ Two priests, Edward Barron (the Irish-born president of St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia) and John Kelly of New York responded to the Holy See's call for missionaries to Liberia; and in 1842 Barron was consecrated a titular bishop and named vicar apostolic of the two Guineas. With the aid of a number of other missionaries who came to assist him, he labored in Liberia until 1845, when he was incapacitated by illness and resigned his vicariate. Of the seven Holy Ghost missionaries who arrived in 1843, five died of fever within a year. Discontinued until 1884, and then revived by Fathers of the Company of Mary, the mission was again broken up by disease and death. The Black Republic (with its capital Monrovia, named after President Monroe) suffered from short-sighted administrative policies which all but wrecked the government; and its population of about fifty thousand civilized Negroes was surrounded by one to two million savages, some of whom were cannibals.

America

Canada: In Canada, owing to the difficult position of Catholics after the English occupation, mission work among the Indians came to a standstill; the few priests had all they could do to care for the white settlers. Missionary activity was renewed about 1840.¹⁰⁴

The United States: By the beginning of the century the Indian population—almost 1,000,000 in the days of Columbus—had dwindled to about 400,000. In the southwest, where the Mexican government had confiscated the mission property, Indians were at the mercy of unscrupulous whites; and mission work almost ceased. In the northwest, missions were carried on by devoted priests, conspicuous among whom were several early American bishops, notably Fenwick (of Cincinnati), DuBourg, Loras, Cretin. Baraga—later bishop of Marquette—in 1831 began a missionary career of fifteen years during which he acquired great facility in the Indian languages. In Kentucky, Father Badin visited Indians who in 1830 were still

¹⁰³ Charles Carroll of Carrollton was once president of this society. With regard to William Lloyd Garrison's criticism of the society, see Joseph Gurn, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton 1737-1832*, pp. 268-69. On the development of the new state, see George W. Brown, *The Economic History of Liberia*, Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941. The diary of Father John Kelly, one of the first priests to visit Liberia, was published in May 1920, in *Historical Records and Studies*, of U.S. Catholic Historical Society, XIV, 120-53.

¹⁰⁴ Jesuits, Oblates, and secular priests worked along the Red River and among the Eskimos. The Prefecture of the Northwest was established in 1844 and a special prefecture for the polar regions in 1855. Missionaries were active in British Columbia in 1859. In 1866 Jesuits founded an Eskimo mission in Alaska and missionary stations in the Yukon where there are now 4,000 native Catholics. The Oblates and Jesuits had charge of 75,000 Catholic Indians in all Canada.

using Christian prayers, although they had seen no priest for nearly seventy years.

When the Jesuit novitiate was moved to Florissant, Missouri, the master of novices, Father Van Quickenborne, restored the Jesuit Indian mission there and opened a school for Indian boys in 1824; also, he aided Mother Philippine Duchesne of the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Ferdinand to found a school for Indian girls. The United States government gave a little financial aid to the school for boys, but refused it to the school for girls. Both were closed in 1831. After the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore (1833) had assigned the Indian missions west of the Mississippi to the Jesuits, Father de Smet (one of the first novices at Florissant), spent many years in preaching the Gospel to the tribes of the North. At an historic meeting on the Willamette River in 1842, Father de Smet, Father Blanchet, and Father Temiers, three great missionaries of the Northwest, discussed the best way to promote the conversion of the Indians. Father de Smet (d. 1873) was active during the last years of his life in pacifying the restless Indian tribes, sometimes acting as an official messenger of the United States government.

Between 1870 and 1890 the development of the missions was greatly hindered both by the discontent of the Indians under government injustice and by the results of the "peace policy" of President Grant which divided the religious control of the seventy-two Indian agencies among the various denominations. The peace policy might have been successful if carried out impartially, but Catholics suffered from unfair discrimination. Although they had been the earliest to establish missions in thirty-eight of the Indian agencies, they were excluded from thirty of these; and they were thus deprived of their influence over some eighty thousand Indians.

In 1874 the bishops organized a committee to look after the interests of the Catholic Indians, and in 1881 the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was incorporated. The contract school system (adopted by the government in 1877) provided a subsidy for religious schools of the various denominations, and with this help the Catholic schools made marked progress. In 1900, however, agitation by the American Protective Association brought about the abolition of the contract system and thereafter the Bureau had to support the schools by means of voluntary contributions collected throughout the country.

Latin America: Revolutionary movements and anticlerical politicians so crippled the missions that millions of Indians had no religious care and a large proportion lapsed into paganism.¹⁰⁸ In the latter part of the century, however, new sees were created and many missions reopened; and at the Latin-American council in Rome (1899), the twelve archbishops and forty-one bishops planned a renewal of missionary activity in their jurisdictions.

¹⁰⁸ In Haiti the scarcity of priests and the low moral standards occasioned a relapse into African fetishism. Schmidlin-Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 675 and 683.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS

1800 Catholics in U.S., c. 50,000	1803 Purchase of Louisiana
1808 Baltimore an archdiocese (suffragan sees, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Bardstown)	1808 U.S. forbids importation of slaves
1820 "Trusteeism"—Hogan Schism	1812 U.S. war with England
1829 First Provincial Council	1819 Purchase of Florida
1839 Trusteeism broken in New York	1820 Missouri Compromise
1842 New York ends state aid to religious schools	1823 "Monroe Doctrine"
1844 Hecker and Brownson converted	1835 Chief Justice Roger Taney
Native American riots	1840 Transatlantic steamship line
1846 Conversion of Bp. Ives	1844 Invention of telegraph
1850 Catholics in U.S., 2,000,000	1845 Texas annexed
1852 First Plenary Council	1846 Treaty of Oregon
1853 Know-Nothing movement	U.S. war with Mexico
c. 1864 First Negro parish, Baltimore	1848 Gold in California
1866 Second Plenary Council	1848-49 Huge Irish immigration
1875 McCloskey, first cardinal	1850 Omnibus Bill; slavery compromise
1884 Third Plenary Council	1854 Missouri Compromise repealed
1889 Catholic University of America opened	1861-65 Civil War
1894 A.P.A. bigotry	1863 Emancipation of slaves
1895 First Catholic women's college	1866 Transatlantic cable
1899 Papal letter on Americanism	1867 Purchase of Alaska
	U.S. Minister to Vatican recalled
	1868 Chinese naturalization prohibited
	1869 Transcontinental railroad
	Knights of Labor
	1870 Negro suffrage
	1876 Invention of telephone
	1882 Immigration of Chinese laborers prohibited
	1889 Pan-American Congress
	1890 Vanishing of the frontier
	Woman suffrage in Wyoming
	1894 Great railroad strike
	"Labor Day" established
	1897 Discovery of gold in Alaska
	1898 Annexation of Hawaii
	U.S. war with Spain

III. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

During the nineteenth century the coming of millions of immigrants from Europe, the vast expansion of territory, and the exploiting—more strenuous than prudent—of rich natural resources developed the United States into a first-class world power, possessing enormous wealth. A review of the period discloses rapid growth, outbreaks against foreigners and Catholics, racial and political changes, sectional strife, a widening gap between upper and lower economic groups, a drift away from Protestant orthodoxy, complete secularization of the American educational system, withdrawal of state aid from church schools, and, in the general body of the people, a religious decline. The Catholic population grew slowly at first; then—chiefly through Irish, German, and Italian immigration—it increased by swift stages. Catholics, less than 1 per cent of the population in 1800, were almost 16 per cent a hundred years later.

1. UNTIL THE CIVIL WAR

a. The Nation

Growth: By 1860 the population had increased to more than thirty million. Meanwhile, in 1812, the young nation had won a war with England; and the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 had warned European powers against further colonizing this hemisphere. The extension of railroads, the Erie Canal, the telegraph, the discovery of gold in California contributed to the quick settlement of the west; a new industrial era began with the multiplication of factories, the huge supply of immigrant labor, the appearance of the first American multimillionaire.¹⁰⁸

Admission of territories raised the total number of states to thirty-four. The North clashed with the South over the question of "nullification" and over the abolition of slavery; sectional antagonism, quieted for a time by the Compromise of 1850, was

¹⁰⁸ By 1850 over 15 per cent of all persons born in the eastern and middle states, and over 25 per cent of those born in the southern states, had moved to the west.

John Jacob Astor at his death in 1848 left an estate of \$20,000,000.

THE EIGHTEEN HUNDREDS

The United States

TABLE I
GROWTH BY DECADES

DECADE ENDING	Population	Foreign Born	Negroes ¹⁰⁷	Catholics ¹⁰⁸	Priests	Sees
1790	3,929,000		756,000	c. 35,000	34	1
1800	5,308,000		1,001,000	c. 50,000	50	2
1810	7,240,000		1,377,000	95,000	70	6
1820	9,638,000		1,776,000	195,000	150	7
1830	12,866,000		2,319,000	318,000	232	11
1840	17,069,000		2,873,000	663,000	482	16
1850	23,192,000		3,638,000	1,606,000	1,800	32
1860	31,443,000	4,100,000	4,441,000	3,103,000	2,235	43
1870	38,558,000	5,500,000	4,880,000	4,504,000	3,780	54
1880	50,156,000	6,600,000	6,590,000	6,259,000	6,000	60
1890	62,948,000	9,200,000	7,488,000	8,909,000	9,168	79
1900	75,995,000	10,300,000	8,833,000	12,041,000	11,987	82

TABLE II
REGIONAL ORIGIN OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

REGIONS ¹⁰⁹	Decade Ending					
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Northwest	1,157,000	1,479,000	1,244,000	1,352,000	2,325,000	1,138,000
Central	434,000	952,000	797,000	804,000	1,858,000	1,194,000
Eastern	600	500	2,000	39,000	221,000	521,000
Southern	4,000	19,000	21,000	75,000	331,000	704,000
Other Areas	79	5	8	1,000	682	122
TOTAL	1,595,679	2,450,505	2,064,008	2,271,000	4,735,682	3,557,122

¹⁰⁷ From 1790 to 1860 the numbers include free Negroes as follows: 59,000; 108,000; 186,000; 238,000; 319,000; 386,000; 434,000; 488,000; thereafter all were free.

¹⁰⁸ The figures for Catholics given throughout these tables are no more than a rough estimate.

¹⁰⁹ Northwest: British Isles, Scandinavia, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, France.
Central: Germany, Poland, Austria-Hungary.
Eastern: Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey.
Southern: Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal.

renewed by the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.¹¹⁰ When several southern states undertook to secede from the Union in 1861, civil war broke out. It lasted four years, and cost a million lives. The conflict involved no religious issues; Catholics fought on both sides.

Education: More than one theorist suggested a national system of education in which "the state should take charge of the child, before parents could instill dogma and superstition inimical to progress";¹¹¹ but Quakers, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Catholics opposed this departure from the older policy of the federal and state governments which gave financial aid to the secular and religious private schools that were providing most of the education of this country. However, persistent propaganda persuaded a considerable percentage of the people that private schools—especially religious schools—were obstacles to national unity; and the propaganda was indirectly favored by the increasing Catholic immigration (from Ireland and Germany) which aroused sectarian and political rivalries and also stimulated a fear for the safety of American institutions. Eventually Protestants, "combining their forces against the common enemy, solidified public opinion in support of the nonsectarian public school" and enacted legislation to prevent the subsidizing of parochial schools with public money.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Nullification was the theory that individual states retained their sovereignty, including the right to set aside a law passed by Congress.

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state, with the stipulation that thereafter slavery should be prohibited north of 36° 30'. The admission of California in 1850 as a free state precipitated another quarrel; but a compromise (the Omnibus Bill) again postponed the crisis.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, provided that the settlers of these two new territories could decide the question of slavery for themselves. The struggle of both sides to dominate the region led to the formation of the (antislavery) Republican Party in 1854.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's story *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) was translated into twenty languages; it is credited with having contributed more than any other single influence to the stirring up of antislavery sentiment.

¹¹¹ Hansen (*op. cit.*, chap. III) has summarized a number of such plans including essays by Rev. Samuel Knox and Samuel H. Smith which received prizes from the American Philosophical Society. In general the proposals manifest deistic tendencies—a belief in the endless perfectibility of man and in the supreme value of education, and on the other hand, a rejection of supernatural religion, absolute morality, and personal immortality.

¹¹² The quotation (from *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System* by George Martin), is given by Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private*

In the year 1827 Massachusetts began the establishment of a school system which was completed in successive steps by a school-tax law, a public-school fund, a State board of education, and finally in 1852, a compulsory attendance law—the first in this country. The development of the system was due chiefly to Horace Mann, secretary of the state board (1847–1849), who secured larger appropriations, higher salaries for teachers, and (in 1855) the adoption of a policy of strict nonsectarianism.¹¹³

In New York City, where state aid was provided for private schools and church schools (including St. Peter's parish school founded in 1806), the Bethel Baptist Church and the Free School Society¹¹⁴ quarreled over subsidies from the school fund in 1822; and as a result the city council—having been authorized by the legislature to distribute the school fund according to its best judgment—excluded all church schools from sharing in the public money. In 1840, after the city council had denied their petition for financial aid, Catholic, Jewish, and Presbyterian schools appealed to the legislature; and Bishop John Hughes, representing eight Catholic schools with an enrollment of some three thousand pupils, fought hard to have the decision reversed. The matter became a political issue; candidates for office were pledged by both sides; and the church schools lost the battle. The controversy was closed by the Act of 1842 which established a board of education for New York City and decreed that "no school . . . organized under this Act in which any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet shall be taught, included, or practiced shall be eligible for school money."¹¹⁵

Schools, p. 290. Gabel quotes another writer to the effect that "the fear of the Catholic immigrants influenced Protestants to accept secularism rather than papal authority," and a third who says that the ending of sectarian instruction was due to the development of efficient public schools, the influence of deistic and unitarian ideas, and "indirectly but most decisively the sudden increase in the Roman Catholic population."

In 1850 foreigners probably numbered over 10 per cent of a total white population of less than 20,000,000.

¹¹³ Mann has been described by an admirer as the "first prominent educator in America to meet and answer the religious onslaught."

¹¹⁴ This society, which in 1826 changed its name to Public School Society, was founded to provide "for the education of such poor children as do not belong, or are not provided for by any religious society."

¹¹⁵ A number of charitable schools, including the New York Orphan Asylum School,



Courtesy of the Editors, Catholic Encyclopedia

RUINED CHURCH AT HUMAITÁ, PARAGUAY

In the territory of the Jesuit Reductions



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY, CALIFORNIA (1797)

Restored in the 20th century



Courtesy of the Rector

THE ORIGINAL GEORGETOWN COLLEGE (1791)

Basis of Bishop Carroll's hope for the Church's "permanency and success" in America



Courtesy of the Rector

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA (1889)

Center of 43 affiliated institutions

Nativism: In 1833 the last surviving state church was disestablished in Massachusetts; and before mid-century the civil disabilities of Catholics were removed by all the states except New Hampshire.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, Catholics were involved in several serious disturbances; and the spirit of the Alien and Sedition Laws¹¹⁷ reappeared in the form of "Nativism." Alarmed by the increase of immigration and the steadily growing power of the Church, the Nativists developed an aggressive anti-Catholic movement, supplemented the legal use of the ballot with illegal force, and frightened thousands of immigrants back to Europe. Riots occurred in Philadelphia, New York, and other places. In 1844 Congress was petitioned to lengthen the period preceding naturalization to twenty-one years; but the petitions were tabled by an

the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum School, the Institution for the Blind, were still allowed to share in the school fund. Shortly afterwards another dispute occurred over the reading of the Protestant version of the Bible in public schools, and in 1844 the legislature forbade the board of education to prohibit the reading of the Scriptures, or to prescribe the version to be read. Still other disputes occurred—one in 1854 over an attempt to make the use of the Bible compulsory in all common schools, and one in 1858 over the decision of some local school boards to exclude the Bible. The Constitutional Convention of 1894 prohibited sectarian religious teaching in any state school.

A detailed account of the facts described above may be found in *The Relation of the State to Religious Education in Early New York, 1633-1825*, by Rev. Charles J. Mahoney, and also in Gabel, *op. cit.*, Section IV.

¹¹⁶ The lessening of bigotry at this time was manifested in various ways, notably in legislation and in the new attitude of the courts towards Catholic beliefs and practices. In New York, for example, in 1813 Father Kohlmann, S.J. (subpoenaed as witness in the trial of two Negroes suspected of the theft of certain goods which Father Kohlmann had restored), having refused to give the name of the culprit on the ground that he had the knowledge only under the seal of confession, was excused after a hearing in which he was represented by two Protestants and the judges were Mayor De Witt Clinton, and three other city officials. Later, in 1828, a law was enacted in Albany excusing ministers and priests from disclosing matters known in a professional capacity when silence is imposed by the religion to which they belong. See Wilfrid Parsons in *The Catholic Historical Review*, IV, 47. New Hampshire remained the stronghold of bigotry longer than any other state. Catholics were ineligible for election to state office there until 1877; and a clause in the constitution still showed a slight discrimination in favor of Protestants as late as 1941.

¹¹⁷ These laws—enacted by the Federalists in 1789 against the protests of Jefferson and Madison—gave the president temporary power to expel any foreigner, and raised from five to fourteen years the time required for the naturalization of aliens. They were soon repealed. Even earlier—before the Revolution—the English colonists had resented the influx of immigrants speaking another tongue and conforming to different social and political standards. Benjamin Franklin, for example, said: "Why should Pennsylvania founded by England become a colony of aliens, who shortly will be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our anglicizing them?" *Complete Works*, II, 233, ed. John Bigelow, New York, 1887-88.

overwhelming majority of votes (128 to 28); and within a few years the Native American Party disappeared.¹¹⁸

Whether or not the Know-Nothingism¹¹⁹ of 1854 stemmed directly from Native Americanism, both movements embodied the same spirit. Hostile to foreigners, especially to all Catholics, the Know-Nothing Party took advantage of existing political confusion to foment further disorder and to elect candidates committed to a Nativist program. Within three years the Know-Nothings established themselves in some thirty-five states and territories, gained temporary political control of New England, New York, Ohio, and Kentucky, and forced anti-Catholic statutes through several legislatures. In 1855 they were represented in Congress by seventy-five members; but a reaction soon set in. Henry A. Wise was elected governor of Virginia on a platform which repudiated the Know-Nothings; their presidential candidate, Fillmore, carried only one state, Maryland (against the Democrat, James Buchanan); and the party speedily faded into obscurity.¹²⁰

Protestantism: Americans were profoundly affected by the religious "liberalism" of three men numbered among the country's intellectual leaders—William Ellery Channing, pastor of the Federal Street Congregational Church, Boston; Theodore Parker,

¹¹⁸ Nativist movements in different parts of the United States have been described in a series of excellent monographs by candidates for the doctorate in the Graduate School of the Catholic University of America. These studies include *Nativism in the Old Northwest, 1850-1860*, by Sister M. Evangeline Thomas; *Nativism in Connecticut, 1829-1860*, by Carroll John Noonan; *A History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania, 1840-1860*, by Sister M. Theophane Geary; *Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860*, by Sister Mary de Lourdes Gohmann; *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860*, by Sister Marie Leonore Fell. See also *The Protestant Crusade (1800-1860)*, by Ray Allen Billington, and *The Shadow of the Pope*, by Michael Williams.

¹¹⁹ In this secret oath-bound society the requirements of membership were to be a native-born Protestant, and not united in marriage with a Roman Catholic. Members answered all questions with the words, "I don't know."

¹²⁰ Neither of the major political parties endorsed Know-Nothingism. Stephen A. Douglas made the claim "I was the first Democrat to make a speech against it. I did so at Independence Hall, Philadelphia." Abraham Lincoln said: "I am not a Know-Nothing, that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring 'all men equal.' We now practically read it 'All men are created equal, except negroes.' When the Know Nothings get control it will read, 'All men are created equal except negroes, foreigners, and Catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense at liberty." From a letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855, quoted by Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917, pp. 117-18.

pastor of West Roxbury; Ralph Waldo Emerson, pastor of Old North Church, Boston. Channing's followers, adopting his memorable sermon of 1819 as their "manifesto," formed the American Unitarian Association. Theodore Parker's doctrinal views, at first too radical even for his Unitarian brethren, were eventually accepted by an immense number. Emerson, having detached himself from all "sectarianism," made *The Dial* (founded in 1840) the organ of "Transcendental" pantheism, a theory which looked on God, the world, and the individual soul as one entity. In 1865 American Unitarian churches—which acknowledge no binding creed—numbered 340.¹²¹

b. The Church

In these pioneer decades ¹²² the bishops had to secure priests from abroad, collect funds, build churches, organize dioceses, establish schools and orphanages. Their work of providing for the spiritual needs of millions was hampered by material poverty and by the fact that their flocks were either thickly congested in cities or scattered sparsely over vast areas. Vexing problems were raised by mixed marriages, racial antagonisms, Protestant intolerance, and the disloyalty of groups who took part in the movement called "Trusteeism."¹²³ The situation was further

¹²¹ See H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States*, p. 366. "The Orthodox faith had passed in Boston, in the minds of the more conscious classes." Van Wyck Brooks, *New England: Indian Summer, 1865-1915*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940, p. 19. Massachusetts Calvinists founded Andover Seminary in 1808 as a bulwark of orthodox Calvinism. It stood out against the new order until 1881, when, after the retirement of Professor Parks, "last great representative of New England Theology," it became the champion of evangelical liberalism. Daniel Day Williams, *The Andover Liberals*, New York: King's Crown Press, 1941, p. 1.

¹²² Invaluable books for attaining a knowledge of this era are Peter Guilday's *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, *The Life and Times of John England*, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*.

¹²³ Trusteeism—according to Archbishop Hughes of New York, writing many years later—was the result of Archbishop Carroll's attempt to harmonize ecclesiastical administration with American democratic principles. Carroll's plan called for the administering of property by a board of trustees composed of the pastor, representing the bishop, and a number of priests or laymen, representing the congregation. When the trustees—led sometimes by a layman, and sometimes by a priest—claimed the right to appoint the pastor, this intrusion on the bishop's jurisdiction occasioned serious quarrels and even actual schisms. The difficulty was eventually settled by court decisions which upheld the provisions of canon law and recognized the bishop as the party in legal control of the property of each congregation. The Church authorities were then able to eliminate the undesirable features of the trustee system. The plan

complicated by the slowness of communication which retarded the transaction of official business and more than once occasioned misunderstanding with Propaganda.¹²⁴

Landmarks of progress were the first meeting of the American bishops (1810); the First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829); the First Plenary Council (1852). Outstanding features were quarrels and incipient schisms, huge waves of Catholic immigration, outbreaks of intolerance, educational beginnings.

First Bishops: Rome raised John Carroll to the rank of archbishop in 1808 and erected four new sees (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown, Kentucky), nominating Father Concanen, an Irish Dominican, to the see of New York, and—in accord with Carroll's suggestion—placing Bishops Cheverus, Egan, and Flaget in the other sees.¹²⁵ The American hierarchy, in its first official assembly (1810), renewed the decrees enacted at the Synod of the Clergy held in 1791, warned pastors to be cautious with regard to uncertified visiting priests, urged that Catholic marriages should be contracted in church, debarred

recommended by the Holy See a century later (1911) vests Catholic property in a board of trustees consisting of the ordinary of the diocese, the vicar general, the parish priest, and two laymen approved by the ordinary. See Peter Guilday, "Trusteeism (1814-1821)," in *Records and Studies* of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society, XVIII (1928), 7-73.

¹²⁴ The Church in America remained on a missionary basis under the jurisdiction of Propaganda until the twentieth century.

¹²⁵ Father Concanen—at the time resident in Rome where he represented the Irish bishops—died in Italy before having secured passage for this country; Father Connolly was appointed as his successor. Both of these appointments were a surprise to the bishops of America. Propaganda's selection of the Sulpician, John Dubois, as the next bishop (in 1826) came after long discussion and drew criticism from some of the Irish clergy.

Jean-Louis de Cheverus (d. 1836), of French birth, did heroic missionary work as priest and bishop in New England for nearly thirty years. A renowned preacher and controversialist, he received and accepted many invitations to explain Catholic doctrine, sometimes making use of Protestant churches for this purpose. He was consulted several times by the Massachusetts legislature and when he resigned his see in 1823 to pass his remaining years in France, a committee of Protestant fellow citizens begged him not to go.

Michael Egan (d. 1814), an Irish Franciscan, spent most of his brief episcopate in conflict with the lay trustees of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, and with two Irish priests, James Harold and his nephew, William Vincent Harold.

Benedict Joseph Flaget (d. 1850), a Sulpician, spent forty years in zealous missionary work among the Indians and pioneers in the immense territory under his jurisdiction. See Daniel J. Connors, O.M.I., "Archbishop Troy and the American Church (1800-1823)" in *Records and Studies*, of the U.S. Catholic Historical Society, XXII (1932), 168-183.

Freemasons from the sacraments, issued cautions against dangerous reading and improper forms of entertainment.

Archbishop Carroll, who died in 1815, was succeeded by Leonard Neale (who had been a Jesuit until the suppression of the Society), and then by the Sulpician, Ambrose Maréchal (1817-1828).¹²⁶ These were years of strife, complicated by personal ambitions, by racial animosities, by rivalries that involved diocesan priests and religious orders—Sulpicians, Dominicans, Jesuits. The appointment of French priests to dominantly Irish-American parishes in Norfolk and Charleston occasioned the so-called "Charleston schism," which dragged along from 1812 to 1819 and led to the planning of the "Independent Catholick Church of the United States." The Hogan Schism in Philadelphia and the quarrels in New York lasted for several years.¹²⁷ New Orleans, where Bishop DuBourg took charge in 1815,¹²⁸ was, in the

¹²⁶ Carroll left a splendid record of uninterrupted and unselfish zeal during a quarter century. Memorable incidents in his career were the Fromm Case of 1798 in which he obtained from a Pennsylvania court a verdict to the effect that "without the authority of the Bishop of Baltimore no Catholic priest can exercise any pastoral function over any congregation within the United States"; the passing of a unanimous resolution by Congress inviting him to pronounce a panegyric on George Washington, February 22, 1800; his officiating at the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte to Miss Elizabeth Patterson, which later occasioned so much trouble between Napoleon and Pius VII.

¹²⁷ See Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia (1815-1822)*, and Francis E. Tourcher, O.S.A., *The Hogan Schism and Trustee Troubles*. The Irish resented the appointment of so many French bishops (Cheverus of Boston and the Sulpicians, Flaget, DuBourg, Maréchal, David, Dubois, Chabrat, Bruté); and although the Sulpicians had contributed handsomely to the development of the American Church, widespread animosity was directed towards them. By way of example, see a letter written to Propaganda in 1817 by Father Carbry, an Irish Dominican stationed in New York, protesting that the administration of the Church in this country had been placed in the hands of the French clergy, although the majority of the Catholics were Irish who at great sacrifice built the churches, supported the priests, and defended the faith. Guilday, *Life of John England*, I, 166.

At the time of Father Carbry's writing all but one of the American sees were occupied by French bishops. Up to 1830 a total of 24 bishops had been appointed—4 native-born, 7 French-born, 7 Irish-born, 6 from other countries. Of the bishops appointed during the next two decades, 11 were native-born, 12 French-born, 10 Irish-born, 9 from other countries.

¹²⁸ New Orleans—where the see had been vacant since 1801 when Bishop Peñalver was transferred to Guatemala—had a reputation for immorality and irreligion and was commonly called "the City of Sin." At the time of the Purchase the population included only a few hundred English-speaking white men; in the next five or six years more than 3,000 Americans arrived; then came a large immigration from the West Indies; and about 1810 a good number of Irish immigrants began to enter. "The migration to Louisiana after 1840 was of a distinctly lower grade than before—exploiters of commercial slavery, slave-traders and smugglers, gamblers and desperadoes." (W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, p. 451.) The Civil War stopped immigration for the rest of the century.

bishop's words, "a sewer of vice." The city, bad enough before, with its motley crowd of Spanish, French, English, white, yellow, and black, became even worse after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The bishop set resolutely to work, however; Vincentians opened a seminary; the Brothers of Christian Doctrine founded a school; and the Religious of the Sacred Heart under the celebrated Mothier-Duchesne established a convent in 1821.

A few years after Carroll's death, Bishop England of Charleston (1820-1842) became the outstanding figure of the hierarchy. An able controversialist, a man of tireless energy, he achieved national prestige despite the insignificance of his diocese. Trained in battle years before, while working for Catholic emancipation alongside Daniel O'Connell, he was able to overcome his contumacious trustees by obtaining a diocesan charter from the legislature of South Carolina. In 1826 he was invited to make an address before the Congress of the United States. He established the earliest Catholic weekly;¹²⁹ he founded a seminary to which has been credited the revival of classical learning in South Carolina. Burdened with the duties of a diocese embracing three states, he undertook also to pacify malcontents in Philadelphia and New York, to convert non-Catholics in many areas, and to effect a radical reorganization of Church government in his diocese. His activities brought upon him a snub from Maréchal and a rebuke from Propaganda; no work of his was taken up and carried on by other men; most of his writings remained almost unnoticed until they were published (in five volumes) several years after his death.

First Councils: The First Provincial Council (1829) was convoked mainly through the persistent efforts of Bishop England who drew attention to "the deranged and unsettled state of the American Church." Among the problems confronting the council were the securing of priests and teaching orders, the providing of Catholic literature, the dispelling of Protestant prejudice, the possible amending of the Trustee system. The council concluded

¹²⁹ The first number of the *United States Catholic Miscellany* was published June 5, 1822. Father Richard's *Michigan Essay and Impartial Observer*, founded in 1809, and two New York periodicals, the *Shamrock* (1810) and the *Globe* (1819), are not classified as strictly and professedly Catholic publications. Guilday, *Life of John England*, I, 453.

its sessions with the publication of decrees designed to guard and promote the religious life of approximately three hundred thousand Catholics at that time dwelling in the twenty-eight states and territories.¹³⁰

Six other provincial councils of Baltimore followed the first; then came the First Plenary Council (1852). During the intervening twenty-three years the hierarchy had been supervising the growth and strengthening the discipline of the Church. The Catholic population was approaching the two million mark; priests had increased to almost two thousand; the Church included thirty-four dioceses of which six were metropolitan sees.¹³¹ The main objectives of the council were to unify the Catholic body; to check the trend towards mixed marriages; and in particular to promote Catholic education. The assembled prelates decreed that parochial schools should be established wherever practicable; that all pastors should hold catechetical instruction for the young; that seminaries should be created in each diocese or province. Although the evils of Trusteeism had almost disappeared, the council issued fresh regulations for the administration of Church property, with a warning against lay interference. The bishops refused to be involved in the controversy over slavery; and their studied aloofness from political issues won the approval of fairminded observers.

In the interval between the First and Second Councils (1852-1866) the Catholic population doubled. Among the archbishops who attained national distinction at this time were Hughes, Kenrick, Purcell, Spalding.

John Hughes (1797-1864), of Irish birth—coadjutor to Bishop Dubois of New York in 1838, bishop of that see in 1842, and archbishop in 1851—is identified with victory over rebellious trustees at St. Mary's, Philadelphia

¹³⁰ In 1829 there were ten suffragan sees attached to the archdiocese of Baltimore: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, Charleston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile, and Richmond.

¹³¹ Baltimore, Oregon City, St. Louis, New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans. Ten sees had been erected in the preceding three years and seven new sees (including the archdiocese of San Francisco) were created in 1853, among them the diocese of Newark, to which was appointed James Roosevelt Bayley, a convert priest (whose mother, Grace Roosevelt, was of the same family line as the two later United States presidents, Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt). One of the prelates who attended the First Plenary Council was John Nepomucene Neumann (1811-1860), vice-provincial of the Redemptorists in America in 1846 and bishop of Philadelphia in 1852. In 1896 Rome declared him Venerable and began the process of his beatification.

(during his pastorate there) and at St. Patrick's, New York, and with successful defiance of the Know-Nothings. He established a parochial school system; he aided the poor by assisting to found the Emigrant's Savings Bank; he carried on a controversy with Rev. Nicholas Murray (grandfather of President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University); he delivered an address on the Christian religion before the Congress of the United States; his visit to Napoleon III helped to keep France from recognizing the Confederacy. During his episcopate the Catholics of New York increased from 200,000 to twice that number, and the priests from 40 to 150.

Francis Patrick Kenrick (1796-1863),¹³² born in Ireland—bishop of Philadelphia in 1830 and archbishop of Baltimore in 1851—was a distinguished scholar and orator who won numerous converts to the faith (as many as fifty in one year). He subdued the trustees of St. Mary's, Philadelphia, by placing an interdict on that church; and during the Native American Riots of 1844 he helped to restore peace by closing all the Catholic churches in the city—an act which some have praised as prudent and others have condemned as timid.

John Baptist Purcell (1800-1883), a native of Ireland—bishop of Cincinnati in 1833 and archbishop in 1850—found but one church on his arrival at his see.¹³³ During his long episcopate, the coming of Irish and German immigrants raised the population of Cincinnati from 30,000 to 300,000 (one-half of them Catholics). Before his death, the diocese included 200 priests, 40 parishes, Catholic schools with an enrollment of 20,000, charitable institutions, colleges, and a seminary. Archbishop Purcell dispelled much prejudice and won converts by his writings in *The Telegraph* (first Midwestern Catholic paper to endure), and by his week of public debate (in a Baptist church) with Alexander Campbell, founder of the Campbellite Presbyterian Church. Unfortunately, the bishop's brother, Father Edward Purcell, undertook a diocesan bank which crashed in 1878.¹³⁴

Martin John Spalding (1810-1872), a native of Kentucky—bishop of Louisville in 1850 and archbishop of Baltimore in 1864—is remembered for eloquently defending Catholicism against the Know-Nothings; for helping to found the Catholic Publication Society; and for urging the establishing of a Catholic university. At the Vatican Council both he and Archbishop Purcell opposed the policy of explicitly defining the dogma of

¹³² His brother, Peter Richard Kenrick (1806-1896), Bishop of St. Louis in 1843, became archbishop when that city was made a metropolitan see in 1847.

¹³³ It was outside the city limits, because an ordinance prohibited its erection within the city.

¹³⁴ After years of litigation, the next archbishop, William Elder, by assessing the parishes, paid off the debt which had been fixed by the courts at \$140,000.

papal infallibility; but they accepted the decision of the council as soon as it was made.

Education: The First Provincial Council of Baltimore recommended the establishing of Catholic schools and the producing of textbooks free from prejudice against the Church.¹³⁵ This council—and also the First Plenary Council—decreed that every parish should have a school whenever circumstances warranted; and in 1861 a provincial council of Cincinnati went so far as to say that all pastors, under pain of mortal sin, should provide Catholic schools when feasible.¹³⁶ The spread of the exclusively secular public school was arousing bishops to a sense of the dangers surrounding Catholic children; and by the year 1860 twenty communities of women and eight communities of brothers were engaged in the work of teaching.¹³⁷

By 1866 twenty-nine Catholic colleges chartered to grant degrees had come into permanent existence—some of them very limited in teaching staff, student body, and course of studies. The Jesuits were pioneers in this field; and they were soon followed by Augustinians, Franciscans, Vincentians, Dominicans, the Congregation of the Holy Cross, Marists, and others.¹³⁸ Where teaching orders were lacking the bishop would sometimes establish a diocesan college and later transfer it to a teaching community. One

¹³⁵ On the part played by textbooks in spreading hostility to Catholics, see Sister Marie Leonore Fell, *op. cit.*

¹³⁶ This drastic ruling is perhaps related to the fact that in the area of the old province of Cincinnati (from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi) pastors have been notably zealous for Catholic education. See Burns and Kohlbrenner, *op. cit.*, chap. VII; and Gabel, *op. cit.*, chap. X.

¹³⁷ The Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary settled in Philadelphia in 1832.

The first Brothers to make a permanent foundation were the members of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, who in 1841 came to this country with Father Edward Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame. The Brothers of the Christian Schools who made their first foundation in Baltimore in 1846 soon had schools in many cities.

¹³⁸ The Congregation of the Holy Cross had been formed in France in 1840 by uniting two older societies, the Brothers of St. Joseph and the Auxiliary Priests of Le Mans; and the first superior, Father Moreau, organized the Sisters of the Holy Cross in 1842. The Fathers of the Holy Cross founded Notre Dame College, Indiana, in 1842; and the Sisters of the Holy Cross founded St. Mary's Academy in Indiana in the following year.

The Society of Mary (Marists) founded at Lyons in 1816 by Jean Claude Colin is not to be confused with the Society of Mary (Marianists) founded at Bordeaux in 1817 by William Joseph Chaminade, founder also of the Daughters of Mary.

important function of these institutions was to train the clergy—at Notre Dame, for example, in 1850 thirteen of the sixty-nine students were following the theological course. Resources dwindled during and after the Civil War, however; and many Catholic schools disappeared.¹³⁹

Of no small influence in the intellectual development of the Church in the United States was the American College (founded in Rome in 1859), supported by the United States hierarchy and devoted exclusively to the education of American priests.

Literary activity was evidenced in the publication of over a thousand books and pamphlets by Catholic authors and in the founding of some twenty Catholic publishing houses before 1830.¹⁴⁰ More than sixty Catholic weeklies and a number of monthly magazines were commenced before the end of the Civil War and two of each group still survive (the *Boston Pilot* and the *Pittsburgh Catholic*; the *Ave Maria* and the *Catholic World*).¹⁴¹

Immigration: The chief element of Catholic growth during the nineteenth century was European immigration, principally Irish and German; and a large proportion of the clergy came from Ireland, Germany, France, and Belgium. The poverty and helplessness of the immigrants caused the formation of emigrant aid societies on this side of the Atlantic, and the sending of financial aid from missionary organizations overseas. German Catholics formed colonies, chiefly in the Middle West, and by using their own language in churches and parish schools, kept their racial and religious traditions intact for generations. Several clashes occurred between ecclesiastics of German origin and those

¹³⁹ Eleven of these early institutions still survive, namely: Georgetown, Mt. St. Mary's (Emmitsburg), Holy Cross, Fordham, St. Francis (Lorretto, Pa.), Villanova, St. Vincent's (Latrobe, Pa.), Notre Dame, St. Louis, St. Xavier's (Cincinnati), Spring Hill (Alabama). Burns and Kohlbrenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Wilfrid Parsons, *Early Catholic Americana*. . . .

¹⁴¹ A third weekly, the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph* (established in 1831) continued until 1937, when it became a diocesan edition of the *Denver Register*. For information as to available files of these periodicals, see Thomas F. Meehan, "Early Catholic Weeklies," *Historical Records and Studies*, XXVIII, 237-40, and Joseph R. Frese, "Pioneer Catholic Weeklies," *Ibid.*, XXX, 140-43. See also Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., *Pioneer Catholic Journalism in the United States*. Monograph Series, United States Catholic Historical Society of New York.

of Irish origin—sometimes over representation in the hierarchy and sometimes over the responsibility for leakage.¹⁴²

At least three-quarters of the Irish immigrants flocked to the cities; and repeated efforts were made to encourage their migration to rural areas.¹⁴³ Thomas d'Arcy McGee, active promoter of Irish colonization, claimed that the Buffalo Immigrant convention of 1856 (held to encourage the movement) added some 30,000 families to the farming population—about three-quarters of them in the western states and one-quarter in Canada. The colonization project encountered two serious obstacles in a change of the government's policy with regard to grants of free land and in the suspicion that a Catholic colony might seek to develop into a Catholic state and as such be admitted into the Union. Gravest obstacle of all was the opposition of Archbishop Hughes of New York.¹⁴⁴

Intolerance: Protestants of the cruder sort made frequent scurrilous attacks upon their Catholic neighbors; and even the more cultured classes showed prejudice in various forms of discrimina-

¹⁴² On assistance to emigrants, see Thomas F. Meehan, in *Cath. Encyc.*, V, 402. Foremost in the giving of financial help were the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons, France, the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, and the Ludwigmissionsverein. The American bishops in their pastorals made grateful acknowledgment of the aid received from Europe. See Peter Guilday, *National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)*. Washington: 1923. In the year 1836 Bishop England of Charleston (in a report to the Lyons Council for the Propagation of the Faith) stated that in the preceding half century the Catholic Church in America had lost approximately three and three-quarter million members. This statement, "the foundation-stone of all later claims of a similar nature," became the basis of a charge that during the nineteenth century the Church lost ten to thirty million immigrants and their descendants. Few persons accept so high a figure, but many have claimed that the loss amounted to somewhere between five and ten millions. After an intensive study of the question in 1925, Gerald Shaughnessy (now Bishop of Seattle) affirmed "there is no evidence of even an appreciable or measurable loss (two, three, five millions) during the period." *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* p. 221.

¹⁴³ The land policy of the government offered settlers an opportunity never before equaled. The Homestead Act (1862) authorized citizens or prospective citizens (who had declared their intention) to occupy 160 acres of free arable land in unsettled areas; and to these acres the settler received full title after having supported himself on them for five years.

¹⁴⁴ Commenting on the subject a generation later, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding and Archbishop John Ireland endorsed the view that, but for Archbishop Hughes's disapproval, "tens of thousands of Catholic families would have gained happy homes and an honorable competence on the land, instead of having gone down to ruin in the fierce maelstrom of large cities." Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects, 1815-1860*, p. 269.

tion. The condition was serious enough in 1833 to evoke from the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore a protest against anti-Catholic calumnies. Unfortunately, however, about this time a number of events reinforced one another in the creating of widespread dislike and suspicion of Catholics; and outbreaks of violence continued for several years.¹⁴⁵

In Philadelphia much bitterness was aroused in 1831 by a controversy between Father John Hughes (afterwards Archbishop of New York) and Dr. Breckenridge, a Presbyterian. In New York, Samuel F. B. Morse, who carried on an unsuccessful campaign for the mayoralty in 1835, attacked Catholics in a book entitled *A Foreign Conspiracy against the Members of the United States*; and Dr. Brownlee, a Dutch Reformed minister, edited an abusive anti-Catholic newspaper, *The Protestant*, published under the patronage of seventy-two ministers. Rebecca Reed, a postulant in the Ursuline convent of Charlestown, Mass., left that institution before the end of her six months' term of probation, and in 1834 wrote two books on the "horrors" of convent life. Inflammatory sermons by Dr. Lyman Beecher (father of Harriet Beecher Stowe) incited a mob to attack and burn the Charlestown convent; and although the instigators of the outrage were well known, no one was punished.¹⁴⁶

A riot took place in Philadelphia in 1844 shortly after Bishop Kenrick had established the right of Catholic children to be excused from attendance at the reading of the Protestant Bible in the public schools. "Native Americans" marched through Irish Catholic districts carrying offensive placards; shots were exchanged; the mob set fire to one church and attacked two others. They were not dispersed until more than a dozen persons had been killed and about forty wounded. Several Catholic homes were burned and the library of the Augustinian Fathers (containing five thousand volumes) was destroyed.

¹⁴⁶ A recent writer has discussed the development of friction in Boston. "Depressed to the status of helpless proletarians by the conditions of their flight from Ireland and by the city's constricted economic structure, driven into debilitating slums by their position as unskilled laborers, and isolated intellectually by their cultural background and physical seclusion, the Irish felt an insuperable barrier between themselves and their neighbors." Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, p. 221.

¹⁴⁶ The Reed books were followed by a flood of anti-Catholic literature. *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (written in part by Theodore Dwight, a nephew of the President of Yale, and published by the firm of Harper Brothers) had a large sale—80,000 copies. Maria Monk received a fortune in royalties. She died in 1845 in a prison to which she had been sentenced as a pick-pocket, after a criminally indecent life. Her story, although investigated and exposed as a fraud by Colonel W. L. Stone, Protestant editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, was kept in circulation by the Canadian Benevolent Society. The library of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N.Y., contains a collection of anti-Catholic books and pamphlets of the Maria Monk variety.

Two foreign groups injected a particularly vicious spirit into the situation. Riots were led in various places "by imported Orangemen who were not American citizens and never intended to be"; and Italian refugees, who had left their native country after the failure of the "revolution" carried on antipapal propaganda here. An ex-Barnabite priest, Gavazzi, conducted a lecture campaign against the Church in a number of American cities, and when a papal nuncio, Bedini, visited the United States, Gavazzi charged him with cruelty towards political prisoners.¹⁴⁷ At the Broadway Tabernacle in New York in 1852, a lecture was delivered on the subject, "Romanism and Republicanism Incompatible."

A militant paper, *The Crusader*, of New York, declared war "against the papacy and Jesuitism"; Brownson's discussion of the pope's temporal power in his magazine provoked a debate in Congress on the right of the pope to absolve his disciples from their political allegiance. At St. Mary's Church in Newark, New Jersey, rioters killed a Catholic Irishman in 1854; and in the same year Father Bapst, S.J., former president of Holy Cross College, Worcester, was tarred and feathered by a mob in Ellsworth, Maine. In Louisville on "Bloody Monday," August 5, 1855, an outbreak caused the death of many Catholics; and Bishop Spalding saved the Cathedral by giving the keys to the mayor, a Know-Nothing, making him personally responsible for its safety. Other riots took place in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ In 1853 Archbishop Bedini, papal nuncio to Brazil, was commissioned by Pius IX to survey the Church in this country and to present a letter of greeting to President Franklin Pierce. He was cordially received by the President; but the fact that he had been the papal representative at Bologna while Austria was aiding the Holy See to suppress the revolution there, was exploited by Italian and German revolutionists and by the Know-Nothings. Italian conspirators planned Bedini's assassination and killed a man who had given warning of the plot. While Bedini was in Cincinnati a mob attacked the residence of Archbishop Purcell on Christmas day and during the fighting one man was killed and sixteen wounded. When leaving New York the nuncio, urged by the municipal authorities, left the city secretly, taking passage on a tug-boat to an outgoing steamer. Archbishop Hughes, absent from the city at the time, is reported to have said later that he would have gone with the nuncio to the wharf in an open carriage. The United States secretary of state, through the American minister at the Vatican, expressed his regrets over the incident. See Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini" in *Records and Studies*, of the U.S. Catholic Historical Society, XXIII (1933) 87-170.

¹⁴⁸ These outbreaks as a rule were traceable to one or more of the following causes: (1) A tendency on the part of Protestants to confuse Catholic loyalty to the pope with "allegiance to a foreign potentate"; (2) political attempts to organize Catholic immigrants in a voting bloc; (3) economic competition occasioned by the immigrants; (4) lack of education in the Irish victims of English misrule; (5) criminal or offensive behavior by Catholics or persons bearing Catholic names; (6) the obviously rapid growth and efficient organization of the Catholic Church; (7) an aggressive attitude on the part of Catholic groups; (8) Catholic objection to the giving of Protestant instruction—even a minimum—in the public schools; (9) a theory that the parochial school system must be an obstacle to national unity.

On the question of intolerance, see Michael Williams, *The Shadow of the Pope*; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860*; and Frederick J. Kinsman, *Ameri-*

By way of balance to these unhappy displays of bigotry came numerous evidences of respect for the Church on the part of prominent Americans, many of whom drew attention to the soundness of Catholic teaching upon honesty, marriage, and citizenship, to the Church's unique influence in preserving Christian doctrine and morality, and to the basic harmony of American and Catholic principles. Emerson, to be sure, was rather scornful towards Catholics; but other conspicuous men of letters were friendly—Longfellow, for instance, as well as Whittier, Dana, and Hawthorne.¹⁴⁹ George Ripley put through the press a book on the Church called *Aspirations of Nature*, written by Father Hecker. Among distinguished Protestants who sought admission to the Church during this period were Cornelia Connelly (later, foundress of the Religious of the Holy Child Jesus); Orestes Brownson; Levi S. Ives, Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina; Edgar P. Wadhams, future Bishop of Ogdensburg; James Kent Stone, President of Hobart College and later a provincial of the Passionists; and the five men who (led by Isaac Hecker) founded the Paulist Community in 1858.¹⁵⁰ From this time forward a steady procession of converts came to the Church in growing numbers—hundreds, then thousands yearly.

Another evidence of tolerance was the establishment of official representation at the Vatican. The liberal attitude of Pius IX at the beginning of his pontificate attracted favorable attention in America;¹⁵¹ and President Polk recommended the opening of diplomatic relations with the Holy See. After a discussion in Congress (in which the measure was denounced as an attempt

canism and Catholicism, chap. V. The last-named author, previously the Episcopal bishop of Delaware, was received into the Catholic Church in 1919.

¹⁴⁹ Hawthorne's daughter Rose and her husband, George Parsons Lathrop, became Catholics in 1891. Later, as Mother M. Alphonsa, she organized and directed the Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer Patients in New York.

¹⁵⁰ See Clarence E. Walworth, *The Oxford Movement in America*.

¹⁵¹ Pius IX in the year of his accession, 1846, announced the freedom of the press in papal dominions, abolition of secret trials of political offenders, an edict of amnesty for all political prisoners, and a liberal educational program. These acts aroused manifestations of approval in America. On November 29, 1847, the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City was crowded with persons prominent in civic and ecclesiastical life who praised the enlightened policy and liberal outlook of the new pope; Horace Greeley, founder of the *New York Tribune*, eulogized Pius in a public address; and a commendatory message from the United States Secretary of State, James Buchanan, was read. See Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy*, pp. 5-10.

to procure Catholic votes in the approaching electoral campaign) the government decided to send a *chargé d'affaires*. Jacob Martin, who received the appointment, died shortly after his arrival in Rome and Lewis Cass, Jr., his successor, who was raised to the rank of Minister, held office until his retirement in 1858.¹⁵²

2. AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

a. The Nation

Economic Changes: In the latter part of the century, the country as a whole made swift industrial progress, although the South had been impoverished through the ravages of the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves. Freed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, given citizenship by the Fourteenth, and entitled to vote by the Fifteenth, the Negro was nevertheless subjected to technically legal discrimination, to economic oppression, to mob violence; and the Negro question occasioned frequent bitter disputes between politicians representing different sections of the country. The transcontinental railway, the Atlantic cable, the purchase of Alaska helped to widen the nation's outlook, to quicken commercial activity, to produce immense wealth (which accrued, however, to comparatively few individuals); and trust-organizing moved towards the climax which came in 1901 with the chartering of the first billion-dollar business enterprise, the United States Steel Corporation. The extension of transportation facilities subsequent to the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867, created a new relationship between industrial centers and distant markets, and set the stage for the unification of numerous local trade unions. The Knights of Labor (organized in Philadelphia in 1869) spread into other areas, admitting to membership skilled and unskilled workers, small shopkeepers, and farmers. Centralized by Grand Master Workman

¹⁵² The diplomatic mission terminated in 1867 at a time when the papal government was accused of having ordered the American Protestant Church to be moved outside the city—a charge which was false, according to Rufus King, the American Minister at that time. See "A Diplomatic Incident: When Washington Closed Our Vatican Ministry," *Atlantic Monthly*, 144 (Oct. 1929), 500–10. See also Leo F. Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*, and his article "American Consuls to the Papal States, 1797–1870," *Catholic Historical Review*, XV (Oct. 1929), 233–251.

Terence V. Powderly, proclaiming that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and dispensing with the oath of secrecy (1878), the Knights developed into an organization powerful enough in 1885 to impose terms on Jay Gould (leading capitalist of the day) by threat of a strike. Nearly 700,000 strong in 1886, the Knights began to decline after that date; and with their replacement by the American Federation of Labor,¹⁵³ the last "idealistic welfare uplift organization" of American workers disappeared. Following the example of the Knights in throwing its voting strength on the side of political candidates favorable to the workingman, but initiating a more aggressive policy, the new organization soon won control of the world of labor, and was able to put powerful pressure on state legislatures and on Congress. During the closing years of the century a number of serious clashes occurred between Big Business and Organized Labor.

European immigrants came to this country in constantly rising numbers, reaching an annual rate of over 400,000 in the last decades. Racial composition was changing too.¹⁵⁴ With Italian immigrants outnumbering those of any other race and with the Slavic contingents growing steadily larger, the proportion of Catholics increased quickly also; and the traditional antagonism of older settlers towards the foreign born was intensified by the element of religious intolerance.¹⁵⁵ In 1889 a League for the Protection of American Institutions, organized at Saratoga Springs, New York, began to agitate against the use of money raised by taxation to aid any church or religious society and helped to

¹⁵³ Stemming from the older Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the A.F. of L. was organized at Columbus, Ohio, in 1886 by the officers of 25 national craft unions representing over 300,000 members.

¹⁵⁴ Immigrants from eastern and southern Europe in the years 1890-1910 stood to the same group in the years 1860-1880 in the ratio of 32 to 1. The Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers. The Chinese had already been barred from naturalization by the law of 1868; and the Japanese were barred by an interpretation of a law of 1875 (the Act which approved of the naturalization of free white persons and Africans by nativity or descent). See Max J. Kohler, *Immigration and Aliens in the United States*, chap. VI. New York: Bloch Publishing Co. 1936.

¹⁵⁵ In connection with outbreaks of anti-Catholic feeling mention should be made also of the "Molly Maguires," an Irish terrorist organization in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, originally designed to combat intolerable living conditions. It reached the height of its power in the early seventies; and its criminal activities, although censured by the Church, helped to spread dislike of Catholics among law abiding citizens. See J. Walter Coleman, *Labor Disturbances in Pennsylvania 1850-1880*.

bring about the abolition of government subsidies for Catholic Indian schools.

Another intolerant group, the American Protective Association, organized during the presidential election campaign of 1892, accused President Cleveland of having played into the hands of the Catholics; denounced the political influence exercised by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland; called the apostolic delegate, Satolli, a public enemy; and described the great wave of immigrants as a national menace. The failure of the A.P.A. to secure recognition from the Republican Party in 1896 was followed by its gradual disintegration. President McKinley's appointment of several Catholics to important government posts aroused no serious opposition either in Congress or in the leading newspapers.

Of enormous size and vast wealth, with its forty-five states and three territories ¹⁵⁶ filling all the region between Canada and Mexico, the nation began to feel the lure of imperialism.¹⁵⁷ After American intervention in the Cuban-Spanish war had secured independence for Cuba, political leaders, "in obedience to manifest destiny," carried through the Treaty of Paris (1898) which gave the United States the former Spanish possessions, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam—although anti-imperialists opposed the treaty on the ground that the acquisition of the Philippines was unconstitutional and that in attempting to govern ten million people without their consent the United States was departing from a fundamental American principle.

Education: The rapid expansion of educational opportunities reduced illiteracy nearly to the vanishing point among the white population.¹⁵⁸ During the process, public schools replaced church schools as the chief source of academic training; and the state took over almost the entire field of elementary education. In the frequent educational disputes the Catholic Church had as allies, at various times, one or more of the Protestant Churches and

¹⁵⁶ Oklahoma became a state in 1906, New Mexico and Arizona in 1912.

¹⁵⁷ New interest in expansion motivated the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867, and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898.

¹⁵⁸ In the year 1900 the illiteracy rate of native white persons ten years of age and over was 4.64 per cent.

several recognized authorities in the field of education.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, high-pressure propaganda (more quickly successful in the North than in the South) ultimately won fairly general acceptance of the policies which became characteristic of the American public school system—free education, compulsory attendance, complete state control, support by universal taxation, and a secular program from which, with steadily increasing strictness, all religious features were eliminated. Control of education intensified the power of the government in individual and family life and tended to separate all ideals into two tight compartments, secular and religious. The outcome was profoundly disturbing to men solicitous for the spiritual welfare of America.

Protestantism: In the latter part of the century intellectual leaders were commonly either indifferent or frankly agnostic. Unitarianism had drawn many of the previous generation away from orthodox Protestantism; the new generation discarded Unitarianism and "never afterwards entered a church."¹⁶⁰ John Fiske interpreted Herbert Spencer to the American public, affirming his own antagonism to the old idea of God on the ground that personality and Infinity are mutually incompatible. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*¹⁶¹ published the early writings of two men destined to become America's most widely read philosopher and most influential educator—William James and John Dewey. Pragmatism (about to be worked out at Harvard)

¹⁵⁹ Among the issues in dispute were the denial of public aid to church schools, the laying of an educational tax upon minorities which for conscientious reasons provided their own schools, and the imposition upon all pupils of a course of study involving a naturalistic philosophy and, at least equivalently, a denial of revealed religion.

¹⁶⁰ ". . . civilization was losing its soul, as education had lost its soul already." (Van Wyck Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 105.) The trend became apparent when Harvard honored Emerson with the degree of LL.D. in 1866. A few years later it seemed to a foreign observer, Dean Stanley of Westminster, that in the foremost American pulpits "the sermon was always by Emerson no matter who the preacher happened to be." *Ibid.*, p. 82 n.

W. D. Howells (1837-1920) until middle age took it for granted that no well-read man had any faith. The news that many educated persons still believed in God "came to him like a blow."

¹⁶¹ The *Journal* was founded in 1867 by William T. Harris (1835-1909), chief American disciple of Hegel, superintendent of the public school system of St. Louis 1868-1880, and United States commissioner of education 1889-1906. He became head of the Concord School of Philosophy.

and Instrumentalism (about to be developed at the Chicago Laboratory and the New York Teachers College) made countless teachers and students of the next generation vague and uncertain as to the existence of God, the freedom of the will, the immortality of the soul.

Into this world of confusion entered exotic and fantastic religious systems. Sons of missionaries to the Orient made themselves conspicuous as disciples of Buddha. Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy organized the "Church of Christ, Scientist," in Boston, and in 1886 the first meeting of her National Christian Science Association took place in New York. At the end of the century religious denominations numbered more than one hundred fifty; only six Protestant churches could count as many as a million members; between five and ten million persons were religiously unaffiliated.¹⁸²

b. The Church

Councils: The Second Plenary Council (1866) convened at the close of a period in which Catholic growth had been too rapid to allow of adequate provision for spiritual and intellectual needs and in which the Civil War had wrought considerable harm to all religious organization. The council discussed the difficulties raised by the recent emancipation of four million slaves; endorsed the Catholic Publication Society established by the Paulist Fathers for the distribution of tracts and books; decreed that in largely German dioceses candidates for the priesthood should

¹⁸² See (for what it is worth) the study published in 1916 by James H. Leuba, professor of Psychology in Bryn Mawr College. On the basis of a questionnaire circulated by him, he presented statistics to support his claim of a wide rejection of the two fundamental Christian dogmas, belief in a personal God and belief in personal immortality. Among "the greater psychologists," he affirmed the number of believers in immortality was less than 9 per cent. Of the students observed, more than 40 per cent publicly "deny or doubt the fundamental dogmas of the Christian religion." *The Belief in God and Immortality*, Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1921, p. 280.

The following table gives, in round numbers, statistics on church membership gathered within ten years of the close of the century. See H. K. Carroll, *op. cit.*

Catholics	12,000,000	Presbyt'ns, 12 bodies	2,000,000
Methodists, 16 bodies	6,500,000	Disciples of	
Baptists, 15 "	5,500,000	Christ, 2 "	1,500,000
Lutherans, 23 "	2,250,000	Episcop'ns 2 "	1,000,000

study German; and requested the Holy See to make the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary a Holy Day of obligation for the whole country.

Eighteen years later came the epoch-making Third Plenary Council.¹⁶³ It commanded parents to see that their children should receive a Christian education, recommended the multiplication of Catholic schools, ordered the preparation of a uniform catechism, prescribed an annual collection for Negroes and Indians, censured secret societies, appealed for wide distribution of Catholic literature, warned Catholics engaged in the liquor traffic to avoid occasions of sin.¹⁶⁴

Education: In 1875 (at the suggestion of some of the American bishops) the Holy See urged more activity in the establishment of Catholic schools; and the Third Plenary Council laid the basis of a parochial school system: (1) by ordering the erection of a school near each church within two years; (2) by proclaiming the obligation of Catholic parents to send their children to these schools, unless said children should be otherwise adequately instructed; (3) by recommending the removal of pastors negligent of their duty in this matter; and (4) by suggesting episcopal intervention in the case of a delinquent mission or parish. For a variety of reasons the immediate response to this legislation left much to

¹⁶³ To this council, said Shea, there were summoned "a cardinal, the Archbishop of New York; eleven other archbishops, besides the apostolic delegate, fifty-eight bishops, six mitred abbots, and heads of more religious orders than can now be found in many countries. They will convene as the ecclesiastical superiors of at least seven thousand secular and regular priests charged with the care of more than eight millions of souls." *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, IX (1884), 495.

¹⁶⁴ The council left it to the discretion of the ordinaries to legislate with regard to Catholic children attending public schools and forbade pastors to exclude these children or their parents from the sacraments. Among the customs reprobated by the council were the collection of seat money at the doors of churches, the holding of dances for pious purposes, the advertising of Masses to be offered in return for money. In the words of Dr. Guilday, "the Fathers of the council succeeded admirably in giving the Church here a diocesan organization which attracted the admiration of the entire English-speaking world." *History of the Councils of Baltimore*, p. 249.

In December 1884 the council published *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity* which evoked the following comment: "The pastoral letter shows that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States share the conviction that American political institutions are in advance of those of Europe in helping a man to save his soul, and that they promise a triumph for Catholicity more perfect than its victory in medieval times; and they do not hesitate to express these convictions. That is indeed the best government which secures to men the amplest means of sustaining life, interferes least in the exercise of his liberty, and aids him most in the pursuit of his true happiness—his divine destiny." *Catholic World*, XL (Feb. 1885), 714.

be desired; nine years later the number of churches with schools had increased by only 4 per cent.¹⁶⁵

Meanwhile throughout the country religious education was being gradually forced out of the privileged position it had previously occupied; ¹⁶⁶ and, although some states allowed compromise plans ¹⁶⁷ which gave church schools a certain amount of support, the Catholic people in many places had either to carry the burden of two school systems or else to let their children go without religious education. At the meeting of the National Education Association in 1889, Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Keane argued in favor of state aid to religious schools; and the controversy thus excited probably contributed to the decision of the Federal government to withdraw financial support even from Catholic mission schools among the Indians.

Of the earlier colleges only a small proportion survived until the latter part of the century; but many new colleges and academies were founded. Most conspicuous among the teaching communities were Jesuits, Christian Brothers, Franciscans, and Benedictines; in a number of cases the faculty was composed of diocesan priests. In the year 1900 some forty-five communities of women were teaching; and academies for girls had increased notably.¹⁶⁸

The secondary schools, which "served both as finishing schools

¹⁶⁵ Burns and Kohlbrenner (*op. cit.*, p. 144) give the percentage of churches with schools as 40 per cent in 1883, 44 per cent in 1892, 55 per cent in 1913, 60 per cent in 1933.

¹⁶⁶ "Arranged in order of time, twelve states placed some form of restrictive provision in their Constitutions in the decade 1870-1880, namely, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Alabama, Texas, Colorado, California, Louisiana, Georgia, New Hampshire, Minnesota, and Nevada, the last three by amendment. In the decade 1880-1890, six states, Florida (1885), Idaho, Montana, North and South Dakota, Wyoming (1889). In the decade 1890-1900, six states, Mississippi and Kentucky (1890), New York, South Carolina, Utah, Delaware. In the decade 1900-1910, Virginia and Oklahoma; 1910-1920, New Mexico and Arizona when admitted, and Massachusetts (1917)." Gabel, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

¹⁶⁷ One such, installed at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., in 1873, lasted until 1898 when it was outlawed by the State superintendent. Similar plans were established elsewhere in New York and in Ohio, Indianapolis, Connecticut, Minnesota; some of them are still in operation. Gabel, *op. cit.*, pp. 493, 563-564.

¹⁶⁸ The first degree in a Catholic college for women was granted in 1898 by St. Mary's, Indiana. The first (four-year) Catholic college for women was established in Baltimore by the School Sisters of Notre Dame in 1895. The first complete Catholic college for women (founded as such), Trinity College in Washington, was opened by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in 1900.

and as preparatory schools for college," included no more than 5,000 (secondary) students at the end of the century. In the last decade—during the great expansion of public high schools—the separate Catholic high school movement began.¹⁶⁹

The Catholic University of America, opened in 1889 under the control of the American hierarchy, grew slowly; but it exercised widespread influence on the development of Catholic education. Among the prelates identified with its foundation were Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, Bishop Spalding of Peoria, and Bishop Keane, its first rector. All of them—hence the university also—entered into the Irish-German controversy of the day. The university was likewise involved in a dispute about state jurisdiction over education occasioned by the plan adopted at Faribault.¹⁷⁰ Some of the bishops feared that Catholic education was being endangered by concessions to the state; and the hierarchy divided into two parties, one led by Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop Keane, the other by Archbishop Corrigan of New York, Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, and Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee.¹⁷¹ The Holy See decided that the Faribault plan "can be tolerated," but that every effort should still be made to multiply Catholic schools; and the discussion was finally closed by a letter of Pope Leo XIII appealing for peace in 1893.

Negroes: When emancipation threw some four million almost helpless Negroes on their own resources, large numbers died through lack of sanitary and medical care, and many lost their religion. Catholic Negroes at this time numbered about 100,000,

¹⁶⁹ Most of the early Catholic high schools were parochial institutions—often inadequately organized. Later they were largely supplanted by central high schools.

¹⁷⁰ Archbishop Ireland made an agreement with the State of Minnesota whereby the state leased the parish school buildings in Faribault during school hours and paid the nuns the salaries due to public school teachers.

¹⁷¹ In December 1891 Professor Bouquillon of the university published a pamphlet, *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* which was answered by Father Holaind, S.J.; and a spirited controversy took place. Dr. Bouquillon maintained that the state has a special and proper right to teach because education "is among the most necessary means for the attainment of the temporal welfare of the commonwealth." Father Holaind held that the state's right to teach is based upon necessity rather than common utility; and he denied that the state may decree compulsory education. See Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., *The Parochial School Controversy, 1891-1893*.

most of them living in Maryland and Louisiana; and a considerable percentage of those who had been baptized by their masters but had received little religious instruction drifted away from the Church.¹⁷² The pastoral letter of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) expressed the wish that "a more gradual system of emancipation could have been adopted," and urged the Catholic clergy and people to interest themselves in the moral and spiritual welfare of the colored race.¹⁷³

The first Negro parish, St. Francis Xavier's in Baltimore, founded by the Jesuits (c. 1864), was taken over seven years later by four priests who came from Mill Hill, London, to establish St. Joseph's Society for Foreign Missions in this country. They were followed by the Society of the Holy Ghost in 1872; and during the rest of the century most of the missionary work among the colored people was done by these two orders. In 1881 came the Franciscan Sisters from Mill Hill (the only community of white nuns in this country laboring exclusively among the Negroes); and within twenty years two new foundations were made—the Sister-Servants of the Holy Ghost and Mary Immaculate (1888) and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People (1891). In accord with a decree of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), a Commission for Catholic Missions among the colored people and Indians began to collect funds in all the churches of the country; and the Negro mission field soon bore a richer harvest.

At the end of the century, when the Negro population of the continental United States numbered almost nine million, some

¹⁷² Thousands however, returned to the practice of their religion when opportunity was given them; and settlements of Catholic Negroes may still be found in regions originally colonized by Catholics.

¹⁷³ During the slave days two Catholic colored sisterhoods—which still exist—had been established, the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore (1829) and the Sisters of the Holy Family in New Orleans (1842). In general however, the white race disapproved of educational work among the Negroes; Bishop England of Charleston met with severe criticism for having opened a Negro school. See Guilday, *Life of John England*, II. 151-52.

The appeal of the Second Plenary Council brought meager results. "Lack of planned and organized effort, lack of instruction in religion, and an almost total absence of Catholic schools for them, left the Negroes open to the first outside religious influence that came along." Gillard, *Colored Catholics in the United States*, p. 102.

two hundred thousand were Catholics; about five million were unaffiliated; and four million were registered as Protestants—more than half of them members of the Baptist Church.¹⁷⁴

Labor: Had the Catholic social principles outlined by Leo XIII in his encyclical on labor (*Rerum novarum*, 1891) been earlier proclaimed and more generally applied, it is probable that we should not have to lament with Pope Pius XI "the great scandal of the nineteenth century," namely, the alienation of the working classes from the Church. America opened an especially promising field to the Catholic clergy; but unfortunately, a short-sighted policy allowed the growth of misunderstandings. Ecclesiastics were frequently found on the side of the privileged classes. Terence V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, had more than one unhappy encounter with priests and bishops and—rightly or wrongly—he alleged these experiences as the cause of his defection from the Church of his childhood. After the Canadian hierarchy had condemned the Knights of Labor (because of the secrecy imposed upon members of the society as a necessary protection against espionage), the Holy See was urged to extend this condemnation to the United States. Had it not been for the intervention of Cardinal Gibbons, that step might have been taken.¹⁷⁵

Immigration: Catholic German stock gained steadily on the Irish; the Germans, only 20 per cent as numerous as the Irish in 1850, were 40 per cent in 1890. The Germans were preserving their traditional customs and faith so successfully in the rural areas where they had settled that their leaders advocated an increase in the number of German-speaking parishes and wider use of the German language in Catholic schools; they also com-

¹⁷⁴ After the Civil War Protestant churches of the North established missionary centers in the South, and colored preachers of various sects carried on a vigorous propaganda. Schools for Negroes were generously subsidized by northern philanthropists and at the end of the century the percentage of Negroes who could read and write had increased from five to more than fifty.

¹⁷⁵ Gibbons, always friendly to labor, invited Powderly in 1886 to explain the character of his organization to a number of priests, bishops, and archbishops. With the endorsement of ten other members of the American hierarchy, Gibbons then brought the matter to the attention of the Holy See with the result that the ban on the Knights of Labor in Canada was lifted. See Powderly's autobiography, *The Path I Trod*, chap. XXVII, New York: Columbia University Press 1940.

plained that appointments to the episcopate were not fairly distributed. In 1891 a prominent German layman, Peter Cahensly, stirred up much bitter feeling by alleging that some ten million Catholic immigrants and their descendants, chiefly of Irish stock, had lapsed from the faith.

During the last twenty years of the century, Italian immigrants were above twelve times as numerous as during the preceding hundred years; and Slavic immigrants about fourteen times as numerous. This change in the racial composition of the population involved a corresponding rise of the Catholic percentage and also occasioned the proposal that Congress should place restrictions on immigration.

Americanism: A controversy which attracted world-wide attention near the close of the century centered about the missionary methods of Father Hecker, convert to the Church and ardent supporter of American institutions, who devoted his life to the conversion of American non-Catholics. When preaching to his fellow-countrymen, he laid great emphasis on the point that the Catholic Church is not a European institution, but the Church of the whole world, and that it is therefore divinely adapted to the religious needs of the American people.¹⁷⁶ In 1898 Abbé Klein's Preface to the French translation of the *Life of Father Hecker* praised the methods of the American missionary as worthy of imitation by the French clergy. Critics of Klein protested that the methods used in America were not only novel but heterodox, and that American missionaries were minimizing the faith, distorting Catholic doctrine, ignoring ecclesiastical authority, depreciating the virtues of humility and obedience, belittling religious vows. Erroneous practices alleged to be current in America and grouped under the name "Americanism" were condemned in 1899 by Pope Leo in a letter, *Testem benevolentiae*, addressed to Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. The papal letter drew a clear distinction between what is lawful and what is not lawful in the matters under discussion.

¹⁷⁶ Father Hecker died in 1888, after having founded the Paulist Community. His biography was written by Father Walter Elliott; Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul contributed a preface to the volume.

Cardinal Gibbons, in his reply, assured the Holy Father that "the false conceptions of Americanism emanating from Europe" had no existence among the prelates, priests, or Catholic laity of America. Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco (in an address at the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris) declared that the heresy known as Americanism existed only "in the imagination of three or four Frenchmen." Numerous members of the American hierarchy testified that Father Hecker had never countenanced any deviation from orthodoxy. The excitement caused by discussions over Americanism continued for several years; it subsided when the greater issue of Modernism came to compel the attention of the whole Catholic world.

SUMMARY

The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire came as a climax of the preceding era and should have served as an omen of the future; but the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna—not yet aware that the monarchical tradition was too feeble to withstand the impact of the new impulse toward popular freedom—set about the rebuilding of institutions soon to be swept away. Revolution was on the march all over Europe—in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Hungary, Poland, Ireland. France shifted to and fro between dynastic and republican forms; English legislation reflected the growing power of the middle class.

Despite pressure from the great powers, the papacy held out against the more radical of the proposed changes in the Papal States until revolutionists, led by Piedmont and aided by France, achieved the political unification of Italy. Pius IX's publication of the *Syllabus errorum*, and the Vatican Council's definition of papal infallibility provoked a widespread antipapal reaction. The new kingdom of Italy seized Rome as its capital; the German empire announced the *Kulturkampf*; France entered upon a violent anticlerical campaign; Freemasonry's increasing hostil-

ity to the Catholic Church evoked repeated papal condemnations. In mid-century there appeared the Communist Manifesto.

In the latter half of the century European influence began to dominate vast areas in other continents: Great Britain took over the administration of India; Japan and China were opened to foreigners; the Berlin Conference initiated the partition of Africa. This expansion helped to spread the Christian faith; but it also intensified trade rivalry and danger of war. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy were opposed by Russia and France. Yet in the last year of the century, still hoping to substitute diplomacy for force, all the above-named powers, together with other states, organized the first Peace Conference at the Hague.

Meanwhile Catholics had been freed from the burden of the English penal laws; the Oxford Movement had brought Newman, Manning, and other distinguished converts into the fold; Leo XIII, recognized as one of the leading statesmen of the world, had opened the Vatican archives, published his celebrated encyclical on the rights of labor, and rallied Catholics to the support of the French Republic. In America, where the United States had developed into a first-class power, the growth of the Church—from 50,000 to 12,000,000—brought prestige to Catholicism and encouragement to the Holy See.



URSULINE CONVENT, CHARLESTOWN, MASS. (1834)

After its destruction by anti-Catholic rioters

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

-
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1801 Concordat with France | 1804 France an empire |
| | 1805 Freemasons control Spain |
| | 1806 Holy Roman Empire ends |
| 1809 <i>Pius VII</i> seized by Napoleon | 1812 New Spanish Constitution |
| 1815 Papal States restored | 1815 France a kingdom |
| 1821 Pope condemns Carbonari | |
| 1822 Portugal takes Church property | 1824 Spain loses South America |
| 1825 Russia persecutes Catholics | |
| 1829 England emancipates Catholics | 1830 "July Revolution" in France |
| 1831 <i>Gregory XVI</i> faces revolt | 1831 Independence of Belgium |
| 1832 Freemasonry condemned | 1834 Portugal expels Jesuits |
| | 1837 Spain expels Jesuits |
| 1845 Conversion of Newman | 1845 Norway tolerates Catholics |
| 1848 <i>Pius IX</i> driven from Rome | 1848 The Communist Manifesto |
| | 1849 Religious toleration in Denmark |
| | 1850 Catholic political parties in
France, Prussia, Austria, Spain,
England, Holland |
| 1853 Hierarchy in Holland | 1853 Opening of Japan |
| 1854 Immaculate Conception defined | 1855 Opening of China |
| | 1859 Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> |
| 1861 Nagasaki Catholics | 1861 United Italy |
| 1864 <i>Syllabus errorum</i> of <i>Pius IX</i> | 1863 Revolt in Poland |
| 1865 Manning Archbp. of Westminster | 1866 Fenian revolt in Ireland |
| | 1867 Austria-Hungary |
| 1869-70 Vatican Council (Ecum. XX)
on papal infallibility | 1869 The Suez Canal |
| 1870 Italians seize Rome | 1870 The Third French Republic |
| | 1871 The German Empire |
| 1879 <i>Leo XIII</i> revives Thomism | 1873 German Kulturkampf |
| | Sweden tolerates Catholics |
| 1883 Vatican archives opened | Spain a republic |
| 1884 <i>Leo</i> condemns Freemasonry | 1875 Spain a monarchy |
| | 1877 Victoria, Empress of India |
| 1891 Encyclical <i>Rerum novarum</i> | 1882 Triple Alliance |
| 1892 Pope supports French Republic | 1884 Catholic party in Belgium |
| | 1884-98 Partition of Africa |
| 1899 Latin American Council | 1886 First Home Rule Bill |
| | 1887 Bismarck "at Canossa" |
| | 1894 Dual Alliance |
| | The Dreyfus case |
| | 1899 Hague Peace Conference |

CHAPTER XX

(The Nineteen Hundreds)

Transition

PREVIEW

TWO features stand out in the early history of the twentieth century: first, the population of Europe, which had more than doubled in little over a hundred years, was approaching the half billion mark; secondly, in a movement which Rathenau named "the vertical invasion of the barbarians," vast masses of people kept assailing the cultural traditions of Christendom. This assault came largely as a result of the non-Christian education diffused so widely in the preceding generations. Never before had so many men been trained to doubt or disbelieve; never before did such opportunities of honor and wealth and comfort lie within the grasp of the materialist.

At the beginning of the century the peace movement had reached a point where world federation and the ending of all war seemed reasonable possibilities. Yet by 1918 a four-year conflict of global proportions had brought upon humanity almost immeasurable disasters. The Peace Conference which met in 1919 should have perceived the fairly obvious truths that primary requisites for the establishing of general peace are: a recognition of supernatural law, a sense of unity transcending national boundaries, an ineradicable respect for human freedom. It should have proceeded on the assumption that the best way to forestall future disaster would be to restore those elements of an integrated civilization which Europe once possessed (but misused) centuries ago; it should have set up a sort of streamlined medievalism adjusted to the lessons learned from history, and to the double prin-

ciple of God's sovereignty and man's inalienable rights. It did none of these things.

Soon after the conference closed, two ideologies came forward to challenge the order it had established: totalitarian Communism tried to found a universal proletarian dictatorship; totalitarian Nationalism sought to substitute racial (or party) despotism for parliamentary forms. For a while it seemed as if the free peoples of the world would be asked to choose between these two vicious systems; and the war which broke out in 1939 appeared in its first phase to be a struggle of democracy against all forms of totalitarianism. The issue grew confused, however, when France was made to coöperate with the Axis, and Russia became an ally of the democracies; for no people are more democratic than the French and no modern government has been more oppressive of freedom and religion than the Soviet. What effect on world order may come as a result of World War II, therefore, no man may confidently say. So far as human suffering is concerned, however, many prudent men believe that the twentieth century will unquestionably prove to be the bloodiest and most belligerent of all the twenty-five centuries known to history.

As for the Church, domestic peace was disturbed in the early years of the century by bitter controversies which ended with the condemnation of Modernism, a heresy that belittled, and even tended to eliminate, the supernatural element of Christianity. About the same time a series of disputes between the French government and the Holy See led to the rupture of the concordat. The American Church continued its unprecedented growth until immigration was restricted by new laws.

The Church has had grave problems to face—often because she was misrepresented as friendly to fascism and hostile to democracy. In some countries difficulties have been settled by negotiation, but in Russia, Mexico, Germany, Catholics were cruelly persecuted; Communists killed many hundreds of priests and religious during the Spanish Civil War. Yet on the whole the Church has gained influence in the present century by reason of her stability amid general confusion. Many thoughtful men have come to recognize Catholicism as the one acceptable ideal of inter-

nationalism; and an impressive number of distinguished Protestants have embraced the Catholic faith, particularly in England. Yet a great multitude still cherishes the impression that Protestant culture is far superior to Catholic; and many historical textbooks still repeat discredited calumnies—although the general advance of scholarship and the recent increase of Catholic apologetic literature help to spread more accurate notions.¹

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Europe had been free from general conflict for almost a hundred years, when the First International Peace Conference took place at The Hague in 1899. A Second Conference was held in 1907; a Third was planned for 1915. Hope of lasting peace was heightened by universal fear of the catastrophic consequences of war and by the general enthusiasm for world congresses which discussed matters of common international interest. On the other hand, the agitation of racial minorities was becoming more widespread and aggressive; and the great powers were seeking to control a larger share of world markets, to isolate rival and hostile states, to expand colonial possessions—meanwhile purchasing ominous quantities of all the modern machinery of war. In 1914 with the projected Third Peace Conference only a year away, a colossal disaster was precipitated by Franco-German rivalry, Pan-Slavism, the centrifugal forces bottled up in the Austro-Hungarian empire, and irrepressible general distrust. The First World War lasted four years, involved thirty nations, called fifty million men to arms, sent twelve million to death, and, directly or indi-

¹ In 1921 the Westminster Catholic Federation drew the attention of the authorities to historical inaccuracies, misrepresentations of Catholic teaching and offensive anti-Catholic bias in the historical textbooks and readers approved for use in the schools of the London County Council—numbering in all 153 volumes. The Federation submitted objectionable passages to non-Catholic teachers on the historical faculties of six universities. Some of the publishers corrected the passages in question; others refused. The objectionable passages, the proposed corrections and the relative correspondence between the Federation and the publishers may be found in *Historical Text Books and Readers*, The Westminster Catholic Federation, 1927.

rectly, cost more than three hundred billion dollars. It ended with the defeat of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria by an alliance which included Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Russia (for a time),² and eighteen lesser powers.

The Peace Conference of Versailles was controlled at first by a council composed of the premiers and foreign ministers of France, England, Italy, Japan, and the president and secretary of state of the United States. Within a few months Japan dropped out because of her lack of direct interest in European issues: and Italy withdrew because of President Wilson's opposition to her plan of annexing Fiume. Pope Benedict urged upon the Allies the importance of laying aside old enmities and providing for a lasting peace; but, excited by victory and under the delusion of being able to cripple their enemies permanently, the conquerors exacted terms which made future disturbance inevitable.³ Exorbitant payments were demanded by way of indemnity; and a new system of national boundaries was set up with too little consideration for racial minorities and with reckless disregard of the dangerous tensions created.

To safeguard future security the Versailles Conference established a League of Nations;⁴ but the constitution of the League—although based on certain sound principles and dedicated to the improvement of international relationships—ignored two vital truths: that European unity has been historically associated

² In March 1918 the Bolshevik government which had replaced the Czar arranged an armistice with Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

³ Religious prejudice too, played a part in the decisions made at Versailles. The peace treaties created several new, dominantly Catholic states—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania; but on the other hand, Catholic Austria, deliberately crippled, was prevented from establishing a strong Danubian peace bloc. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, quoted President Wilson as saying: Theoretically, "German-Austria should go to Germany, as all were of one language and one race, but this would mean the establishment of a great central Roman-Catholic nation, which would be under the control of the Papacy and would be particularly objectionable to Italy." *Letters . . . Personal and Political*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 279.

⁴ The League of Nations was composed of an Assembly of delegates from all member states, a Council of delegates from fifteen member states, and a permanent secretariat with a head appointed by the Council and endorsed by the Assembly. The League adjusted more than thirty political disputes, promoted intellectual coöperation between nations, restricted the sale of opium, and suppressed international traffic in women; but it accomplished relatively little in the matter of holding nations to their agreements and in securing general reduction of armaments.

with the Christian tradition, and that international agreements must be adjusted to divine law. By 1933 the League was feeble; in 1941 it was barely alive; and meanwhile the whole world had been shaken by a series of political and economic convulsions. New alliances and pacts were formed by groups of nations favoring or opposing revision of the treaties; revolutions occurred among Slavs, Germans, Latins, Magyars, Turks; in state after state kings were dethroned, republics were established, dictators seized control. A Communist despotism, set up in Russia, was followed by the founding of Fascist and National-Socialist despotisms in Italy, Germany, and elsewhere.

Dissatisfied with their share of the earth, three states—later known as the Axis Powers—undertook an aggressive policy of expansion: Japan invaded China, set up the puppet state of Manchukuo in Manchuria (1931), demanded recognition of Japanese predominance in the Far East, and on December 7, 1941, suddenly attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor. Hitler gained power in 1933, unified Germany, seized Austria and Czechoslovakia, invaded Poland, and precipitated the Second World War in 1939. Italy annexed Ethiopia (1936) and Albania (1939), and entered the war as an ally of Germany in 1940. Russia, having been invaded, declared war on Germany in 1941; and later in that year the United States exchanged declarations of war with the three Axis powers. World War II called eighty-five million men to arms, took tens of millions of lives, involved a total cost of possibly a trillion dollars. After the unconditional surrender of Italy in 1944, and of Germany and Japan in 1945, the Allies occupied these countries (and other invaded and devastated areas), to re-establish civil order, aid the impoverished populations, and supervise the formation of "acceptable" governments.

1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

a. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Czechoslovakia

The Peace Conference of Versailles, in addition to dividing up the territories of the former German empire and of Austria-Hungary, forced the Central Powers to assume an enormous debt



by way of reparation.⁵ In 1932 the first World Disarmament Conference assembled; and Germany disarmed. But in 1933, on the ground that the other governments had violated their agreements, Germany withdrew from the Disarmament Conference

⁵ The original indemnity was placed at \$32,000,000,000, exclusive of the Belgian war costs; and when Germany defaulted in payment the Allies invaded the Ruhr. With Germany and Austria on the brink of collapse, the Allies made several attempts to discover a satisfactory solution for the reparations problem—the Dawes Plan (1924–1929), the Young Plan (1929–1931), the Hoover Moratorium (1931–1932), the Lausanne Conference (1932). None of them worked

and from the League of Nations.⁶ Soviet Russia, admitted to membership in the League in 1934, used the opportunity to spread her political ideas and to stir up revolution.

Having taken advantage of disturbances that engaged the Allies in other parts of the world to develop a powerful fighting force, Germany, in 1938, annexed Austria and partitioned Czechoslovakia.⁷ In May 1939, Germany and Italy signed a ten-year military pact—to reinforce the alliance known as “The Axis”—and set out to establish a “new world order.” On September 1 the German army invaded Poland. Two days later Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. In quick succession Germany secured control of Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece. In 1941 Germany invaded Russia and—supporting Japan—declared war upon the United States; but she was forced to surrender unconditionally to the Allies in 1945.⁸

TABLE III *

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>
Germany	67,000,000	21,000,000	24,000	24	.....
Austria	7,000,000	6,000,000	7,000	8	.....
Hungary	9,000,000	7,000,000	4,000	17	250,000
Czechoslovakia	15,000,000	11,000,000	9,000	15	1,000,000
TOTAL	98,000,000	45,000,000	44,000	64	1,250,000

* The names of countries and the figures in the statistical tables of this chapter take no account of changes occasioned by the Second World War. The figures, moreover, represent only approximations.

Germany: At the beginning of the century the country was enjoying the prosperity inaugurated by Bismarck; and the progressive parties showed more interest in social reform than in a revolutionary program. Government was controlled by a coalition in which the Catholic Center held the balance of power; but gradually the Social Democrats increased their

⁶ Germany affirmed, “The German government and the German nation . . . reject force as an unsuitable means of removing existing differences with the European community of states. They renew their declaration that they will gladly agree to any actual disarmament of the world, and are ready to destroy the last German machine gun and to discharge the last man from the army, if other nations decide to do the same.”

⁷ In this partition Bohemia and Moravia were appropriated by Germany, Slovakia became a German protectorate, Ruthenia was assigned to Hungary.

⁸ The United States, Britain, Russia and France occupied Germany and then began the work of reconstruction and the trial of the “war criminals” charged with responsibility for frightful, countless atrocities. Only 5 countries had remained neutral until the end: Ireland (Eire), Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.

strength and in 1912 they polled more than twice as many votes as the Center Party. Germany's building of a powerful navy was followed by the declaration of a bold imperialistic policy which alarmed other states; and the great powers divided into two groups profoundly suspicious of each other, with Germany, Austria, and Italy opposing Britain, France, and Russia. After disaster had been narrowly avoided on several occasions, the First World War broke out in 1914. All political parties in Germany—Conservatives, Liberals, Social Democrats, and Centrists—rallied to the support of the government. Having lost the war, Germany was deprived by treaty of more than one-tenth of her area and all her colonies; **Emperor William II** abdicated; a republican constitution was adopted at Weimar in July 1919.

The burdens imposed upon Germany at the Treaty of Versailles aroused widespread discontent and smoothed the way of political agitators. **Erzberger**, a Catholic Centrist, was assassinated in 1920; **Rathenau**, a Jewish Democratic leader, suffered the same fate in the following year. The Communist Party polled six hundred thousand votes in 1920, the year of its formal re-entry into political life, and six million votes twelve years later; and it joined with the National Socialists in a nearly successful attack on the policy of the Catholic chancellor, **Bruening**, in 1931. The National Socialist Party, advocating Pan Germanism and exploiting the government's inability to balance the budget or to control reactionary movements, made amazingly rapid progress. In 1930—voting with the Communists—the Nazis controlled almost one-third of the Reichstag; in the presidential election of 1932, they kept **Hindenburg** from securing more than a plurality; in the following year, they polled more than seventeen million votes and gained two hundred thirty-eight seats—enough with the help of the Nationalists to dominate the Reichstag. After a period of futile resistance, President **Hindenburg** called the Nazi leader, **Hitler**, to the chancellorship; and **Hitler** proceeded to centralize the government, to outlaw all opposition parties and newspapers, to take over all labor and youth organizations and to inaugurate a reign of terror, banishing the Communists, and denouncing the Jews as "the embodiment of Communism, profiteerism, and anti-Nationalism."⁹ **Pius XI** was persuaded to sign a concordat, and to consent to the dissolution of the Catholic Center Party on condition that the government would respect Catholic religious rights; **Hitler** then quashed all political parties except the National Socialists.¹⁰ In 1935 the government disclosed its twofold aim: to eliminate

⁹ The events which preceded **Hitler's** rise to power are briefly described in the notes attached to the Reynal & Hitchcock edition of *Mein Kampf* by a group which includes **John Chamberlain**, **Carlton J. H. Hayes**, **William L. Langer**, **George N. Shuster**.

¹⁰ The new concordat did not replace the three earlier concordats—made with **Bavaria**, **Prussia**, and **Baden** in 1924, 1929, and 1932—but supplemented them. See **Philip Hughes**, *Pope Pius the Eleventh*, New York: Sheed & Ward, 1937, pp. 297-304.

the Jews entirely and to unite all Christian denominations in one national Church. In 1937 the quarrel with the Catholic Church became more acute. Catholic priests were punished for giving the people instructions contrary to the Nazi policy on eugenics, particularly on sterilization. Printing-presses were seized for having printed a letter of the pope reflecting on the Nazi administration. According to a writer in the *Osservatore Romano* (July 15, 1935), the Minister of the Interior affirmed: "We do not want a Catholic or a Protestant, but only a German daily press." Hundreds of Catholic religious, charged with grave offenses against morality, were punished without having had a fair trial. A good many priests fell in line with the administration and a considerable number of people ceased to practice the Catholic religion. The Nazi government suppressed about 20,000 Catholic schools containing more than 3,000,000 pupils, and adopted the policy of eliminating religious instruction from public education. In August 1938, the Catholic bishops assembled at Fulda published a joint pastoral letter complaining that loyal Catholic citizens of Germany were deprived of the rights enjoyed by their fellow-countrymen. Their protests were ineffective; and the government intensified its policy of repression against Catholics, Protestants, and most of all, Jews. In 1940 the government abandoned the pretense of merely punishing illegal acts and openly persecuted the Church; Cardinal Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, in 1942 reported to the Vatican that the Nazis were seeking to undermine Catholicism in Germany; the rumor spread that some 10,000,000 Catholics had already ceased to practice their religion; and on Passion Sunday, 1942, the Catholic bishops of Germany, under the leadership of Cardinal Faulhaber, Bishop von Galen of Münster, and Bishop Ehrenfried of Wuerzburg, addressed to the Nazi government a letter of protest phrased in language so bold that it aroused the attention of the world.¹¹

Austria-Hungary: The Balkan policy of Austria was the immediate occasion of the First World War. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 had caused deep resentment in Serbia which regarded these territories as properly her own; and in June 1914 a Bosnian nationalist assassinated the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Austrian throne. Austria insisted on her right to intervene in Serbia for the purpose of suppressing the anti-Austrian organizations there; and when

¹¹ Not only Catholics but Protestants also were persecuted; and the Lutheran, Pastor Niemoeller, gave the world a heroic example of religious constancy and was sent to prison in consequence. A thoroughly documented account of the religious devastation effected by the Nazi regime may be found in *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich*. It presents in detail the Nazi method of excluding the Church from the work of education; and it has an enlightening chapter on the injustice of the "immorality" trials. See John J. Wright, *National Patriotism in Papal Teaching*, and Irene Marinoff, *The Heresy of National Socialism*.

this demand was refused, Austria declared war on Serbia. Within three months six of the leading powers were drawn into the conflict.



The war brought immeasurable disaster to the Dual Monarchy. The Emperor Charles I abdicated in 1918; and, by the treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, almost three-quarters of the population of fifty million was handed over to Rumania, Poland, Italy, and to the new states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. As a result of this redistribution, four separate states shared the control of that long stretch of the Danube Valley which was formerly the exclusive possession of the Dual Monarchy. Austria and Hungary sought a revision of the treaties; but revision was opposed by the newly created, or newly enlarged, states of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania—the "Little Entente."

Austria: The new Austria comprised the city of Vienna, with a population of two million, and a small surrounding area containing about five million people, nearly all of German stock. Vienna, an industrial center, had a large number of Socialists; but outside the city the Austrians—for the most part agricultural and Catholic—stood on the middle ground between two extreme parties, the Marxists and the German Nazis.¹²

¹² Ignaz Seipel, a priest, was made chancellor in 1922 by a coalition of dominantly agrarian Christian Socialists and dominantly industrial Marxian Social Democrats. Extremists in both parties prevented the execution of any satisfactory political program; and the internal difficulties, complicated by the intervention of German Nazis,

Harassed by Communists on the one hand and National Socialists on the other, the government of Austria was a symbol of nations unwilling to submit to either of these two forms of tyranny. Unfortunately for the world, however, the powerful democracies kept aloof; and the little state, crippled at Versailles, unsupported by France or Britain, could do no more than to upset the Nazi time-table of conquest. This it did, occasioning a long delay and enabling the democracies to prepare themselves—however imperfectly—for the Second World War. The inevitably unsuccessful struggle of the three chancellors, Seipel, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, ended in 1938, when Austria was forcibly incorporated in the German Reich.

Hungary: Early in the century the Magyarizing program of the government seemed to be a possible foundation for ultimate national unity; and industrial development reached a point where Hungary envisaged future economic independence. Then came the World War and dismemberment. Of the territory taken away, about one-half was given to Rumania and the rest was divided among Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and other countries. Three-fifths of the twenty million people of pre-war Hungary thus became racial minorities under the jurisdiction of other states; and these minorities caused constant political disturbances, complicated by linguistic quarrels, by the competitive propaganda of Communists and Fascists, and by the religious antagonisms of Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Orthodox, and Mohammedan groups. Almost immediately after the conversion of Hungary into a republic in 1918 a group led by the Jewish Communist, Bela Kun, formed a Soviet government, put many priests and bishops to death, and appropriated some eighty million dollars of ecclesiastical property—churches, convents, hospitals, orphanages, and asylums. The Catholics and Protestants, by uniting their forces, overthrew the Communists and then—despite the protests of the Catholic bishops—retaliated

alienated France and England and weakened his political position; and although he effected great economic improvement, he had difficulty in repressing a Communist outbreak. He died in 1932.

Dollfuss, a Catholic, the next chancellor, was opposed both by the Communists and by the Nazis; but, with the aid of the Catholic bishops and of the governments of Italy and Hungary, he kept control and in 1934 adopted a new constitution. A concordat with the Holy See guaranteed freedom of worship to Catholics, providing, however, that in the naming of bishops the government should be consulted with regard to possible political difficulties. In July of the same year Dollfuss was assassinated.

Kurt von Schuschnigg, Austria's last chancellor, attempted to make himself independent of Italy and to effect a rapprochement with Germany, without however, endorsing Hitler; but warring elements, clerical, communist, Nazi, Semitic and anti-Semitic, kept Austria disunited; the Treaty of Friendship with Germany, signed in 1936, opened the way for German infiltrations; two years later a bloodless invasion ended Austria's independent existence; and the German policy of oppressing both Christians and Jews was extended into the newly acquired territory.

with a savage anti-Semitic persecution.¹³ In 1920 Hungary became a monarchy again, but debarred the Hapsburgs from the throne and postponed the election of a king until a later date. Admiral Horthy, a Calvinist, was chosen regent. In 1938, after Czechoslovakia's cession of the Sudeten area to Germany, Hungary demanded and obtained the restoration of certain territories in the southern part of Czechoslovakia where the majority of the inhabitants were Hungarians. In the Second World War Hungary assisted Germany, and was overrun by Russia.

The government signed a concordat with the Holy See (1928), and has maintained a representative at the Vatican. There is a fourfold religious distribution; nearly seven million Catholics (Latin and Greek), two hundred fifty thousand Orthodox, and one and a half million Protestants.

Czechoslovakia: In 1918 Czechoslovakia became an independent republic with its capital at Prague. It was composed of three former Austrian provinces, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, together with the former Hungarian provinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia.¹⁴

Both Czechs and Slovaks are Catholic for the most part; but the Czechs, twice as numerous as the Slovaks, adopted a policy of racial discrimination; and the powerful Slovak party—led by Father Hlinka until his death in 1938—advocated the division of the country into two autonomous states. The government pursued an unfriendly course towards the Catholics of Ruthenia for many years, and even handed over a number of Catholic

¹³ New laws prohibited Jews from leasing landed property, from owning more than one house, and from holding a position in any school, theatre, or editorial office, or in the army or the government. The enrollment of Jewish students in each school was limited to 5 per cent; Jewish professors were excluded from the colleges; and foreign Jews were barred from entering the country.

The Jews, who numbered about three quarters of a million, were an important factor in the industrial and commercial recovery of Hungary; but they were disliked by the three million landless Hungarian peasants. A vigorous Nazi propaganda was carried on by several groups, disagreeing among themselves about nearly everything except their pro-German, anti-Semitic, and anticapitalistic program. In May 1939, Hungary enacted anti-Semitic laws, further restricting the professional and commercial activity of the Jewish population.

¹⁴ The new republic was industrially the best developed of the Little Entente states. The large land holdings of former times had been broken up into small farms. Education, free and compulsory, reduced the rate of illiteracy to 7 per cent. Czechs and Slovaks formed nearly 70 per cent of the total population of fifteen million, Germans, over 20 per cent; Magyars and Ruthenians, nearly 10 per cent; Jews, less than 2 per cent. Most of the Magyars were in the south, separated from Hungary by the Danube River.

The population was three-quarters Catholic; but the first elections, conducted on a system of proportional representation, gave more than half the seats in Parliament to Socialists and less than 20 per cent to members of the Catholic parties. President Masaryk, ex-Catholic and agnostic, did not appoint a single Catholic to his first cabinet, which was under Jewish control. Bills were introduced to confiscate Church property and to make civil marriage compulsory; and only the opposition of well-organized Catholic parties deterred the government from pursuing its hostile policy further.

churches to the Orthodox: but this policy was later abandoned (partly for the sake of mollifying Poland) and in 1928 the government and the Vatican arranged a *modus vivendi*.¹⁵

The country was disturbed by racial, religious, political divisions.¹⁶ In 1938, with the consent of Britain and France, Hitler annexed the German-inhabited Sudeten area and then set up the "Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia" (which crippled Catholic schools by withdrawing financial support). President Beneš fled abroad, set up a government-in-exile, and came back to power in 1945. Meanwhile Slovakia, encouraged by Germany, became an independent republic, with Monsignor Tiso as president, and established diplomatic relationship with the Holy See; but it emerged from World War II, crushed and dismembered, and the Ruthenians in the eastern area were taken over by Russia.

b. Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland

The population of the old Russian empire (an area of nearly nine million square miles) was divided roughly into Great Russians, of the central and northeastern area; White Russians, a comparatively small group in the west near Poland; and Little Russians of the Ukraine.¹⁷ The vast majority belonged to the state Orthodox Church. The overthrow of the Czarist govern-

¹⁵ In 1920 the archbishop of Olmütz in Moravia was elected to the national senate; the following year a papal monsignor was admitted to the cabinet; the government exchanged diplomatic representation with the Holy See; a compromise was reached with regard to certain educational disputes; a large area of confiscated land was restored to the Church; diocesan jurisdictions were altered so as to conform to political boundaries; the teaching of religion was included in the curriculum of the schools; the government received a voice in the naming of bishops and agreed to pay the salary of the clergy provided that they should be citizens and should take an oath of allegiance to the state. It was stipulated that the non-Latin part of Church services should always be in the native tongue.

¹⁶ The strong influence of the Masonic Grand Orient and of Soviet Russia in Czechoslovakia provoked resentment in Rumania and Yugoslavia. A diplomatic break with Portugal occurred in August 1937, because Czechoslovakia was shipping arms to the Madrid government while refusing to allow similar shipments to Portugal, a country openly sympathetic to the Spanish Nationalists. The Germans of the Sudetan area protested against the anti-German policy of the government and against the official opposition to the German language. Complaints of unfair discrimination were made by the Polish and the Magyar minorities. The government was accused also of discrimination in favor of Jews and against Catholics. A schismatical Czech church, with a married clergy and a vernacular liturgy, was organized in 1920; but the schism never became popular and at its height did not include more than a million members. The Communists polled more votes than any other single party in the elections of 1935.

¹⁷ The Ukrainians, or Little Russians, regard themselves as a separate people and claim political descent from the old state of Kiev. They number in all some 45,000,000, spread over a vast area from the Vistula to the Carpathians and from the Black Sea to the Don—a territory which included both the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and also a part of Poland. Ukrainian nationalism has been sternly repressed in the Soviet jurisdiction; but within the Polish borders it was active until the invasion of 1939.

ment in 1917 was followed by the division of the empire into six political entities—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,¹⁸ and five new independent states, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. All five except Finland, made concordats with the Holy See and all sent representatives to the Vatican. The distrust they felt for Russia was soon justified. In 1939 Russia, in cooperation with Germany, seized Poland and, soon afterwards, attacked Finland. In 1940 Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia were first invaded and then incorporated in the U.S.S.R. These political changes involved serious religious consequences.

TABLE IV

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>
Russia	192,000,000	3,000,000 ¹⁹	15	5	94,000,000
Poland	35,000,000	25,000,000	11,000	24	4,000,000
Lithuania	2,500,000	2,000,000	1,000	5	50,000
Latvia	2,000,000	500,000	150	2	280,000
Estonia	1,000,000	4,000	....	..	50,000
Finland	3,800,000	2,000	9	V.A.*	70,000
TOTAL	236,300,000	30,506,000	12,174	36	98,450,000

* Vicariate Apostolic.

Russia: At first Czar Nicholas II (1894–1917) continued the anti-Catholic policy of his predecessors; but after the disaster of the Russo-Japanese War and a series of political disturbances, he issued an Edict of Toleration in 1905. Within two years five hundred thousand converts embraced Catholicism, including three hundred thousand Uniats who had been previously compelled to profess the Orthodox religion. The vigor of the Catholic revival caused the government to renew its persecution of the Church in

¹⁸ In 1939 the U.S.S.R. was a union of 11 republics, with a capital at Moscow (under a new constitution, adopted in 1936, replacing that of 1924). The government is a dictatorship controlled by the general secretary of the Communist Party which according to Stalin numbered 1,600,000 in March 1939. Peasants have practically no political power and their votes rate as equal to one-fifth of the same number of urban votes. Most important of the federated states are these three: (1) The Russian Social Federated Soviet Republic, with capital at Moscow (Soviet Russia proper), which comprises more than nine-tenths of the whole territory of the Soviet Union and 170,000,000 people. (2) The White Russian Soviet Social Republic, with capital at Minsk and a population of more than 5,000,000. (3) The Ukrainian Soviet Social Republic, with capital at Kiev and a population of more than 30,000,000.

¹⁹ Exclusive of those living in Russian Poland. These are 1914 statistics; no later figures are available. There are probably few living Russian Catholics of the Byzantine rite. See N. S. Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia*. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1942.

1911. Laws were enacted against Catholic schools; and the liberty of the clergy was curtailed.

The Bolshevik Revolutionists in 1917 dethroned the Czar, denounced the Orthodox Church, made a separate peace with Germany and conceded the independence of the five Baltic states (at Brest-Litovsk in 1918). The later communistic dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky "liquidated" the clergy and introduced an official propaganda of atheism.²⁰ After Lenin's death in 1924 Joseph Stalin expelled his former associate, Trotsky, and introduced the First Five Year Plan (1928-1933)—which resulted in frightful famines especially in the Ukraine—and the Second Five Year Plan (1933-1938), which effected substantial economic improvement and international security. In 1933 the United States recognized the *de jure* existence of Soviet Russia; in 1934 Russia was admitted to the League of Nations.

The new Soviet constitution of 1936 made some concessions to private religious worship, but still forbade religious "propaganda" and the religious instruction of persons under 18 years of age. In World War II, Russia made a pact with Hitler, occupied Eastern Poland, and killed many priests there, including the Archbishop of Lemberg (Lwow). When Germany invaded Russia in 1941, the bad record of the Soviet elicited vigorous protests in England, America and elsewhere, against any alliance with Russia. Thereafter Russia lessened her anti-religious activity.

Before the First World War most of the three million Roman Catholics in Russia (excluding Russian Poland) were Latins of foreign stock inhabiting the southern and western regions and distributed in one archdiocese

²⁰ In 1920 the Catholic Bishop de Ropp of Vilna, who had been expelled by the Czar in 1907, returned and organized a movement for reuniting the Russians with the Catholic Church. The Soviet government at first encouraged this project, looking on it perhaps as an aid to the complete destruction of the old Orthodox Church. During this period of friendly intercourse, a papal relief mission saved at least one hundred fifty thousand Russian children from death by famine; but disputes and misunderstandings soon arose. The Soviet government sentenced a number of Catholic priests to death on charges of treason and undertook to destroy religion. Church property was confiscated; ministers of religion were deprived of citizenship; bishops and priests were killed, imprisoned, or banished; and under the atheistic system of education, the elimination of illiteracy and the destruction of Christianity went hand in hand.

In 1922 the Holy See tried in vain to influence the European powers to refuse recognition of the Soviet government, unless it established religious freedom. In 1930 Pope Pius XI published a protest against official sacrilegious outrages. Similar protests were made by the French Protestant Federation, the Grand Rabbi of France, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the National Council of Free Churches of England, and a number of non-Catholic churches in America. These protests were ineffective.

Meanwhile, the Soviet government had been flooding the world with glowing descriptions of its devotion to democracy and culture. Witness to the contrary was provided by a number of keen sighted observers who presented convincing evidence that liberty had been suppressed and illiteracy had increased in Russia. See André Gide's two volumes, *Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* and *Retouches à mon Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* (cited in *Thought*, XV, 441 and 443). See also William H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*. Boston: Little Brown & Co. 1934.

and six dioceses.²¹ The number of Catholics now in Russia cannot be fixed with any certainty, as religious statistics of whatever kind are difficult to obtain; but the Russian sees were still without bishops in 1942, and it was said that the five hundred priests of the archdiocese of Mohilev had dwindled to sixteen, in addition to perhaps seventy who were prisoners.

Poland: Russia's defeat by Japan in 1905 suggested revolt; but, in view of the recent Russo-German break, Poland could not attack either one of her oppressors without aiding the other. In World War I some Poles fought with Pilsudski against Russia, others fought with Paderewski against Germany. The Bolshevik revolution introduced complications into the question of the Russo-Polish boundary; and the issue was not settled until March 1921, when the Treaty of Riga established a boundary line, acceptable to both parties, which remained undisturbed until 1939.²²

Freed from foreign control by the decisions reached at Versailles, Poland—although more than two million Poles still lived outside her borders—made swift economic, social, intellectual progress. Polish youth revived the ancient Catholic tradition. The Universities of Cracow, Lwow, Warsaw, and Vilna became important again; a Catholic university was founded at Lublin, another at Posen.

Yet many problems remained unsolved. Political parties kept quarrelling; and in 1926 Pilsudski set up a dictatorship. Anti-Semitic outbreaks occasioned official inquiries by England and by the United States. Ill-feeling was created in Lithuania, when Poland took Vilna on the ground that most of the population was Polish; Silesia was restless because the League of Nations had given Poland part of Upper Silesia; ²³ Czechoslovakia was infuriated by Poland's seizure of the disputed Teschen area in September 1938. The inability of the government to secure the loyal support of its five million Ukrainian subjects left an opening for a campaign of violence carried on by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Terrorist Society. Most serious of all, Germany decided to revise the Versailles verdict which had given Pomerania (the "Corridor") back to Poland and had made Danzig (95 per cent German) a Free City, separated from the Reich.

²¹ Three of these dioceses were later assigned to Poland and Lithuania.

²² This boundary—recognized by the Allies in 1923—gave back to Poland the area she had lost in the Third Partition of 1795. It left Russia in possession of the areas she had seized in the First and Second Partitions of 1772 and 1793. Russia incorporated her share in two Soviet republics, Ukraine and White Russia. As to the much debated "Curzon Line": The Allies suggested it in 1920 in order to separate Polish and Russian armies for administrative purposes, during an armistice—without prejudice to Poland's claim to territory east of the line. Both Russia and Poland ignored the suggestion, which was not even mentioned in the peace negotiations at Riga but reappeared in 1944 as a possible *casus belli*.

²³ After investigation by the nuncio, Msgr. Ratti (later Pius XI), Rome coordinated ecclesiastical and political boundaries by creating an archbishopric in Vilna and a bishopric in Upper Silesia. When the concordat was ratified in 1925, Poland had 20 dioceses of the Latin rite, 3 of the Byzantine rite, 1 of the Armenian rite.

In September 1939, despite existing treaties of non-aggression, both Germany and Russia invaded Poland, crushed resistance quickly, divided Poland into two spheres of control by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Line, and began the organized destruction of the culture and religion of Poland.²⁴

Lithuania: The new government, soon after its establishment in 1918, expropriated all land holdings in excess of two hundred acres (including Church lands) and parcelled them out in small lots to the peasants. After the loss of Vilna to Poland in 1923, a "provisional capital" was set up at Kaunas (Kovno); and this city became an archdiocese in 1926. For some years the republic was controlled by the Left which leaned towards Communism and anticlericalism; but the new constitution of 1928 established religious equality and provided that religious instruction should be given in the public schools to those children whose parents desired it.

In 1937 the United Center of Lithuanian Catholics called for the redistribution of Church property in order "to end social differences between the clergy and the lay population." Later in the year the government announced plans for the establishment of almost sixty thousand new farms by 1941. In World War II, Germany forced the restitution of Memel (assigned to Lithuania by the Allies in 1923); and, later, invading Russians occupied Lithuania and killed a number of priests.

Latvia and Estonia: The majority of the population is Lutheran. The Catholics of both countries together have only about one hundred fifty priests—far too few for an area so large and so poor in facilities for communication. Both countries maintain ministers to the Vatican and the Catholics of Estonia (chiefly foreigners) are regarded as belonging to the diocese of Riga in Latvia.

Finland: Early in the century (1906) the Catholics petitioned Pius X to establish a vicariate apostolic in Finland; but the objections of the Russian government made the establishment a practical impossibility. After the liberation of the country and the foundation of the republic, the Holy See separated Finland from the diocese of Mohilev and set up the desired vicariate apostolic (1920). Sisters of the Sacred Heart from Holland founded a Catholic school and numerous conversions took place. Nearly all the

²⁴ For a confirmation of the charges made by Cardinal Hlond, see Simon Segal, *The New Order in Poland*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942, pp. 80-81.

In the post-war settlement, Russia claimed a large area roughly corresponding to that part of Poland lying east of the Curzon Line. This involved the transfer of millions of Catholics, most of whom were Ukrainians, to the Soviet jurisdiction. Russia also insisted upon rejecting the Polish government-in-exile, which had functioned in London during the war, in favor of a new government in Lublin (later Warsaw) which was strongly Communist in sympathy.

By way of territorial compensation, Poland was given a western boundary which included millions of Germans and a large part, possibly a third, of Germany's most arable land. Germans inhabiting this region were liable to deportation. Churchill, addressing Parliament the first time after his fall from power, voiced dissatisfaction with this arrangement; and his sentiments were shared by many other persons.

Finns are Lutherans. The constitution allows freedom of worship; but the government forbids the reception of foreign religious novices or the establishment of new monasteries without official permission.

In 1939 Russia invaded Finland and set up a puppet administration, "the People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland." In 1941 Finland, turning the tables, cooperated with Germany in the invasion of Russia. In 1942 Finland established a diplomatic representative at the Vatican.

c. The Balkans

Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania

The Balkan States—all then independent²⁵—pushed the Turks back to Constantinople in 1912. Bulgaria fought the other states in the Second Balkan War; and all the Balkans suffered in the two World Wars. Except in Greece, Russian influence was predominant by 1945.

TABLE V

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>
Rumania	19,000,000	3,000,000 ²⁶	3,000	9	12,000,000
Yugoslavia	15,000,000 ²⁷	6,000,000	4,000	17	7,000,000
Bulgaria	6,000,000	50,000	150	1	4,500,000
Greece	7,000,000	20,000	100	7	6,500,000
Albania	1,000,000	100,000	200	6	200,000
TOTAL	48,000,000	9,170,000	7,450	40	30,200,000

Rumania: As a result of the First World War, Rumania was enlarged to twice its former size by the addition of Transylvania, Bukowina, and Bessarabia.²⁸ Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia formed the Little Entente in 1920 to prevent the restoration of the Hapsburgs, to check the Pan-Magyar movement, and to forestall encroachments by Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany. In 1934, to offset possible Italian aggression, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey signed the Balkan Pact.

²⁵ Bulgaria declared independence in 1908, Albania in 1912. Once free of the Turks, the Balkan States restored the Orthodox religion.

²⁶ Distributed in three groups—Rumanians, under the archbishop of Bucharest; Magyars, with four episcopal sees; Greeks, also with four episcopal sees.

²⁷ Serbs form nearly 50 per cent; Croats 25 per cent; Slovenes 10 per cent; Moslems 10 per cent.

²⁸ Transylvania and Bukowina came from Austria-Hungary, Bessarabia from Russia. Nearly half the land was owned by a few thousand nobles; but a succession of Land Reform Acts (1917-1921) reduced these estates to comparatively small holdings, so that in 1932 peasant farmers owned 90 per cent of the land. This reform occasioned bitter resentment, especially among the Magyar nobles of Transylvania, some of whom obtained a certain amount of indemnity by appealing to the Hague.

Censured by the Church and the National Peasant Party for having repudiated his wife, Queen Helen, and taken a mistress, Magda Lupescu, King Carol II established a dictatorship in 1938. In 1940 he abdicated in favor of his son, Michael; and a totalitarian state was created, with the Iron Guard as the sole recognized political party.²⁹ Rumania then adopted a policy of coöperation with the Axis powers, parting company with the other Balkan states (except Bulgaria) and aiding Germany in the invasion of Russia.

Religion and race were identified in each of the groups which made up Rumania's population.³⁰ Bishops had to be endorsed by the government and were obliged to take an oath of loyalty to the state; priests engaged in ministering to the people had to be citizens of Rumania.³¹ Considerable trouble came from the million Catholic Magyars of Transylvania, resentful of their forcible incorporation in the kingdom of Rumania and never quite reconciled to the change from earlier conditions when the Catholics had precedence over the Orthodox. For years the Magyar bishops were at odds with the government; but tension relaxed in 1932, when the government agreed to restore the Magyar bishops to their previous ecclesiastical status and to give compensation for the confiscated property of the schools and churches. However, the Magyars still complained of the system which compelled their children to attend Rumanian schools.

²⁹ The annexation of Bessarabia and Bukowina, and immigration of refugees from Russia, Poland, and Germany had raised the number of Jews in Rumania to approximately a million and a half, three times its former figure; and this occasioned an anti-Semitic movement. With the slogan, "Rumania for the Rumanians," several parties united in a common program calling for economic improvements among the peasantry and the expulsion of all post-war immigrants.

³⁰ The government recognizes two major and seven minor cults. The major cults (which have special privileges) are the Rumanian Orthodox Church—the dominant religion of the country—and the Rumanian Uniat (Greek Catholic) Church. The minor cults are: Catholic (of Latin and other rites), Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian, Armenian, Mosaic, Mohammedan. The government pays the salaries of the Rumanian Orthodox clergy and subsidizes the other clergy.

All the bishops of the two major churches are members of the national senate, *ex-officio*, whereas the bishops (or heads) of the other churches possess that privilege only when their followers number two hundred thousand or more. In 1925 the Orthodox bishops of the kingdom established the patriarchate of Rumania, representing the Orthodox churches of the various provinces—Transylvania (2,250,000 people), Bukowina (500,000), and Bessarabia (1,500,000). This reorganization gave Rumania the largest Orthodox church in the world; and Bucharest took over the leadership which Moscow had once inherited from Constantinople.

³¹ The concordat signed in 1927 was amended by the addition of several objectionable provisions in 1928—for example, that Uniat priests may not officiate in Latin churches and vice versa; and that the father of a child born of a mixed marriage may dictate the child's religion, notwithstanding pre-nuptial agreements. But, on the whole, the Catholics enjoyed more liberty to practice their religion than before; and the law allowed converts to pass from the Orthodox to the Catholic Church by going through a simple civil procedure.

Yugoslavia (Serbia): At the end of the First World War, Serbia (augmented by the addition of Croatia, Slovenia, and other parts of the old Austro-Hungarian empire), was reorganized as "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." The constitution provided for the rights of racial minorities and endorsed the concordats previously effected between the Holy See and Hungary (1885), Montenegro (1886), and Serbia (1914).³² Nevertheless the government, by favoring the Orthodox Serbs, antagonized the Catholic Croats and Slovenes, who formed more than one-third of the total population.³³

In 1931 agitation brought about the organizing of the new state of Yugoslavia, with a constitution recognizing three racial groups (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) and giving Catholics equal constitutional rights with the members of other churches. But when a concordat with the Holy See seemed about to be ratified in 1938, the intransigent Orthodox Church excommunicated the president, nine members of the government, and twenty deputies, and induced the premier, Stoyadinovitch, to withdraw his approval from the concordat. The Vatican sent a formal protest. Having forced Stoyadinovitch to resign, the Croats set up an autonomous government at Zagreb under the National-Union government at Belgrade. Germany, in 1941, invaded Yugoslavia.³⁴

Bulgaria: Having supported the Central Powers in the First World War, Bulgaria lost considerable territory under the Peace Treaty. King Ferdinand then abdicated in favor of his son Boris III. The Socialist party gained control and confiscated large private estates and Church property; the Communists organized several outbreaks of violence; and the powerful I.M.R.O. (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), by acts of terrorism in neighboring countries, involved Bulgaria in trouble with Greece and with Yugoslavia.

In 1930 King Boris married the Princess Giovanna of Italy, according to the rites of the Catholic Church, with the usual promises. To the annoy-

³² In the old kingdom of Serbia, where the Orthodox Church was established by law, conversions to Catholicism had been prohibited; and the government allowed no Catholic church in Belgrade where fifteen thousand Catholics were living. The concordat of 1914, however, introduced conditions more favorable to Catholics.

³³ The Croats—70 per cent Catholic—urged actual secession; the Slovenes—90 per cent Catholic—demanded a just administration and presented a program of "Christian Socialism."

At Laibach, the ecclesiastical capital of the Slovenes, a university with two theological faculties (Catholic and Orthodox) had a student body of more than 7,000.

The Roman ritual was translated into Slovenian in 1932; and Rome authorized its use by Slovene priests in all parts of the country. This was a departure from the general custom of not permitting liturgical use of vernacular translations—although other exceptions exist, for the Armenian, Melchite, and Georgian rituals are vernacular translations of the Byzantine liturgy.

³⁴ In Slovenia (much more than in Croatia) the Germans employed brutal and sacrilegious methods in their efforts to suppress the religious and cultural life of the people. In the civil strife following World War II, Russia favored the Tito faction.

ance of the Holy See, the royal couple upon arriving in Sofia, celebrated a second marriage ceremony according to the Orthodox rite. In 1933 the first child of the marriage was baptized in the Orthodox faith—an act which drew an official protest from the Vatican. In 1934 a bloodless revolution established a dictatorship; Boris arrested the Socialist and Communist leaders and moved towards a rapprochement with the other Balkan states; but in 1941 Bulgaria entered the war as an ally of Germany.

Greece: The kingdom of Greece became a republic in 1924; ten years later it was again a monarchy. The Catholic Church enjoyed freedom of worship—although the Orthodox Church was established by law—until the dictator, Metaxas, in 1938, enacted laws designed to cripple the Church. Invaded by Italy in 1940 and by Germany in 1941, Greece set up a government-in-exile in London.

Albania: Half of the people are Moslem descendants of Christians long ago conquered by the Turks. The Moslem premier of the short-lived republic of 1925 later became **King Zog**. In April 1939, Italian troops occupied Albania "as a military precaution"; the royal family fled to Greece; and the Albanian National Assembly transferred the crown to **King Victor Emmanuel III** of Italy. Religion has hardly entered into the various political disputes.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

a. France, Spain, Portugal, Italy

This century brought significant political and ecclesiastical changes to all the Latin countries.

Strongly anticlerical in the earlier part of the century, France, after the First World War, became more friendly to the Holy See.⁸⁵ Weakened by political maneuvering, by Russian intervention, by domestic discord, and invaded by Germany, France set up a totalitarian government at Vichy (1940); but the "Free French" kept up resistance under the Catholic General de Gaulle, and he became head of the post-war provisional government—in which Russia secured strong Communist representation.

⁸⁵ Discussing modern French anticlericalism, Joseph Folliet described its various types, its contradictions, its association with Freemasonry, its recent decline. He notes the increasing respect of French intellectuals for the Church, and speaks of the contradictions of popular anticlericalism, which is sometimes "not incompatible with a serene religious faith, and a more or less fervent practice of the Christian life." He pictures the Catholics of France as more strongly organized and more independent of political factions than ever before. "Intellectual anti-clericalism is in decay. Political anti-clericalism is, for the time being, dormant. Popular anti-clericalism exists, but it is on the wane." *Blackfriars*, XIX (Oct. 1938), pp. 746, 754.

In Spain, Communists gained control in 1936. Although aided by Russia in the Civil War which followed, they lost to the Catholic, General Franco, aided by Germany and Italy. Spain unofficially helped Germany to fight Russia in World War II and was excluded from the San Francisco Conference in 1945. In Portugal, anti-clerical misrule led to the revolution of 1928; and the new constitution conformed to the social and political principles formulated by the Holy See. In Italy, the Lateran Treaty of 1929 reconciled Church and State; but the friendship almost collapsed on several occasions. Having entered the Second World War, despite the pope's pleading, Italy was defeated by the Allies in 1944.

TABLE VI

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
France	42,000,000	40,000,000	51,000	85
Spain	24,000,000	22,000,000	40,000	70
Portugal	7,000,000	7,000,000	6,000	14
Italy	43,000,000	41,000,000	60,000	275
TOTAL	116,000,000	110,000,000	157,000	444

France: The first years of the century witnessed serious conflicts between the government and the Holy See; and the country was disturbed by political struggles between moderates and conservatives on the one side and Communists and Radical Socialists on the other.⁸⁶ In 1914 political

⁸⁶ The Royalist and anti-Semitic activities of Catholics helped to occasion the formation of a Radical anti-Christian bloc. In 1901 Waldeck Rousseau, the premier, introduced an Associations Bill so burdensome to the religious congregations that the Jesuits, the Benedictines, the Carmelites, and several other communities left the country. The following year a Freemason Cabinet, headed by M. Combes, an ex-seminarian, closed more than fourteen thousand schools and suppressed nearly all the religious orders. With regard to the nomination of bishops, the government took the position that its candidates were entitled to consecration, whether or not they were acceptable to the Holy See; and in consequence, the pope left more than one French diocese without a bishop.

In 1904 came a quarrel over a visit paid by President Loubet to the king of Italy—the first occasion on which the ruler of a Catholic state had disregarded the pope's rule about diplomatic visits to the Quirinal. When the Holy See hinted at the possible withdrawal of the papal nuncio in Paris, the French government demanded an explanation of this message; and then, without waiting for it, recalled the French ambassador at the Vatican. When two French bishops refused to obey a papal summons to present themselves at the Holy See, the pope's threat to censure them was described as a violation of the concordat; diplomatic relations were broken off; France denounced the concordat, decreed separation of Church and State and made the financial support of the clergy dependent upon their resigning the administration of Church affairs into the hands of civil officials. As Pius X instructed the French bishops to reject these conditions, the state in 1906 seized all the ecclesiastical property

parties were divided over the issue of adopting a conciliatory or an aggressive policy towards the German empire. The Socialists, who stood for pacifism, had twenty-six representatives in the Chamber of Deputies; Syndicalists and Anarchists through the nation numbered half a million. Nevertheless, President Poincaré, against their opposition, proceeded to prepare France for the obviously probable war.

The patriotic attitude and the devoted service of Catholics during the First World War did much to re-establish them in favor; and a reaction, already under way, was stimulated by the example of the popular Catholic generals (Foch, Weygand, Lyautey, Gouraud, Pau, Castelnau, and others) and by numerous priests whose heroism nullified many old accusations and suspicions.³⁷ The task of post-war reconstruction was undertaken by a national coalition, with religious differences relegated to the background. The government renewed diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and allowed the religious communities to resume their work unmolested; and, except during the brief period when the radical, Herriot, carried on his

and discontinued the payments which were being made by the government as indemnity for what had been confiscated at the time of the French Revolution.

It was on the basis of the celebrated Organic Articles that the government stated its case; but the Vatican pointed out that the Holy See was not bound by them, as they formed no part of the concordat of 1801. See W. J. Hegarty, *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 37 (1912), 718.

In 1907 the Catholic missions of the Near East, resenting the anticlerical policy of the French government, requested the Holy See to substitute Italy for France as the official protector of the missions. Pius X refused to do this.

In 1908 *l'Action Française*, a monthly review, was converted into a daily newspaper to serve as the organ of a powerful political party of the same name, nationalist in sentiment, "clerical" and royalist in politics. Leaders were Charles Maurras, who had abandoned the Catholic faith, but regarded the Church as a useful social and political force, and Léon Daudet, a gifted and popular author of scandalous fiction, who eventually repudiated the authority of the Holy See.

³⁷ Clerical immunity had been abolished by the Third Republic, and priests were conscripted during the First World War. "Their actual heroism brought to them 16,000 citations; 10,000 Croix de Guerre; 900 Crosses of the Legion of Honor; 1,600 Military Medals . . . and their Golden Book gives the names of no less than 5,000 either killed in action or mortally wounded." Jules A. Baisnée, "The French Clergy in the War," *Catholic World*, 150 (March 1940), 660-67.

A survey of France in 1921 led to the conclusion that of the 34,000,000 persons in the country (omitting about 5,000,000 in Paris and Alsace Lorraine), the Church had made such considerable gains that about 10,000,000 were practicing Catholics and about 16 or 17 million conformed "more or less" to the rules of the Church. The 67 (out of 87) dioceses that were observed fell into three categories: in about one-third "the majority of the women go to Mass and attend the sacraments at Easter, while half of the men go to Mass and a quarter of them go to the sacraments. The second category comprises 28 dioceses, and in these also the majority of the the women go to Mass, but only half of them go to the sacraments, while only one-third of the men go to Mass and between one-eighth and one-quarter go to the sacraments. In the third and least religious category there are only 18 dioceses, or slightly less than one-quarter of the whole, and in these the returns show that only a minority even of the women go to Mass and less than one-eighth of the men go to the sacraments." Denis Gwynn, *The Catholic Reaction in France*, pp. 7, 8.

anticlerical campaigns (1924 and 1932), the Church remained at peace. On more than one occasion the Holy See supported the republic.⁸⁸

During the years preceding World War II, Socialists, Radical Socialists, Radicals, were united in anti-clericalism; Communists (strengthened by the Franco-Russian treaty of 1933) elected 72 deputies to the Chamber in 1936; Catholics were divided. After the non-aggression pacts of Germany with Poland (1934) and of Yugoslavia with Italy (1937), France's continental predominance (based upon Poland and the Little Entente) vanished. Under Premier Daladier, France joined Britain in the war on Germany (1939) and—too late—dissolved the Communist party. With the army crushed and half the country occupied, the National Assembly voted out the Third Republic and set up a new state under German supervision. After the war, its head, the 89-year-old Pétain, was condemned to death for treason; but de Gaulle commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

Spain: During the opening decades of the twentieth century Spain, in some respects, resembled France during the closing decades of the eighteenth. Nowhere in Europe did agricultural laborers suffer greater hardship than in Andalusia; nowhere did factory workers display more violent resentment than in the Spanish industrial towns, particularly Barcelona; in no other nation was the Church associated more closely with wealth and the aristocracy. The demand for a remedy became ever more articulate; but the remedy was not easy to find.⁸⁹ Tardy attempts

⁸⁸ In 1926 Pius XI censured certain writings by the monarchist leader, Charles Maurras, which combined doctrinal errors with political theories; and he also condemned *l'Action Française*. This occasioned protest, denunciation, evasion, and disobedience on the part of many Catholics, lay and clerical, but as time went on their number diminished. The ban on *l'Action Française* was lifted by Pius XII in 1939.

In 1934 political scandals resulted in a transfer of power from the Radicals to the Moderate Socialists. Premier Blum was opposed by a Royalist-Fascist movement, the Croix de Feu; and in 1936 he decreed the dissolution of this and other semi-military organizations. The French Communist party elected 75 deputies in 1935, Russian influence began to dominate the labor unions; leading intellectuals, among whom were Romain Rolland and André Gide, proclaimed their faith in the Soviet government. Later, many of the intellectuals repudiated Communism, after Gide's visit to Russia had revealed the tyranny and ignorance prevalent there; the Radicals could not get France to intervene openly in the Spanish civil war; and French Communism collapsed in 1940, when Stalin allied himself with Hitler in the attack on Poland.

In *La grande Crise* (a description of French political life from 1918 to 1938) Yves Simon reproaches Catholics for opposing the Communists, as they had opposed Dreyfus, without sufficient regard for justice and truth, and he offers this as at least a partial explanation of the fact that the Catholic revival of the early thirties so soon lost its force.

⁸⁹ Among the elements contributing to inevitable revolution were: (1) political supervision of ecclesiastical appointments and of education, in regard to which the Church was less free than in England or in the United States of America; (2) support given

to improve industrial and agrarian conditions, to widen the suffrage, to eliminate illiteracy were blocked by the divergent interests of Carlists and Republicans, Clericals and Liberals, Socialists and Anarchists. More and more the agitation took on an anti-religious coloring. Despite the Holy See's appeal for justice to the laborer, despite the large number of Spanish clergy who were poor themselves and friends of the poor, religion came to be identified, in the minds of the revolutionaries, with social and economic oppression. Thirty-six churches, convents and religious institutions were burned or damaged in Barcelona during a general strike in 1909; a year later came a diplomatic break between Spain and the Holy See.

Although Spain accumulated considerable wealth by remaining neutral in the First World War, the government had not the strength to bridge the gap between the extreme conservatism of the right and the aggressive radicalism of the left. Military disasters in Morocco which almost destroyed the Spanish army in 1921 gave an opening; and plans were made to establish a Soviet Republic.⁴⁰ By the way of reply Alfonso XIII, in 1923, set up a dictatorship under Primo de Rivera, who reorganized industry, jailed a large number of Communists, and suppressed three of the four Communist newspapers—measures which drove the subversive forces underground.⁴¹ Revolutionary literature was published and distributed in

by the aristocracy (military, clerical, lay) to a way of life irreconcilable with the social principles laid down by the Holy See; (3) governmental indifference to the "home rule" demands of the Basques and the Catalans; (4) Jewish resentment at Spain's immemorial anti-Semitic policy; (5) intensive propaganda by Communistic agents trained in Russia, where Spain had been named as the next country to be "sovietized"; (6) the activity of Marxists from Germany, Syndicalists from France, fomenting trouble wherever possible. Prime ministers went in and out of office in quick succession. Members of the Cabinet attended the sessions armed with revolvers. Mutinies in the army, recurrent industrial disturbances, uprisings in Morocco, gave plain warning of approaching trouble.

⁴⁰ The Third International, organized at Moscow in 1919, attracted an enthusiastic following among the workingmen of Spain; and industrial activities were almost crippled by a series of strikes. In 1920 Lenin predicted that the next successful revolution would occur in Spain, with the support of an armed proletariat. At the Congress of the Communist International in 1922, the announcement was made that the Spanish Comrades were forming a "Frente Popular" in union with the Socialists, the Reformists and the Syndicalist-Anarchists. Meanwhile Blasco Ibañeta, Ortega y Gasset, and other writers were carrying on a propaganda that belittled everything connected with the old Spanish traditions and the Catholic religion; and, although half of the population was still illiterate, the Liberals campaigned against the Catholic schools.

⁴¹ After the dictatorship was established in 1923, farsighted observers warned Catholics against giving it their unqualified support; and some of the Catholic leaders frankly favored the idea of a Spanish republic. Yet, on the whole, the weight of Catholic influence was thrown to the conservative side.

defiance of law; a particularly vigorous propaganda was carried on among the Spanish youth; Communism spread rapidly, especially in the mining regions of the Asturias.

In 1930 Primo de Rivera resigned; the next year the parties of the Left proclaimed Spain a republic, with a constitution drafted by a committee whose chairman had just returned from a year's sojourn in Soviet Russia. The new republic disestablished the Church, confiscated ecclesiastical property, discontinued the salaries of the clergy, expelled the Jesuits.⁴² The law also forbade Catholic communities to carry on their educational work, thus terminating the activities of some eighty thousand teachers.⁴³ In the elections of 1936, Left Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Anarchists organized a coalition and (by virtue of an electoral system introduced in 1932), won a majority of the seats, although they had secured fewer votes than their opponents.⁴⁴ Immediately a new series of outrages against churches and convents began.⁴⁵ The rumor spread that the Frente

⁴² According to legend, the Jesuits possessed enormous wealth, but an official report of the republican government in 1931 evaluated the total property of the Jesuits in Spain as amounting to some thirty million dollars—which would be about equivalent to the wealth of Stanford University. See Aurelio M. Espinosa, *The Second Spanish Republic and the Causes of the Counter-Revolution*, a pamphlet published by the Spanish Relief Committee of San Francisco (n.d.).

⁴³ An epidemic of anti-Catholic violence broke out in Valencia, Granada, Seville, Córdoba, Cadiz, and other cities, where churches and convents were burned and precious works of art destroyed. In Madrid a mob kept the firemen from extinguishing the flames until the Jesuit church was burned to the ground. In Malaga the fires continued for two days, Carmelites, Augustinians, Marists, and Mercedarians all alike suffered. During the first year of the republic two hundred persons were killed or wounded in riots, and an English writer at that time spoke of "the menace of anarchy hanging over Spain."

The popular reaction to this disorder resulted in a sweeping defeat of the Radicals at the next election, and in the cortes they were outnumbered two to one. The majority was made up of moderate Republicans, with the Catholic Popular Action Party, under José Gil Robles, holding the balance of power. The cortes, thus constituted, immediately entered upon a program of enlightened social legislation; but the Radicals began a terrorist campaign. Priests were killed and churches destroyed; a general strike was organized; in Catalonia an armed revolt took place. Before the government finally suppressed these outbreaks, the casualties amounted to thirty thousand killed and ten thousand wounded.

The coalition of Moderates continued in power for some time, but with an increasing display of inefficiency; affairs went from bad to worse. In 1934 one revolution broke out in Barcelona and another in the Asturias. During fifty-seven months of life the republic had been in the hands of twenty-eight different administrations, when in 1936 President Zamora dissolved the cortes and announced a general election for February 16.

⁴⁴ Charges of intimidation and of falsified returns were made against the Left, whose total vote, according to the press, was 4,356,000 against 4,570,000 for the Right.

⁴⁵ Political prisoners were released. Newspaper offices were destroyed. Sixty thousand peasants expelled the landlords of the great estates in the province of Badajoz and divided up the lands. Workers seized factories and operated them. Within four months over four hundred churches had been totally or partially destroyed, and more than ten Rightist newspaper offices had been burned. More than one hundred general strikes and more than two hundred partial strikes occurred.

Popular was planning to kill all Catholic leaders, clerical and lay, and to destroy the Catholic Church. Calvo y Sotelo, one of the most prominent of the Catholic deputies, made a speech in the cortes warning the government of the consequences that would follow its policy of inaction; and, within a few days, he was assassinated by men in uniform. Thereupon the army, under the leadership of General Franco, took up arms against the government; and in July 1936, civil war broke out.⁴⁶

Several vastly significant facts stand out in relief against a confused background. (1) Under Russian control, the government waged a war of destruction against Catholicism.⁴⁷ (2) Ironically enough, the despotic Russian Soviet, professing to fight on behalf of freedom, was opposed by pagan Nazis, battling on the side of Catholicism; and Spain thus became the battleground of two insincere and destructive ideologies. (3) For a while, high-pressure propaganda of the Communistic pattern persuaded a large number of people all over the world to look upon the Madrid administration as the champion of liberty and democracy. As the war continued, however, and the propaganda wore thin, fair-minded men came to perceive that justice and religion would suffer grievously if the Insurgents failed—even though the Insurgents had some disreputable allies, and advanced some extravagant claims.⁴⁸

In February 1938, the Nationalist government set up by Franco—then in control of the greater part of Spain—published a program of reconstruction.⁴⁹ When the war ended with the surrender of Madrid in March 1939, the Grand Council of the *Falange Española Tradicionalista* replaced

⁴⁶ The supporters of the government were known as Loyalists; those on the other side were called Insurgents or Nationalists.

⁴⁷ Forces on the government side killed more than 15,000 priests, and at least as many nuns; hundreds of churches and convents were wantonly destroyed; Catholic life came almost to a standstill in the territory under the jurisdiction of Madrid. By sanctioning the erection of the Basque Republic, previously disallowed, the Madrid government secured vigorous support from this strongly Catholic, but profoundly nationalistic race; and the Basque president accused the Insurgents of cruel and even sacrilegious reprisals.

⁴⁸ The Dominican, Father Vann, granting that Spanish Catholics might reasonably resist religious persecution, deplored their readiness to look upon the struggle as a crusade, "in view of the history and doctrines of much of the Spanish Right, . . . in view of the fact that that side attacked the Catholic Basques; in view of the fact that members of the Right had refused to accept the social teaching of the papal encyclicals." "Jews, Reds, and Imbeciles," *The Catholic World*, CXLIX (1939), 13.

Several Catholic publications (notably *Blackfriars* in England and the *Commonweal* in America) drew attention to what they regarded as "more pacific and less partisan Catholic views" and referred to "small but compact groups of Catholics explicit in their repudiation of the Insurgents."

⁴⁹ That program included the incorporating of all workers in a Nationalist-Syndicalist organization; the adopting of a sound cultural and eugenic program for the nation; a repeal of anticlerical legislation; a renewal of Spain's traditional faith; an economic policy with the following aims: (1) fairer distribution of land; (2) improved methods of cultivation; (3) a national credit system; (4) slum clearance; (5) just prices; (6) a higher standard of living.

the cortes; General Franco, as Premier, took charge of all governmental functions; Catholicism became the state religion; religious bodies regained their legal status; confiscated property was returned; religious instruction was resumed; primary education was made compulsory and free. In the Second World War, Spain was officially neutral; but a Spanish legion aided Germany to invade Russia. In 1945 Spanish refugees in Mexico set up a Communist government-in-exile; and Franco charged that Masons had inspired world-wide propaganda against him. From 1942 to 1944, a distinguished Catholic scholar, Carlton J. H. Hayes, was United States ambassador to Spain.

Portugal: At the beginning of the century conditions in Portugal largely resembled those in Spain. Conservatives and Liberals took charge of the government alternately; the Miguelists, like the Spanish Carlists, agitated for restoration of the monarchy; the parties of the Left advocated a republic; Socialists and Anarchists fomented disturbance. Illiteracy was common; the country carried the burdens of heavy taxation and of an immense colonial territory; among the younger and more active inhabitants there went on a steady emigration to Brazil. Fearful of revolution, the extravagant and profligate Charles I set up a dictatorship in 1907 under his Prime Minister, Franco; but the dictatorship ended with the assassination of the king and his son in 1908. Under Manuel II, a revolution, engineered by Masons and supported by the army and navy, converted Portugal into a republic; and the new government adopted a constitution fashioned after that of France.⁵⁰

A later constitution adopted in 1934 provided for the government of the country by two assemblies of ninety members each—the National Assembly, with legislative and financial powers, elected by heads of families regardless of sex; and the Corporative Chamber, with economic and social powers, elected by a system of guilds. Freedom of worship was established by law. The spiritual care of the people was entrusted to the Catholic Church, and education was conducted by the government and the Church

⁵⁰ During its first years the Portuguese Republic (1910–1918) was fiercely anticlerical. The Freemason government expelled religious orders; separated Church and State; confiscated ecclesiastical property; stopped the salaries of the clergy; broke off diplomatic relations with the Vatican; banished most of the bishops and imprisoned protesting priests and laymen. Seven different times revolutions were attempted; the northern region made an effort to secede in 1915; the president of the republic was murdered in 1917. In 1924 the country came to the verge of bankruptcy.

A military dictatorship, set up in 1926, drove out the Communists, took control of the labor organizations, established a single political party, and placed the government in the hands of Dr. Oliveira Salazar, a devout Catholic who was a professor of political economy at Coimbra. As minister of finance, he balanced the budget, restored national credit, and inaugurated an era of prosperity, following a policy which conformed to Catholic political principles. In 1929 Portugal ratified a concordat with the Holy See which settled the ancient controversy about ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the former Portuguese colonies of India by providing that English and Portuguese prelates should succeed one another as bishops of Bombay.

working in collaboration.⁵¹ The president, **General Carmona**, after two years in office, was re-elected for a seven-year term in 1928 and again in 1935.

The policy of supporting the Spanish Nationalists and of maintaining friendship with Great Britain, was followed by **Premier Salazar**. In July 1937 an attempt was made to assassinate him while he was on his way to Mass. The following month Portugal broke off diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia because of Prague's subservience to the Russian Soviets. In 1938 many persons were arrested for alleged communistic activities. In the Second World War Portugal was still neutral at the end of 1942.

Italy: During the early years of the century the government was controlled alternately by the Left and by the Right. A colonial empire had been established in East Africa; and both army and navy were enlarged. But more than half the people were still illiterate; taxation was heavy; and the low standard of living caused many to emigrate. Over five million native Italians were living abroad in 1910.

Tension between the Vatican and the Quirinal gradually relaxed. In 1905 Pius X modified the *Non expedit* so that Catholics might participate in national elections; in 1919 Benedict XV finally abolished it and a new political party, the *Partito Popolare* (founded by **Don Luigi Sturzo**, a Sicilian priest), secured one hundred seats in the Italian Parliament.

One result of the First World War was to increase Socialist agitation, but this was effectively opposed by the *Partito Popolare*, which came to the rescue of the government. In 1922, **Don Sturzo**—apparently at the wish of the Holy See—withdrawed from political life, and **Benito Mussolini**, the Fascist leader, crushed the Socialists and the Freemasons, destroyed the Mafia (a secret organization of terrorists in Sicily), “marched on Rome,” and became dictator. Laws favorable to the Church were passed by the new regime, and in 1929 the Lateran Treaty ended the long conflict between the Holy See and the Italian government. Vatican City became an independent state; Catholicism was declared to be the official religion of Italy; the teaching of religion was made part of the curriculum in the public schools.

Friction occurred from time to time between Mussolini and the Holy See; but **Il Duce**, although restless under papal disapproval, never forced the issue. A near crisis was precipitated in 1931 when the general secretary of the Fascist Party and the newspaper, *Lavoro Fascista*, publicly claimed that there was no room in Italy for “Catholic Action.” The pope's reply

⁵¹ The difficulties facing the new government were enormous. In 1938, 33 per cent of the population was illiterate. In that same year the statute of national labor laid down the norms of the new social and economic order. “The substantial unity in principle of Portuguese corporativism with the social doctrine of the Church is one of end and spirit as well as means of organisation.” A. A. C. Rainer, *Blackfriars*, XIX (Nov. 1938), p. 819.

to this was rudely commented upon by Mussolini in a radio broadcast; and the pope answered with one of the most important encyclicals of his pontificate, *Non abbiamo bisogno*. From that point both parties observed public silence. But discussions went on behind closed doors; and eventually the right of the Church to educate her children was recognized. Shortly afterwards, Mussolini made his first official visit to the pope.⁵²

Another crisis occurred during the Italian war in Ethiopia (1935-1936), when the pope, to the great displeasure of the Fascist press, proclaimed that wars of conquest are always unjust wars. Again the differences were smoothed over without an open break; and the pope limited his direct activity to the only field in which there was prospect of success—the localizing of the war. In December 1939 came the final step in the reconciliation of Church and State—an exchange of visits between Pope Pius XII and the king and queen. The pope's visit to the Quirinal Palace ended an era which had begun when Pius IX left that same building at the approach of King Victor Emmanuel II seventy years before.

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia had far-reaching political consequences. Already resentful at the refusal of the Versailles Conference to recognize her claims on Fiume, Italy became still more hostile to Britain and France when they declined to recognize her conquest of Abyssinia and invoked against her the "sanctions" of the League of Nations. In the Spanish civil war Italy and Germany were on the opposite side from France and Russia. Allied with Germany and Japan in the anti-Comintern pact, Italy was defeated in the Second World War and was occupied by the Allies in 1944. The Communists showed their strength in the new provisional government by eliminating religious features from the victory celebration of 1945.

b. The British Isles ⁵³

England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland

The British Commonwealth of Nations, as organized at the Imperial Conference of 1930, comprised the United Kingdom, together with dominions, free states, possessions, protectorates, and mandates—the whole covering about one-fourth of the habitable surface of the globe and including more than one-fourth of the human race. The text below describes the European part of the empire.

⁵² Fascism, however, has been described as a tremendous obstacle to the progress of the faith. "The isolation of Catholicism and the power of materialism are two of the most prominent factors which obstruct the Church in her mission in modern Italy. But the most direct obstacle is, after all, the universal presence of Fascism." D. A. Traversi, *Blackfriars*, XXII (October 1941), p. 541.

⁵³ Also Gibraltar, Malta, and Gozo.

TABLE VII

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
England	37,400,000	2,500,000	5,000	16
Wales	2,600,000	50,000	200	2
Scotland	5,000,000	600,000	650	6
Gibraltar	20,000	15,000	27	1
Malta, Gozo	260,000	250,000	....	2
All Ireland	4,200,000	3,100,000	4,000	27
TOTAL	49,480,000	6,515,000	9,877	54

England: The century brought omens of approaching change. During the Boer War (1899–1902) the rich mother country had to turn to the younger nations “for the men who could shoot and ride”; in 1911 the House of Lords accepted drastic curtailment of its powers; in 1914 naval and colonial rivalry with Germany precipitated the titanic four-year struggle which England almost lost; in 1918 universal suffrage was adopted; ⁵⁴ in 1922 Ireland gained dominion status; in 1925, after the Indian National Congress, Gandhi’s Nationalist agitation assumed dangerous proportions; in 1926 a general strike paralyzed England for a week; ⁵⁵ in 1930 the Imperial Conference agreed upon self-government for the Dominions; in 1931 an economic crisis caused abandonment of the gold standard, departure from the traditional policy of free trade, repudiation of war debts; in 1935 labor polled over eight million votes and won more than 160 seats in the House of Commons; in 1939 England, alarmed by the German invasion of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, declared war on Germany, and went through six hard years of war. Obtaining an enormous majority in the first post-war General Election of 1945, the Labor Party proposed to nationalize the Bank of England and the coal mines and to introduce limited agricultural socialization.

Since the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 no English sovereign has shown open dislike of the Church. Edward VII sub-

⁵⁴ The Reform Bill of 1918 extended the suffrage to all men over twenty-one, regardless of property qualifications, and to all women over thirty. Ten years later the age limit for women became the same as for men.

⁵⁵ The general strike (called in support of miners who refused to accept wage reductions, and involving more than two million workers) was broken after nine days by government intervention. To prevent any repetition, Parliament in 1927 outlawed general and sympathetic strikes, restricted the rights and activities of trade unions, and practically prohibited picketing.

scribed to the Accession Declaration with manifest reluctance;⁵⁶ and before the next accession Parliament eliminated parts of the declaration which were offensive to Catholics, so that George V became king without having to affirm that the invocation of the saints and the Sacrifice of the Mass are "superstitious and idolatrous." A British legation was established at the Vatican in 1915, and the Catholic Relief Act of 1926 annulled many of the legal disabilities of Catholics.⁵⁷ Both Edward VIII, who abdicated "to marry the woman he loved," and his brother George VI, maintained a friendly attitude towards Catholics. The influence of the Church was weakened, however, when the House of Commons lost the strongly Catholic representation from Ireland in 1922; and the existence of the Catholic hierarchy is still officially ignored.⁵⁸ More than one episode has revealed "the continuation of widespread distaste for Rome beneath the surface of the calm and courteous attitude of the elder generation of well-educated Englishmen."⁵⁹

A review of the Catholic story recalls: that Cardinal Bourne of Westminster, spiritual leader of English Catholics, won an increase of prestige for the Church during and after the First World War but, on the other hand, forfeited the sympathy of the working classes by his attitude towards the strike of 1926; that although a number of the old landed Catholic families still survive, "together with some peers of unequal value," the Catholic stock of Lancashire and the Irish element of the industrial population form "the popular stronghold of the faith"; that "leakage" has been increased by the tendency to subordinate religious to social and humanitarian ideals, by the apathy of the wealthier, sophisticated sections of the Catholic body, and by the drift away from the Church of industrial areas in the south and Midlands, and of rural regions once solidly Catholic; that emotional disturbances separated Irish and English Catholics during the armed conflicts of the twenties, the political skir-

⁵⁶ According to a widespread—although never actually attested—rumor, Edward became a member of the Catholic Church on his deathbed in 1910.

⁵⁷ Catholics, however, are still excluded from a few high offices (regent, chancellor, keeper of the great seal); and the Act of Settlement passed under William III excluding from the throne anyone who is a Catholic or who is married to a Catholic is still in force.

⁵⁸ At the time of the coronation of George VI (1937) the Home Secretary rejected an address of loyalty presented by the Catholic bishops because "the signature of the bishops cannot be recognized in official communications."

⁵⁹ David Mathew, *op. cit.*, 252. The author is now an auxiliary bishop of Westminster.

mishes of the thirties, and the neutral stand of Ireland in the early forties.⁶⁰

Among non-Catholics a certain amount of resentment against the Church has been occasioned by the inexorable strictness of Catholic teaching on marriage, by the action of the Holy See in much publicized divorce cases,⁶¹ by the dashing of hopes raised with regard to Rome's acceptance of Anglican Orders,⁶² by the complicated issues of the Spanish civil war and the later war between England and Italy. Yet about ten or twelve thousand persons are converted to Catholicism each year, including an impressive number of intellectuals.⁶³

The Catholics of England—more than half of whom are of Irish stock—were ten times as numerous in 1940 as they had been at the beginning of Victoria's reign one hundred years earlier. Westminster remained the only metropolitan see until 1911, when Birmingham and Liverpool also became archdioceses. Despite attacks (chiefly from advocates of "neutral" education) upon the subsidizing of religious instruction, Catholic and Non-conformist schools still receive aid from the state.⁶⁴

Wales: In Wales, where the State Church was disestablished in 1920, the prevailing religion is Presbyterianism; and anti-Catholic sentiment is strong. Nearly all the Catholics live in the diocese of Newport. Few converts are made.

Scotland: The Catholic population has increased chiefly through immigration from Ireland; and economic rivalry has combined with religious prejudice to cause numerous outbreaks of violence. Conditions became so bad that in 1935, with the approval of the archbishop of Glasgow, the Catholic voters addressed a questionnaire on this issue to the candidates for Parliament. As a result, twenty members were elected, pledged to demand a parliamentary investigation into the anti-Catholic disturbances. The question was raised in the British Parliament and conditions improved; yet, in April 1939, the United States Ambassador to Great Britain,

⁶⁰ This paragraph is largely paraphrased from Bishop Mathew's book.

⁶¹ Notably in the annulment of the Marlborough-Vanderbilt marriage on the ground that the consent of the bride had been the result of compulsion (1920).

⁶² In 1925 the "Conversations at Malines" (partly through Cardinal Mercier's misunderstanding of the religious situation in England) led many to anticipate a favorable decision from Rome on the validity of the orders of the Church of England.

⁶³ The long list of well known writers admitted to the Church includes such names as Baring, Benson, Chesterton, Dawson, Gill, Hollis, Knox, Leslie, Lunn, Mackenzie, Noyes, Watkin, Windle. Mention should be made also of the Anglican monks of Caldey and of the nuns of St. Bride Abbey, who entered the Church in 1913.

Recently, the affairs of the Established Church have been regulated more and more by Parliament. In 1927 the House of Commons rejected the revised Prayer Book on which the English bishops had spent years of preparation. In 1933 the communicating membership of the Church of England—less than two and a half million—represented only about 150 people for each of the 17,000 clergymen; and this fact at times has suggested the advisability of Church disestablishment.

⁶⁴ See *Catholic Schools in England* by Sister Mary John Broderick, O.S.F.

Joseph P. Kennedy, a Catholic, was greeted with cries of "No popery" at a public meeting in Edinburgh.

Gibraltar, Malta, Gozo: In Gibraltar most of the population is Catholic, and in Malta—as well as in the neighboring island of Gozo—Catholics form more than 95 per cent of the population. The bishop of Malta ranks immediately after the governor; and canon law has the force of civil law on the island. Civil and ecclesiastical authorities clashed in 1929 when a monk of Malta, who had been active politically, was ordered to Italy by his religious superiors. His departure was blocked by the governor, Lord Strickland, a Catholic, on the ground that no British subject could be forced to leave British territory by any foreign authority. After charges and counter-charges of interference, the two bishops of Malta and Gozo instructed the people to express their opposition to the governor's policy in the next election; and in consequence the governor postponed the election. A royal commission appointed to investigate the situation criticized the governor and recommended that an election be held promptly.

Ireland: A series of Land Acts enabled the tenant farmers of Ireland to purchase back the land in the first quarter of the century.⁶⁵ Meanwhile the question of autonomy for the Irish in their domestic affairs had been revived. The Third Home Rule Bill, passed by the Commons in 1912, was held up by the threat of Protestant Ulster to fight, if forced into union with the Catholic south; and the Bill was amended in 1914, with the double proviso that it should not become effective until the end of the First World War and that Ulster would be at liberty to remain separate from the rest of Ireland. The postponement of autonomy and the prospective partition of the country gained new adherents for the policy of revolution.⁶⁶ The rebellion which broke

⁶⁵ Notably the Wyndham Act of 1903. According to Belloc, this transaction was financed by English banks at the expense of the English taxpayers, "so that the Irishman might be tempted to buy back the land which had been taken by force from his ancestors at a price less than the market-price, while the land owner, the descendant or beneficiary of the original conquest, completed by Oliver Cromwell, would (through the 12 per cent bonus) obtain more than his rights were worth in the open market under the existing dual ownership system. The Irish people were to buy back what they still regarded as their own land, in instalments spread over sixty-eight years, and would be in complete possession of it by 1972. . . . With this Bill for the moment ended the struggle for possession of the land of Ireland." *A Shorter History of England*, p. 622.

⁶⁶ A political party called Sinn Féin ("We Ourselves") had been organized in 1906 by Arthur Griffith, disciple of Parnell, on a platform of cultural, economic, and political nationalism. Dissatisfied with "the grudging concessions" made by the British Parliament, the new party set out to secure independence and in 1913 organized the Irish Volunteers to counteract Ulster's pressure on the British government.

out in 1916 was suppressed with much brutality and, during the guerilla warfare which followed, the atrocious conduct of the British "Black and Tan" auxiliary army solidified Irish nationalism and aroused the indignation of the civilized world. A treaty negotiated in 1921 admitted Ireland's right to self-government, except for six counties in the northeast which were formed into a new political entity known as Northern Ireland.

During the last hundred years the population of all Ireland has declined from eight million to four million people, of whom three-quarters live in Eire.⁶⁷ Nearly two million natives of Ireland reside in foreign countries.

The Irish Free State (Eire): The partition of 1922 formed all the dominantly Catholic counties (except two) into the Irish Free State, recognizing it as a self-governing dominion of the British Empire. The Irish Republicans, who favored the establishment of an independent Irish Republic, absented themselves from the Irish Parliament at first; but in 1927 they entered it as an opposition party and under their leader, **Eamon De Valera**, the Irish Parliament (*Dail*) gradually eliminated English influence, abolished the law obliging members of Parliament to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England, and in 1937 adopted a constitution which declared Ireland a sovereign independent state, naming it "Eire," the Gaelic equivalent of Ireland.⁶⁸ In the new constitution, Church and State are separate and independent of each other, and no citizen is debarred by reason of his beliefs from any right or privilege. The constitution claims jurisdiction over the whole island—with the proviso that it shall extend only to the area formerly known as the Irish Free State, until the whole island is again a political unit. An Irish minister resides at the Vatican and the Holy See sends a nuncio to Dublin. **Douglas Hyde**, a Protestant, was elected president without opposition. **Eamon De Valera** became prime minister.

On April 25, 1938, the United Kingdom signed an agreement renouncing all authority over the ports of the Irish Free State. A few days later Mr. Winston Churchill protested in the House of Commons against this

⁶⁷ "The population of all Ireland, estimated to the middle of the year 1929, was 4,192,000. Of this number 2,946,000 or slightly over 70 per cent, reside in *Saorstát Éireann*." In 1926 when the total population of the Free State was 2,751,269, Catholics formed more than 92 per cent; the Church of Ireland more than 5 per cent; Presbyterians 1 per cent; Methodists, Jews, Baptists and others, less than half of 1 per cent each. See *Saorstát Éireann, Irish Free State, Official Handbook* (1932), London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., pp. 23, 70.

⁶⁸ The radical wing of the Irish Republicans, who refused to accept the government, carried on agitation with the aim of establishing a Soviet Irish Republic; and the spread of Communist ideas brought forth repeated warnings from the Irish hierarchy.

agreement on the ground that it was inconsistent with England's safety. Eire proclaimed neutrality in the Second World War.

Northern Ireland (Ulster): Before the partition of 1922 five of the nine counties of Ulster were Catholic and four Protestant. To ensure Protestant dominance in Northern Ireland the English government cut off three of the Catholic counties and incorporated them in the Free State, leaving the other two (Tyrone and Fermanagh) united to the four Protestant counties in the almost autonomous unit of Northern Ireland. This process of "gerrymandering" rendered the Catholics of the north helpless politically, although they formed more than a third of the population.⁶⁹

Prime Minister De Valera of the Irish Free State declared his intention to end the partition of Ireland by uniting north and south, whenever circumstances should make it possible. Meanwhile he urged the British government to take steps to prevent the persecution of Catholics in Northern Ireland.

c. Other Countries

The Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg,
Scandinavia

TABLE VIII

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
Netherlands	8,500,000	3,000,000	6,000	5
Belgium	8,000,000	7,900,000	13,000	6
Switzerland	4,000,000	1,600,000	5,000	6
Luxembourg	300,000	250,000	5,000	1
Denmark	3,500,000	35,000	83	V.A.
Iceland	100,000	300	5	V.A.
Norway	3,000,000	3,000	35	V.A.
Sweden	6,000,000	4,000	20	V.A.
TOTAL	33,400,000	12,792,300	29,143	18

All the countries named above, except Switzerland, Sweden, and Iceland, were occupied by Germany early in the Second

⁶⁹ Catholics suffered so greatly from Protestant intimidation and violence that in 1935 the Catholic bishop of Belfast appealed to the British Prime Minister, Baldwin, for an official investigation. The appeal was refused; but a private inquiry undertaken by the British National Council for Civil Liberties reported that Northern Ireland had suppressed representative government and abrogated law and liberty in order to secure "the domination of one particular political faction." This report aroused considerable indignation in England; but the British Minister for Home Affairs in Ireland declined to take action.

In 1940 the bishop of Down and Connor protested vigorously against the indiscriminate raiding and imprisonment without trial to which the Catholic people in Northern Ireland were being subjected by officials of the law. See *Irish Weekly and Ulster Examiner* (Belfast) Dec. 14, 1940. More recently similar protests were presented to the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

World War. In Belgium and Luxembourg Catholics form a majority.

The Netherlands: Under progressive clerical leadership, the Catholic Union of Workingmen and the Catholic Dutch Peasant League gained great influence; and, in alliance with the Protestants, they won a sweeping victory over the Socialists in the elections of 1909.⁷⁰ For some years a Catholic-Protestant coalition controlled Parliament and from 1915 to 1925 the government maintained a legation at the Vatican. By skillful maneuvering, however, the Socialists made the maintenance of the legation an issue in the debate on the budget of 1926; the Liberal Protestants sided with the Socialists; the legation was discontinued; the Catholics resented this and ended the Catholic-Protestant coalition. In 1944 the Dutch were again represented at the Vatican.

Religious orders have flourished in Holland; and a Catholic University exists at Nimeguen. The Protestants who form a majority of the population, comprise Orthodox Calvinists and other more or less liberal groups. The country contains over 100,000 Jews and about 10,000 Jansenists with an archbishop and two bishops.

As a neutral nation, Holland occupied a difficult position and suffered considerable loss during the First World War. The introduction of proportional representation made the Catholics the strongest party in the Lower House, and shortly afterwards the fifty-year fight for free religious education ended with the enactment of the Education Law of 1920. Primary education is compulsory and free. Elementary religious schools have the same status as the state schools with regard to subsidies for books, equipment, and salaries. In the religious high schools the state provides three-quarters of the expense. The country is free of illiteracy.

After the German invasion in 1940, **Queen Wilhelmina** and her Cabinet set up a refugee government in England. Germany appointed a commissioner for Holland, with the promise to restore independence at the end of the war.

Belgium: During the first years of the century Belgium was successfully governed by parliamentary coalitions, with the Catholics usually stronger than the two other major groups, the

⁷⁰ One of the Catholic leaders, Msgr. Nolens, conspicuous in the movement to secure truly democratic legislation, was active at the International Labor Conference of 1919 in Washington.

Liberals and the Socialists. Although the population is almost entirely Catholic, anticlerical movements took place at times; and Communists and Fascists caused occasional disorder. On the whole, however, Belgium kept free from extremes and followed "the middle way of Democracy."

Belgium suffered greatly during the First World War; but post-war reconstruction was swift and Belgium soon returned to her traditional policies which had given the country enlightened social legislation, strong labor organizations, compulsory old age insurance, free schools. In addition to the Liberal University of Brussels and the Catholic University of Louvain, two state universities, at Liège and Ghent, cultivated higher education.

The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by Germany, France, and Britain; but on May 10, 1940, the German army invaded Belgium. After having sustained heavy casualties, King Leopold III, to prevent the annihilation of his army and the massacre of refugees, arranged a surrender.⁷¹

In 1919 the government passed a law which granted equal subsidies to private religious schools and to public schools, on the condition of certain minimum standards being observed. In the primary schools religious instruction is given, except to those children whose parents request their exception. All religions are tolerated and the government pays the salary of Catholic, Anglican, Evangelical, and Jewish pastors.⁷² Racial and lingual disputes have occurred between the (Teutonic) Flemings of Antwerp, who use the Flemish language, and the (Celtic) Walloons of Brussels, who use French. The two language groups are almost equal numerically. For administrative purposes, the country is divided into three sections; French is the official language in the West and Flemish in Flanders; and the Brussels district is bi-lingual.

The world depression of the thirties caused economic distress and unrest in Belgium. Communists and Fascists became active political forces; and Degrelle's Rexist party, aided by the German Nazis, made considerable gains at the expense of the Catholic party. In 1936, after a wave of strikes and labor disputes, Dr. Van Zeeland, the Catholic Director of the Institute

⁷¹ The king's action gave rise to much recrimination from his English and French allies. The evidence to justify him has been published in a documented brochure, *The Belgian Campaign*, put forth by the Belgian-American Education Foundation, New York, in 1941.

⁷² In 1935 there were nine Anglican, thirty-five Evangelical, and seventeen Jewish ministers of religion.

of Economic Science at Louvain, was called to form a coalition cabinet. He selected six Socialists, five Catholics, three Liberals, and one non-partisan as ministers; and his skillful administration soon re-established equilibrium. In October 1937, Belgium, to the great annoyance of France, declared for "an exclusively Belgian policy" to keep free of further alliances.

Switzerland: The twenty-two cantons of Switzerland are governed by a Federal Assembly; and the main problem of the country has been to preserve its democracy despite the intrigues of powerful surrounding states. On the whole, the Swiss have been able to subordinate their religious and political differences to the common good; and their loyalty to the democratic ideal has made a profound impression on the world. Catholics have a majority in ten of the cantons. The Jesuits are excluded from the country and the foundation of new religious orders is prohibited by law—the only exceptions to the religious freedom guaranteed by the constitution.⁷⁸

Luxembourg: The Church has flourished in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, an independent state. The Germans occupied Luxembourg in 1940, set up a German civil administration, and declared German to be the official language.

Scandinavia: In the Scandinavian countries the democratic movement effected constitutional changes and progressive social legislation; and, although Socialism made substantial gains, radical tendencies were kept under control.

Lutheranism is established in all the Scandinavian states. Catholics form much less than half of one per cent of the total population of some sixteen million; but within recent years the Church has gained prestige, and conversions occur more frequently than before. Johannes Jorgensen, the well known Danish

⁷⁸ Dr. Giuseppe Motta, a practical Catholic who belonged to a minor political party, was elected president of Switzerland for five one-year terms; he was vice president also for five different terms, and he remained a member of the Federal cabinet for some twenty-five years. He opened the first session of the League of Nations and was elected honorary president. He bitterly opposed Russia's admission into the League and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Switzerland and the U.S.S.R.

Canon Jung of St. Gall, a conspicuous public figure, organized Catholic working men and working women in unions and also founded the International Federation of Christian Coöperative Societies. His friend Bishop Egger defended him against the charge of radicalism and supported his social apostolate.

writer, has been a Catholic since 1896; and Sigrid Undset, the foremost novelist of Norway,⁷⁴ entered the Church in 1922.

In Denmark the Church—made up chiefly of converts and of Polish immigrants—is supported largely by appropriations from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Of eighty-three priests, only seventeen are Danes. Germany seized Denmark in April 1940.

Iceland became a sovereign state in 1918, under the rule of Christian X, who was also king of Denmark. When Germany occupied Denmark in 1940, the Althing (parliament) of Iceland assumed control. The island was occupied by a British expeditionary force in May 1940. The Catholics of the island are cared for by the Montfort Fathers under a vicar apostolic appointed in 1929. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is established by law, but all religions are tolerated.

Norway removed the legal disabilities of Catholics about the beginning of the century and admitted all religious orders except the Jesuits. Germany seized Norway in 1940; King Haakon took refuge in England; the Parliament named a regent and postponed until after the war the question of allowing the king to return.

Sweden has removed almost all the Catholic disabilities during the last hundred years; but there are still certain restrictions with regard to religious orders and their freedom to teach.

3. AMERICA

(Except U.S.A.)

a. Latin America

Mexico, Central America, South America, West Indies

Fusion rather than immigration has been the chief factor in the formation of most of the peoples of Latin America.⁷⁵ Now, after centuries of intermarriage, the population is about 40 per cent pure Indian, 20 per cent pure white (chiefly Iberian), nearly 40 per cent mixed.⁷⁶ The different racial strains are fused in

⁷⁴ Her historical trilogy, *Kristen Lavransdatter*, won the Nobel Prize in 1928.

⁷⁵ See "Latin American Migration Statistics" in *Commercial Pan America*, no. 87 (August 1939), published by the Pan-American Union.

⁷⁶ In Argentina, persons of purely European stock form about 98 per cent of the population; in Uruguay, about 90 per cent; in Chile less than 30 per cent; in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, less than 13 per cent; in Venezuela and Paraguay less than 5 per cent. The Caribbean region is a racial melting pot, although there are almost no Indians in the West Indies and few Negroes on the mainland except in Colombia and parts of Central America. Persons of purely European stock form 90 per cent of the population in Costa

widely varying proportions, and at one time more than fifty blends were recognized; but a common superficial classification groups the population as: *mestizo* (a mixture of European and Indian blood), *mulato* (a mixture of European and Negro), and *zambo* (a mixture of Indian and Negro). Other differences complicate the racial variations; and a very complete description of the physical and human geography of this part of the world by Professor James draws attention to the fact that Latin Americans are separated from one another by contrasts just as great as those which divide Anglo-Americans from Latin Americans.⁷⁷

For an understanding of the political movements, one must be acquainted with the viewpoints of old world and new, of Latin and American, of conservative and liberal, of Catholic and Protestant; nor is it easy to surmise what a speaker may mean by "Fascismo," "Comunismo," "Hispanidad." The situation has been further complicated by conflicting aims known as "Latin American," "Pan-American," "Pan-Iberian," "Pan-Latin," "Inter-American," and by the rivalries of the United States, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Italy, Japan. It has become more complex by the influx of communistic "Loyalist" refugees from Spain, by the world-wide division of Communists into Stalinites and Trotskyites, and by recent efforts of Nazi Germany to forestall the United States in establishing Latin American alliances.

Until recently neither the government nor the Church of the United States showed appreciation of the importance of Latin

Rica, but a small percentage in the other countries of Central America. Mexico, with its 10 per cent of purely European stock, is in reality more Indian than Latin. In Brazil the original strains of Indian, Negro, Portuguese, have been profoundly affected by the recent immigration of millions from Europe and Asia. "Perhaps nowhere on the earth is there a greater mixture of different kinds of people than in Brazil . . . one of the important traits brought by the Portuguese was the absence of any taboo against race mixture, except among the aristocracy." Preston E. James, *Latin America*, p. 399.

⁷⁷ "Actually the differences which can easily be observed between the United States and Mexico are no greater than those between Mexico and, for instance, Argentina or Colombia. Not even a sentimental unity exists except that which has been rather superficially stimulated during the past fifty years by the Pan-American Union." James, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

Particularly significant is the commercial and political rivalry of the two great powers of South America, Brazil and Argentina. Brazil, with much Negro blood, a tropical climate, and less of a foreign element than Argentina, has a much greater area, a larger population, and a wider variety of natural resources. Argentina, with a considerable percentage of her population foreign by birth or parentage, is superior in wealth, organization, and military equipment.

America.⁷⁸ But, by the time the second Pan-American Scientific Congress met in 1916, "the old Monroe Doctrine was blending in with the new Pan-Americanism";⁷⁹ and in 1928 the Pan-American Arbitration Conference in Washington (at which all the American republics except Argentina were represented) adopted two important treaties. At the Seventh International Conference (1933) and two years later at the Peace Conference of the twenty-one American republics held in Buenos Aires, agreements were signed which carried the whole Western Hemisphere a long way towards general adoption of the "Good Neighbor" policy sponsored by President Roosevelt.⁸⁰ From a religious standpoint, however, one cannot say that this drawing together has been helpful; for "Yankeeism" has come to be identified with materialism, or at least with secularism.

To form a picture of religious conditions in Latin America, it will be helpful to remember that many regions have been affected by Protestant propaganda financed in the United States;⁸¹

⁷⁸ Through a number of diplomatic blunders—including the failure to select representatives with a better sense of religious and cultural values—Washington missed many opportunities to deepen the friendship of Latin America; and in the First World War most of the states tried to maintain a neutral attitude. Gradually, from political and economic motives, many of them turned towards more or less active coöperation with the United States; and by the end of the war the twenty governments stood as follows:

Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama had declared war on Germany.

Uruguay and Peru had broken off diplomatic relations, offered the use of their ports to the Allies, and turned over to the United States the German ships at Montevideo and Callao, respectively.

Bolivia, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic had severed relations with Germany.

Seven republics—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Salvador, Venezuela—maintained their neutrality and their diplomatic relations with all belligerents.

⁷⁹ Parker T. Moon, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

⁸⁰ When war between the United States and Japan broke out in December 1941, six republics of Central America, together with Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic declared war against Japan at once. Mexico and the ten republics of the south contented themselves with a declaration of solidarity with the United States; eventually all declared war against the Axis powers.

⁸¹ For years non-Catholic observers have noted the harmful effects of Protestant attempts to convert Catholics in South America. Writing in 1928, C. H. Haring affirmed that Protestant religious propaganda "does more harm than good as an agency for bringing into closer sympathy the peoples of North and South America." (*Op. cit.*, p. 71.) In 1941 John Erskine made a similar comment: "Some religious groups undoubtedly hope to convert South America from its traditional and solidly based Catholic faith to another form of Christianity. North Americans are maintaining missionaries in Argentina, for example. The attempt is ridiculous, and it is so obviously a failure that the Catholics can afford to ignore it; but it must be irritating to them and in

that for a century Masonry has been both powerful and strongly anticlerical; that eight states (Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Chile) have at times been flagrantly unjust to the Church; that in Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile the Church has been disestablished, although allowed to retain ownership of its property and to keep control of most ecclesiastical affairs. In general, it may be said that typical disturbances involving the Church are traceable to the following factors: on the one side, wealth, conservatism, reactionary social outlook, pride of birth, Catholic traditions on marriage and on education, the habit of clerical political activity, the instinct of self-defense; on the other side, enthusiasm for "progress," readiness to experiment with new political and social theories, dislike of authority, prejudice against private property, capitalism, religious education. There is usually some degree of fault on both sides.

Plainly enough, the two strongest and most enduring elements of Latin American life have been the Catholic religion and the Iberian tradition. Plainly too, the strengthening and extending of Catholicism will be of immeasurable benefit to Latin America. Unfortunately, however, North American Catholics have been slow to realize that the growth of Catholicism in countries to the south is dangerously stunted by lack of the material aid which the Church in the United States could well afford to supply out of its abundance; and only of late are they beginning to develop proper interest in their Latin co-religionists.⁸² The Church in Latin America faces formidable obstacles—the vastness of the continent, the inaccessibility of mountain regions, the general poverty of the people, the rivalries and suspicions which divide states from one another, and the dread (resulting from bitter ex-

view of the legend of our predatory ambitions, embarrassing to North Americans. . . . We are all of us apparently connected somehow with a plot to spread Anglo-Saxondom and Protestantism." *Liberty*, XVIII (Oct. 18, 1941), 57.

⁸² Of primary importance in spreading knowledge of Latin America has been the work done by Herbert Bolton of the University of California and the Franciscan, Father Engelhardt, as well as the activities of the Catholic University of America, Loyola University (Chicago), Duke University, and Harvard University. Papers presented at the annual meeting of the Catholic Historical Association in 1939, and published later in the *Catholic Historical Review* (vols. XXV-XXVI), are among our best sources in English of information on present religious conditions in South America.

perience) of foreign influence whether originating in the United States or in Europe. Religion has suffered greatly too, from revolutionary disturbances and anticlerical governments. Having convoked a Latin American council in Rome in the year 1899 and founded a Latin seminary there, the Holy See followed this up by erecting seventy dioceses and by repeatedly urging the development of an adequate native clergy, with the happy result that the number and the quality have improved, although there is still a scarcity of priests. Pagan Indians still number between two and three millions.

TABLE IX

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i> ⁸⁸	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
Mexico	20,000,000	16,000,000	3,000	33
Central America				
Costa Rica	639,000	441,000	150	2
El Salvador	1,745,000	1,710,000	200	3
Guatemala	3,284,000	1,998,000	150	3
Honduras	1,038,000	760,000	100	2
Nicaragua	1,134,000	577,000	100	4
Panama	573,000	413,000	100	1
South America				
Argentina	13,130,000	12,019,000	2,000	21
Bolivia	3,457,000	2,779,000	700	7
Brazil	45,002,000	40,000,000	4,000	71
Chile	4,677,000	3,683,000	1,500	13
Colombia	8,702,000	6,880,000	1,500	16
Ecuador	2,922,000	1,141,000	700	7
Guiana	558,000	87,000	...	V.A.
Paraguay	1,000,000	800,000	100	3
Peru	6,763,000	3,678,000	1,200	10
Uruguay	2,123,000	1,568,000	300	3
Venezuela	3,491,000	2,456,000	350	10
West Indies				
Cuba	4,228,000	2,003,000	493	6
Dominican Republic	1,656,000	1,580,000	82	1
Haiti	3,000,000	2,000,000	218	5
American Possessions	1,900,000	1,700,000	165	2
British "	2,300,000	374,000	108	2
French "	571,000	500,000	106	2
Dutch "	101,000	66,000	48	V.A.
TOTAL	133,994,000	105,213,000	17,370	227

⁸⁸ As it is practically impossible to determine precisely the number of Catholics in the different countries, these figures represent hardly more than a conjecture. If they approximate the truth, Catholics form about 90 per cent of the population in

Mexico: With a population of some 20,000,000, this federal republic of twenty states—each under a governor and possessing a considerable degree of home rule—is ruled by a constitution, adopted in 1917, which replaced the old constitution of 1857. Recent political history reflects certain peculiar characteristics of the country. Until lately, 97 per cent of Mexico's principal industry, mining, was foreign-owned; and Mexico's efforts to throw off the dominion of foreign capital has involved the republic in considerable agitation—heightened by the activity of Communist refugees from Russia and Spain. The law provides that the president may expel without judicial process any foreigner whose presence is regarded as inexpedient; and among recent political acts injurious to Catholicism was the expulsion of all foreign priests (1926) and of the apostolic delegate (1931).

When the oppressive religious laws became a dead letter under the **Díaz** government, the Church attempted to repair the harm done to religion and education during the preceding years, and in 1908 the government resumed diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Then in 1911 a Socialist revolution forced Díaz to resign; his successor, **Francisco Madero**, was assassinated; **Huerta** became president in 1913; and in 1915 **Venustiano Carranza**, with the help of President Wilson of the United States, displaced Huerta and made himself president of Mexico.

Although Carranza had promised a fair administration, his own Radical supporters objected to this policy. He therefore authorized the organizing of the "Red Army of Mexico" under General Obregón, and called a constitutional convention to which only revolutionists were admitted. It met at Queretaro in 1917 and adopted the constitution which still rules Mexico. Under it the state controls religious worship; and the individual rights of every citizen are limited to those granted by the constitution. A protest of the Mexican bishops against these decrees was endorsed by Benedict XV who said, "the new constitution ignores some of the Church's sacred rights and directly denies others." Since then the Church has suffered intermittent persecution.

Carranza was assassinated in 1920. His successor, **General Obregón**, was followed by **Plutarco Elias Calles**, an extremist, who established a schismatical church and began to enforce the antireligious laws with severity. In 1926 Pope Pius XI wrote to the bishops of Mexico lamenting the hostile

Argentina and Brazil; 70 to 80 per cent in Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay; 40 to 50 per cent in Ecuador and Peru; about 60 per cent in the West Indies.

laws, but forbidding the establishment of any political party under the name of Catholic. After the government had abolished liberty of education and of the press, and tried to make the Church a dependency of the state, the Mexican bishops issued a joint pastoral stating: "Further concession by us is not possible. It would be criminal to tolerate this situation any longer. . . . We protest." A petition to the government signed by two million Mexican citizens was ignored; nearly one hundred fifty priests and civilians were killed; and an armed rebellion, known as the Revolt of the *Cristeros*, broke out.

In 1926 the Catholic hierarchy of the United States issued a joint pastoral protesting against the harm done to the cause of religious freedom by the Mexican government. With the unofficial assistance of Dwight Morrow, the United States Ambassador to Mexico, an agreement between the Church and the Mexican government was effected in May 1928. The churches which had been closed were reopened; and public worship was resumed, with the number of priests limited according to the state laws. This meant that no more than five hundred priests could be assigned to serve fifteen million Catholics. Not one priest was allowed in the State of Vera Cruz, with one million Catholics, in Chiapas, with three hundred twenty thousand, or in Sonora, with three hundred thousand. Religious instruction was made illegal; priests were forbidden to teach catechism even in private houses; and seminaries were prohibited.⁸⁴

In 1934 the government decreed the confiscation of all property that had at any time served as a rectory, seminary, school, convent, or place of worship. In the same year, at Guadalajara, General Calles announced the government plan "to take possession of the consciences of the children" by controlling education; and a program of offensive sexual and atheistic instruction was imposed on the schools. For publicly praising this speech, Josephus Daniels, United States Ambassador to Mexico, was sharply criticized by American Catholics. Alternating in office with Obregón, and dominant during the three brief presidencies which followed Obregón's murder in 1928, Calles was virtually dictator until 1935, when, having clashed with President Cárdenas, he lost political control and left Mexico. In 1938 his property was confiscated.

In 1936 the Mexican bishops issued a pastoral letter forbidding parents to send their children to the Socialistic government schools. Cárdenas used his influence to lessen the restrictions against priests and Catholic worship; and in the Federal District, in San Luis Potosí, and in other states the authorities became more tolerant. Certain states, however, admitted only

⁸⁴ It is notable that throughout these disturbed conditions, the government did not close the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe (opened in 1532 following the apparition of the Blessed Virgin to Juan Diego, a 55 year old Indian neophyte) which has remained a favorite center of pilgrimage down to the present day.

one priest; and the total number of priests officially authorized in all Mexico was three hundred fifty.⁸⁵

In 1939, in addition to the priests authorized by the government, there were about two thousand others ministering more or less secretly to the spiritual wants of the people; and a seminary established by the American hierarchy at Las Vegas, N.M., was training Mexican candidates for the priesthood. The government maintained its prohibition of religious instruction in any school. An amendment to Article III of the constitution adopted in the closing days of 1939 affirms that the primary object of education is to prepare young people "to participate in the historical evolution of Mexico and in the realization of the postulates of the Mexican revolution." The elections of 1940 aroused hopes of a brighter future for religion. **President Avila Camacho**, less intolerant than his predecessors, terminated the existing educational policy and appointed a new minister of public education more sympathetic with Catholic ideals. In May 1942, Mexico entered the Second World War on the side of the United Nations.

Central America: The majority of the inhabitants of Central America are Indians and half-caste whites; the ruling class, a small minority, is of European stock. The plan to federate the Central American states, favored by the United States government, has been checked partly by general fear of "Yankee" dominance, partly by the determined opposition of Costa Rica, partly by the influence of the clerical Conservatives. Although the vast majority of the population is classified as Catholic, the Church's freedom is restricted in various ways. Ecclesiastically the countries have grown more independent of one another during recent years; and sees in Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica, previously suffragan to Guatemala, have been erected into archdioceses. All six states have representatives at the Vatican; all, except Panama, have concordats with the Holy See; and all of them declared war on Japan soon after the Japanese attack on the United States in December 1941.

Guatemala: In this, the most populous of the Central American republics, the Church is separated from the State, public education is secular,

⁸⁵ A conflict between the extreme Left and the moderate Left in the government resulted in a victory for the extremists, who welcomed Leon Trotsky to Mexico when he was obliged to leave his refuge in Norway. The Mexican government aided the Communistic Madrid government during the Spanish civil war; and a mob attacked the Guatemalan Embassy in Mexico City, because Guatemala recognized the Spanish Nationalists in November 1937.

and religious orders are prohibited—although nuns are allowed to serve in hospitals. **President Ubico**, who set up a practical dictatorship in 1935, supported the Nationalists of Spain during the civil war there. The number of priests is painfully inadequate and during the last half century the religious situation has grown steadily worse. Extraordinary efforts have recently been made to secure American missionaries for work, particularly among the Indians.

Nicaragua: A new constitution was adopted in 1931; and, in that same year, the chief diocese of Nicaragua (formerly suffragan to Guatemala) was erected into the archdiocese of Managua with three suffragan sees. Church and State are separate; yet the government helps to support Catholic schools. On two occasions the United States took military possession of the country in order to restore and maintain civil order—the second occupation lasting until 1933. Four years later the Liberal Party, with the cooperation of the American-trained National Guard, came into power.

Honduras:⁸⁶ The new constitution, adopted in 1936, guaranteed freedom of religion, but religious orders and congregations were forbidden. All elections were postponed by **President Carías Andino** until October 1942; revolts, organized by refugees in Nicaragua and El Salvador were easily crushed. The see of Tegucigalpa (transferred from Comayagua in 1907) became an archdiocese in 1916 with one suffragan see. Honduras shares an apostolic nunciature with El Salvador.

El Salvador: Catholicism is established; but the concordat negotiated in 1862 has been disregarded and the policy of the government at times has been unfriendly to the Church. Religious orders are nominally prohibited. The government, a dictatorship, recognized the Nationalist (Franco) government in Spain in 1936.

Costa Rica: In Costa Rica where the Indians were practically eliminated by the early Spanish invaders, the proportion of European blood is greater than in any other region of tropical America. Catholicism is established; in 1942 the congress repealed the law which had excluded certain religious orders. All religions are free. In the elections of 1936 the Communist candidate for the office of president received about five thousand votes in a total of approximately ninety thousand.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ The vicariate apostolic of British Honduras, coextensive with the British Crown Colony of the same name (with a population now approximately 60,000) and served by the Jesuit Fathers was reported early in the present century to contain about 23,000 Catholics, of whom not more than 14,000 were reached by the Church with any regularity or frequency. See William T. Kane, "Honduras, British," *Cath. Encyc.*, VII, 449-50.

⁸⁷ In 1942 the Lenten pastoral of the archbishop of San José warned the faithful against the "well endowed and very astute Protestant propaganda" which sought to change the social, cultural, and even political tradition of the country. The archbishop drew attention to the fact that for many years North American Protestants have regarded Latin American countries as "mission lands to which they would announce Christ as though these countries had not known Him for centuries."

Panama: With the connivance of the United States, Panama separated from Colombia and became an independent state in 1903. The constitution (adopted in 1904 and amended in 1928) establishes freedom of worship, recognizes the Catholic religion as that of the majority of the people, and provides for government aid to the ecclesiastical seminary and to Indian missions. For years the government paid an annual indemnity for Church property previously confiscated by the Colombian government; but in 1915 this was discontinued. The anticlerical party has succeeded in securing legislation unfavorable to religious education.

South America: Upwards of 90,000,000 inhabitants dwell in the ten republics. The ruling class, small numerically, is of European stock; the great majority is of Indian or mixed blood. The rate of illiteracy remains high, although some educational advance has been made during recent years.⁸⁸ In the political disorders which occur frequently, a common pattern has been: (1) agitation for economic and social reform; (2) revolutions fomented by the radical element; (3) formation of a dictatorship on nationalist-socialist lines.⁸⁹

The population is registered as dominantly Catholic.⁹⁰ With the exception of Paraguay, all the states have a representative at the Vatican; and, by agreement with the Holy See, several possess a voice in the nomination of bishops.⁹¹ The Church is subsidized in five of the republics, Argentina, Paraguay, Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru; but most of the Liberal leaders advocate separation

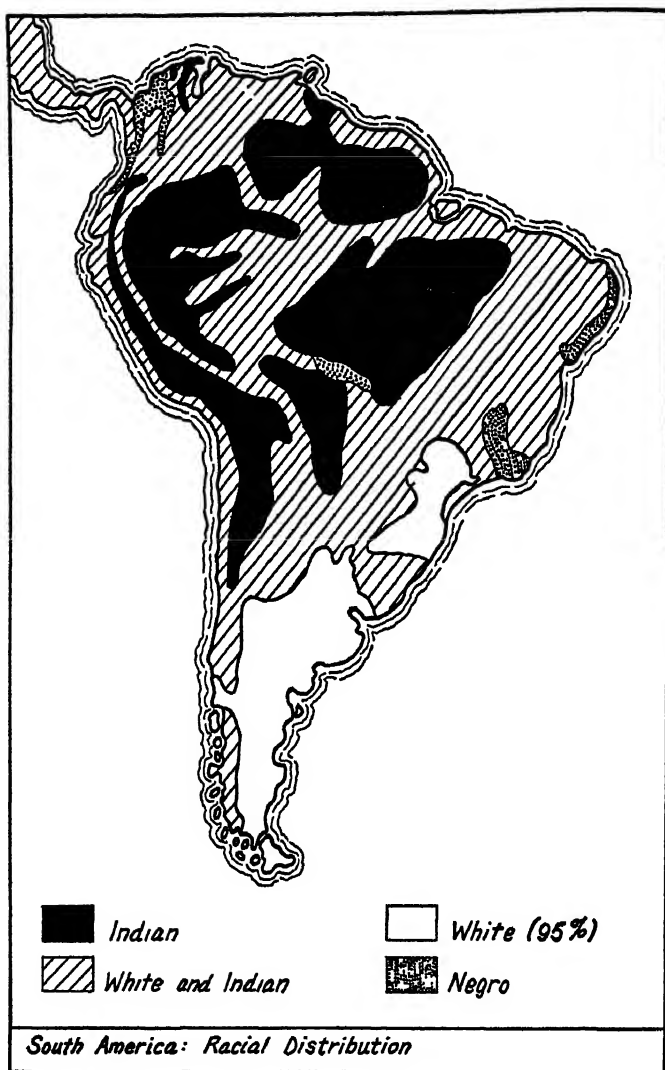
⁸⁸ The information at present available justifies the following rough ratings of illiteracy: Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, 20 to 25 per cent; Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, 50 per cent; Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Brazil, 70 to 80 per cent.

⁸⁹ "In the depression years, 1929-31, only two of the ten South American Republics, Colombia and Venezuela, escaped coups d'état and the overthrow of governments, and even in Venezuela there were revolts, crushed by force. Economic trouble and the consequent discontent among both wage-earners and business people contributed to these political upheavals, but the cause is also to be found in defects and errors of government." Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

It should be noted, however, that "revolutions" and "new constitutions" are not as significant in Latin America as in other parts of the world. A revolution, for example, may mean only a minor political change, and a new constitution may be merely a relatively unimportant amendment of the old. Venezuela's record of over fifty revolutions in less than 75 years did not actually involve all that it seems to imply.

⁹⁰ According to the *Lutheran World Almanac* (1934-37) Brazil had 376,000 Protestants; Chile, 53,000; Argentina, 46,000; Peru, 13,000; Uruguay, 6,000; Colombia, nearly 5,000; Paraguay, 4,000; Venezuela, over 3,000; Bolivia, nearly 2,000.

⁹¹ For a summary of clauses affecting religion in the constitutions of the different states, see Edwin Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-101.



of Church and State—a policy favored also by many Catholics on the theory that it gives the Church more freedom. Generally speaking, the Church, closely associated with the Conservatives, has suffered from the ill-will of the Liberals. Masonry is powerful and anticlerical movements are frequent. If we may regard the status of the Society of Jesus as a measuring rod, the position of the Church is most secure in Brazil, Argentina, and Colombia.

Four Southern Countries

Argentina: Largest of the Spanish-speaking states of South America, with Buenos Aires, greatest city of the continent, as its capital, and with more immigrants than any other Spanish American country,⁹² Argentina is quick to resent any claim of Brazil to superiority, or any attempt of the United States to dominate the Western Hemisphere. In 1916 by the device of a secret, compulsory, universal, adult male vote, the electorate achieved a bloodless revolution and installed as president and dictator, the celebrated **Irigoyen**, who maintained a friendly attitude towards the Central Powers during the First World War. After his fall from power in 1930, the government became more sympathetic towards the United States; nevertheless, Argentina was more reluctant than any other Latin American country to make an outspoken declaration against the Axis powers. In February 1942, the bishops of Argentina in a joint letter reminded their flocks that Catholicism is irreconcilable both with exaggerated nationalism, which proclaims the total submission of the individual to the state, and also with "disruptive communism."

The constitution (amended in 1926) claims for the president the right of patronage and exequatur.⁹³ A decision of 1904 prohibited religious instruction in public schools, even after school hours, unless at the express request of the parents.⁹⁴ The Church controls about 5 per cent of the total school enrollment, and the quality of the instruction in the Catholic schools is unquestionably good. The state subsidizes seminaries and Indian missions and helps to support the higher clergy; but priests attached to parochial churches are dependent upon the offerings of the faithful. Recently the ranks of the priesthood have been reinforced by a considerable number of foreigners, chiefly Spanish and Italian.⁹⁵

Uruguay: Smallest of the South American states in area, and next to

⁹² The net immigration for a period of approximately eighty years preceding 1938 was more than 4,100,000—equal to about one-third of the population.

⁹³ The pope's refusal to accept the president's nominee to the metropolitan see of Buenos Aires in 1923 caused a two years' vacancy. Whether or not the constitutional clause affirming that the government "supports the Roman Catholic religion" is equivalent to an establishing of the Church is a question still debated.

⁹⁴ A non-Catholic has noted "that Jewesses are rapidly increasing on the staffs of the public schools. They are well trained in the normal schools, and, of course, there is no sectarian test for teachers." Mechem, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁹⁵ Leo S. Rowe affirms that "the influence of the Church over the lives of the people is less in Argentina than in the United States." *The Federal System of the Argentine Republic*, Washington, 1921, p. 129.

On the other hand, the editor of a Catholic weekly of Buenos Aires, writing in 1939, says that the improvement in the religious situation during the last forty years is most gratifying. "The picture has changed totally, much more than even the most optimistic could have dreamed in those times." G. J. Franceschi, *Criterio*, Buenos Aires, Jan. 5, 1939, cited by Walter M. Langford, "The Role of Catholic Culture in Argentina," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVI, (April 1940), 63.

least in point of population, Uruguay is inhabited chiefly by people of Spanish and Italian stock. It was strongly anti-German in the First World War and very friendly towards the United States. First of the South American states to recognize Soviet Russia, Uruguay broke off diplomatic relations with Moscow after Montevideo had been made a headquarters of Communist propaganda and later it also severed relations with the Communist government at Madrid.

During the closing decades of the last century the clergy lost their hold on the intellectual life of the country. In the first decades of the present century (when Liberals numbered 126,000 and Protestants 12,000, in contrast with 430,000 Catholics), political conflicts led to the adoption of the constitution of 1919, and the Church was disestablished.⁹⁶ President **Battle y Ordóñez** was aggressively hostile to the Church, but an indirect result of his hostility was the forming of a strong nonclerical Catholic party which played an important part in the drafting of the new constitution of 1933 (adopted by a plebiscite in 1934). Radical proposals to confiscate Church property have been defeated; and the legal status of the Church in Uruguay is much the same as in the United States. The government makes no claim to the rights of patronage or exequatur, and the bishops are free from official interference. Diplomatic relations with the Vatican, broken off for a time, were later resumed; and, on the whole, separation has been an advantage to the Church—although the elimination of religious instruction from the curriculum of the schools and the scarcity of priests form two serious obstacles to the spiritual development of the country. The Eucharistic Congress of 1938 gave an encouraging display of Catholic life in Uruguay.

Paraguay: This feeblest of the Latin American republics was devastated and impoverished by war with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay; by a series of revolutions early in the present century; and by a long, fierce struggle with Bolivia for control of the Gran Chaco, in which the loss of life was comparable (proportionately) to European losses in the First World War.⁹⁷ Peace came in 1935 and the following year a war hero, **Colonel Franco**, provisional president, deported a number of Communists, Liberals, and

⁹⁶ The spirit of the government was manifested in decrees that the feast of Christmas should be transformed into "Family Day" and that Holy Week should become an official holiday period under the name first, of "Creole Week" and later, "Tourist Week." With some recent history in mind, one is surprised at Professor Mechem's eulogy: "The people of Uruguay are the most European, the most homogeneous, the best educated, and most progressive of Latin Americans." On the same page a Protestant source is cited to support the astonishing statement, "Although the population of Uruguay is slightly less than two millions, only approximately 500,000 are communicants of the Catholic faith." *Op. cit.*, p. 339.

⁹⁷ The struggle was terminated by the mediation of the United States, with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru assisting; and most of the disputed region was awarded to Paraguay, increasing the national area by over 90,000 square miles—largely jungle inhabited by savages but containing also timber, pasture land, and petroleum fields.

Catholics, and established the first professedly totalitarian state of the New World. His program (which included the nationalizing of natural wealth, the redistributing of land, and the establishing of the 40-hour week) antagonized the conservative majority, and he was forced out of office. A new constitution, adopted by a plebiscite in 1940, guaranteed private property, incorporated economic reforms, set up checks on antisocial abuses and monopolies, and placed control in the hands of a president who, with his appointed cabinet, would discharge all the functions of government.

Asunción, suffragan of Buenos Aires until 1929, became an archdiocese in that year with two suffragan sees; and the new constitution makes the archbishop an ex-officio member of the council of state. The Catholic Church, established by law, receives a small government subsidy; but the clergy are supported chiefly by the offerings of the people. Hampered greatly by poverty and by the scarcity of priests, the Church, nevertheless, is making a determined effort to organize Catholic Action and to build up a Catholic press to counteract at least in part the propaganda of native Liberals and North American Protestants. The constitution requires the president "to profess the Christian faith" and claims for him the right of patronage—a claim not recognized, except tacitly, by the Holy See. The civil form of marriage is compulsory; but absolute divorce is not recognized. Priests are ineligible for Congress. Religion is excluded from the curriculum of the public schools. The government encourages and to some extent finances both Catholic and Protestant missions among the rural Indians and *mestizos* who possess almost no educational facilities, although they form the majority of the population.⁹⁸

Chile: With physical characteristics which make for insularity⁹⁹ and with a strong political tradition of unity, this country, inhabited by a peasantry with an Indian strain, has an aristocracy distinctly European in tone. The Church possessed considerable political power at the turn of the century; and Catholic influence was credited with the amicable settlement of a boundary dispute which nearly occasioned war between Chile and Argentina.¹⁰⁰ A Liberal effort to separate Church and State was defeated in

⁹⁸ Few if any Paraguayans are of exclusively European ancestry, as the first settlers married natives. That, however, is ancient history; and the present ruling class looks down upon the offspring of recent intermarriages. Despite official encouragement, not many European immigrants have entered Paraguay and most of these have been Italians. Mennonites from Canada, who settled in the Gran Chaco in 1927, with handsome concessions from the government, were forced out by the Bolivian war.

⁹⁹ The "tape-line" republic, over 2,600 miles long and averaging less than 100 miles in width, is bounded on the north by a desert, on the east by mountains, elsewhere by the sea.

¹⁰⁰ The agreement, attained through arbitration, was commemorated in a gigantic statue, "The Christ of the Andes," cast from the metal of guns designed for use in the war which never came, and erected on the frontier between the two countries

1906; but later years saw a lessening of Catholic influence and an increase of Radical strength.¹⁰¹ However, when disestablishment came—by friendly agreement—in 1925, the Radical attempts to confiscate Church property, to deprive all clerics of the right to vote, and to exclude from the country all “foreign religious bodies” met with failure.¹⁰² Through the tactful conduct of the prelates and the well-trained clergy, the Church has benefited by the separation; the universities at Santiago and Valparaiso and the publication, *La Revista Católica*, have done much to restore Catholic intellectual influence; Catholic prestige has increased among the poorer classes; clericalism is no longer a political issue. The present situation of the Church is not very different from her position in the United States. To be sure, civil marriage is required by law; but, on the other hand, elective religious classes are conducted in the public schools. Catholic Action is fairly strong. In the years to come the Chilean Church, unless checked by Communism, or Nazism, or Fascism, will probably “surpass in glory the brightest days of her past.”¹⁰³

At the Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, Chile appeared almost as reluctant as Argentina to commit herself to full coöperation with the United States.¹⁰⁴ The later election of Ríos was regarded as bringing Chile more nearly into line with the rest of the Americas.

Five Tropical Countries

Colombia: Next to Argentina in point of population, with less than 25 per cent of pure whites, with a large proportion of Negroes and mulattoes along the Caribbean coast, with two-thirds of its territory inhabited by scattered savage tribes, Colombia pays a minimum of consideration to social barriers of race and color, yet has always accepted the rule of a group dominantly Spanish in type. Arriving at peace in 1903, after a stormy era that included some twenty-five armed conflicts, the country suffered a stunning blow in the secession of Panama. Thereafter, however, the govern-

on a mountain 14,000 feet above sea level. The inscription on the pedestal is, “He is our peace Who hath made both one.”

¹⁰¹ A strange dispute arose when the government undertook to Chilianize the provinces acquired from Peru, and the Peruvian bishop of Arequipa refused to relinquish jurisdiction. As the Holy See would not intervene, the government of Chile expelled the Peruvian priests in 1910. Tacna, which was part of the territory involved in the dispute, was returned to Peru in 1929.

¹⁰² Commenting on the separation, the archbishop of Santiago acquitted the government of any wish to persecute “as in other countries.”

¹⁰³ Edwin Ryan, “The Contribution of the Church to Chilean Culture,” *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVI (Oct. 1940), 324-34.

¹⁰⁴ At the time of the conference, reports that the Holy See was attempting to intervene in the political affairs of the Western Hemisphere attained so wide a circulation that the papal secretary of state through the apostolic delegate to the United States branded these reports as “purely fictitious.” N.C.W.C. News Service, Feb. 16, 1942.

ment—conservative in policy and sympathetic with the Church—was able to guide the nation (alone among the South American States) through a long period, and even through the critical years 1929–32, without a revolt. Colombia has maintained diplomatic relations with the Holy See for more than one hundred years, except for a short interval. Church affairs are regulated by the concordat of 1888 and its later supplements; bishops and priests enjoy complete freedom of action; a church in Bogotá commemorates the dedication of the country to the Sacred Heart.

Within recent years the Liberals have made their influence increasingly felt.¹⁰⁵ They established a number of schools including the University of Bogotá (founded in 1922); they terminated what had been almost a Jesuit control of secondary education in 1927; after winning the presidential elections of 1930 and 1934, they proceeded to eliminate from the constitution the recognition of Catholicism as the religion of the nation and the provision that public education must be Catholic; and through the ministry of education they have taken steps to get complete control of the schools and to make them more thoroughly secular.

Among conditions which disturb the bishops are the depressing prevalence of ignorance and vice (especially in rural areas which hold the majority of the people), the high percentage of illegitimacy, the scarcity of priestly vocations, and the ominous current transition from a pastoral to an industrial mode of life, which involves the more frequent employment of women—for whom as yet educational facilities are most inadequate. On the other hand, the Catholic press is well organized; Catholic Action is no longer negligible; a large percentage of college students are under ecclesiastical supervision; and the Church possesses two flourishing universities, one in Bogotá and the other in Medellín, most Catholic of the Colombian cities. The priesthood includes a fair proportion of Spaniards and Italians.¹⁰⁶

Venezuela: In view of the fact that the early wars of independence cost the country nearly one-third of its population, including almost all the whites, men of mixed blood have always been conspicuous in the history of

¹⁰⁵ This is partly because the bishops do not agree in their political views and thus divide the Conservative forces—although many foreign observers wrongly believe that political parties are divided strictly along religious lines. For example: "A 1942 presidential campaign is rolling up. The Liberals, who disestablished the Roman Catholic Church as the official national church in the 1930's, are under perpetual attack from the Conservatives as suborners of heresy and atheism. If the administration does favors for a war coalition which now includes Russia, these charges will be redoubled." Duncan Aikman, "Our Southern Front," *Atlantic Monthly*, 168 (Oct. 1941), 447–48.

¹⁰⁶ Missionary work among the Indians is subsidized by the government. The Presbyterian Church, which sent missionaries to New Granada at the request of the Liberal administration about the middle of the nineteenth century, remained the only Protestant body in this area for three-quarters of a century; and Catholic opposition to Protestant missionary activity has provoked sharp comment on Colombian "intolerance."

the republic. Two of these, the insolent and shameless **Castro**,¹⁰⁷ and his successor, **Gómez**, ruled the country in arbitrary fashion for more than a third of a century and kept the Church practically helpless—although **Gómez**¹⁰⁸ was less hostile than **Castro**. After the death of **Gómez**, popular pressure forced through a program of political reconstruction, under cover of which exiled Communists returned to the country and formed a Popular Front. In 1936 Venezuela adopted a new constitution, dissolved all political parties suspected of communistic sympathies, and proceeded to break up the great estates, define the rights of labor, raise the standard of living, protect the public health, declare primary and secondary education compulsory, and make all public schools and colleges free.

The constitution, which requires the president and members of the cabinet to be natives (and non-clerics), continues the claim to "ecclesiastical patronage," and recognizes Catholicism as the state religion, tolerating other religions, if they refrain from propaganda. Influences which have contributed to improvement are the hierarchy's active coöperation with the decrees of the Latin American Council of 1899, the reopening of seminaries, the more systematic teaching of religion in the schools, and the entrance of several missionary communities by invitation of the government. Yet on the whole, Catholic Action has been tardy in getting under way; educational facilities are far from adequate; too little missionary work has been undertaken among the one hundred thousand pagan Indians; and despite a large proportion of worthy members in the clergy, there have been "melancholy relaxations of discipline."¹⁰⁹

Peru: The disturbances and revolutions of the first two decades were ended by the dictator **Leguia** (1919-1930), friendly to the United States and sympathetic towards the Church. Agitation for badly needed social and political improvements gave strength to the radical Apra (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*), an international association of workers. Early in April 1933, a new constitution was adopted; the president, **Cerro**, was assassinated three weeks later; the Constituent Assembly chose **General Benavides** to complete the term. In 1936 Apra elected its candidate to the presidency, but the election was nullified on the ground that members of international political parties are ineligible for public office; and the congress granted dictatorial powers to President Benavides who suppressed the Apra, bettered the condition of the working classes, improved

¹⁰⁷ In 1902, after **Castro** had refused to arbitrate claims for reparation presented by ten foreign countries, British and German warships proclaimed a blockade and bombarded Venezuelan ports. The matter was settled by the Hague Tribunal; and since then no European power has forcibly intervened in Latin America.

¹⁰⁸ In 1929, however, **Gómez** deported the bishop of Valencia for his protest against a civil law affecting the marriage of Catholics.

¹⁰⁹ **Eugenio Nicolas Navarro** (Rector of the Metropolitan Seminary, Caracas), in *Cath. Encyc.*, XV, 332.

the school system, and insisted on more consideration for the Indians still in many places subject to the peonage which had been outlawed in 1915.¹¹⁰

From the beginning of the present century the Church has had liberty to acquire and dispose of property. As amended in 1926, the constitution concedes to the Holy See the right to appoint bishops and archbishops directly; the law requiring civil approval for the seeking of dispensations from Rome has been ignored in practice; civil marriage is not imposed and divorce is not recognized; a decree passed in 1929 prohibited non-Catholic religious instruction in any school, public or private. In addition to the old University of San Marcos in Lima, Catholics have another university which in 1938, twenty years after its foundation, had an enrollment of nearly 2,800. Primary education is nominally compulsory and free; but the rate of illiteracy remains high.

The Church, well organized, forms an important element of national stability and is respected by the secular press; but a change worth noting is that in former days Liberals were at least nominally Catholic, whereas now they are professed enemies of religion.¹¹¹ Up to the present there has been no systematic attempt at confiscation of Church property, although there exists a definite movement to effect disestablishment. The president's constitutional right to negotiate a concordat has never been exercised, probably because the government (until the amendment of 1926) enjoyed the limited right of patronage conceded by Pius IX in 1874.

Bolivia: The long unsettled era which ended about the beginning of the century was followed by several decades of comparative peace and prosperity. More significant than the several bloodless revolutions which took place was the costly war with Paraguay over the disputed boundaries of the Chaco—settled by arbitration after great loss of life. A military dictatorship established in 1936 outlawed Communism, enacted various measures of economic and social reform, assumed the obligation to provide work or a living income for all indigent persons, imposed heavy taxes on absentee owners, persons of wealth, and proprietors of uncultivated land. The Bo-

¹¹⁰ The ethnologically related Indian tribes of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador (part of the old Inca empire) are sunk in sordid poverty and subject to cruel oppression—with Peruvians and Bolivians suffering more than Ecuadorians. Early in the century complaints from the prefects apostolic of the Putumayo rubber region, accounts in the European newspapers, an encyclical addressed by Pope Pius X to the bishops of Latin America (1912), together with official investigations by Peru and England, led to remedial measures against the frightful cruelties practiced by the rubber merchants. In 1912 the Holy See assigned Putumayo to the Irish Franciscans. See C. W. Currier, "The Putumayo Atrocities," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXXVII (1912), 658.

After Liberal influence in 1915 secured the enactment of a law extending toleration to Protestants, a considerable number of Protestant missionaries, many of them Seventh Day Adventists, established numerous schools among the Indians; but they made little progress and their presence served to awaken Catholics to greater zeal.

¹¹¹ The "master" of the skeptical youth of Peru is said to have been Manuel González Prada (1848-1918).

livian school system was laicized in 1900; catechism was reintroduced as an extra-curricular subject in 1928; and in 1942 Catholic religious instruction was made obligatory in all public and private primary schools, except in the case of non-Catholic pupils and non-Catholic institutions.¹¹²

There has been comparatively little change in the status of the Church since the adoption of the first constitution in 1830, except for the annulling of the former provision requiring the president to be a Catholic and the passing of an act of toleration in 1905 which has been called "the Magna Carta of Protestant Missions in Bolivia." The state recognizes and supports "the Catholic apostolic Roman religion" and claims rights of patronage and exequatur. Other legal changes were the imposing of the civil marriage form (except for Indians) in 1911 and the legalizing of divorce in 1932. Although the Church made comparatively little progress during the nineteenth century, it has grown notably within recent years. In 1917 an apostolic visitor sent by the Holy See made a report on the missions of Bolivia which had almost ceased to function for lack of priests; in 1942 a mission field in northern Bolivia was assigned to the Maryknoll Fathers.

Ecuador: During the first quarter century Ecuador made considerable material progress;¹¹³ but the administrations of Alfaro and Gutiérrez carried on an anticlerical campaign, imposed the civil marriage form, legalized divorce, secularized public education, confiscated Church property; and the constitutions of 1906 and 1929 tacitly repudiated the union of Church and State—although the government continued to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. Diplomatic representation at the Vatican lapsed (until 1937). The Church established numerous schools in these years, and aroused a desire on the part of the Liberals to take them over in order to prevent "clerical monopoly of education."

The political agitation which began in 1925 continued almost uninterruptedly—with six presidents in eight years (1926–1934) and an outbreak of violence in 1932 which cost nearly a thousand lives. After one dictator, Ibarra, had been ousted in a military uprising, the new supreme chief, Páez, in 1935 warned both the Catholic bishops and the Communist Party against offering any political opposition to his regime. A better era commenced in 1937, when a new constitution was adopted and Páez was replaced by a cabinet half military, half civilian. Decrees have been enacted outlawing Communists, providing for government settlement of all labor

¹¹² The rate of illiteracy for the country is high; and among the one million Indians it reached almost 100 per cent. The Indian Crusade inaugurated by the bishop of La Paz—unfortunately destroyed by a "university mission" from Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay—gave way to a movement called "Indianism" which eliminated all religious instruction.

¹¹³ The Guayaquil-Quito Railway was completed in 1908. With the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation, Guayaquil, the commercial capital, once a yellow fever center, has been made reasonably healthy.

disputes, and prohibiting the holding of uncultivated areas of land. Women voted in Ecuador for the first time in 1939. Early in 1942 the ancient boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru was settled at the conference of American Republics.

Non-Spanish Countries

Brazil: Distinguished from the other Latin American states by its immense area and large population as well as by language, racial composition, social and political traditions, Brazil is the home of about half the population of South America. In the south, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and German stocks predominate; the north contains a large percentage of Negroes and Indians.¹¹⁴ The country has received more than four million immigrants within the last one hundred years, the majority of them from Italy and Portugal. The government has been in the hands of comparatively small minorities, with control passing from one party to another; social and industrial conditions have been deplorably backward. **Getulio Vargas**, defeated candidate for the office of president in 1929, charged fraud, seized control, and reorganized Brazil on semi-corporative lines, restoring to the Church many ancient privileges of which she had been deprived in the constitution of 1891. Steps were taken to offset the influence of Communism by teaching religion in the public schools; and in recent years Catholic Action has made considerable progress. Priests are distressingly scarce and many of the people have never seen even a missionary. Brazil contains a considerable number of Catholic Germans and many Japanese converts.¹¹⁵ In 1942, after an interval of more than forty years, religious instruction was restored to the curriculum of the state schools as an elective subject. In the same year Brazil declared war against Germany.

Guiana: Jesuit, Holy Ghost, and Redemptorist missionaries serve the inhabitants of British, French, and Dutch Guiana respectively. These colonies contain a mixed population of Whites, Negroes, and Asiatics, many of whom are escaped slaves and convicts. The British and the Dutch colonial governments have aided the Catholic schools. A vicar apostolic resides in each of the three colonies.

¹¹⁴ Some of the semi-civilized Indians use the "lingua Geral," a patois invented long ago by Jesuit missionaries. In Brazil the name *mameluco* is used as the equivalent of *mestizo*.

¹¹⁵ An estimate published in 1940 gives the following distribution of foreign stocks: Portuguese descent unmixed, 5,000,000; Italian or half Italian descent, 3,500,000; German or half German descent, 900,000; Japanese descent, 300,000; Spanish, Slavic, Turkish, Syrian, etc., 2,600,000. The aggressive policy of foreign minorities alarmed the government and has occasioned the taking of measures to counteract their influence. See Bailey W. Diffie, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (1940), 402-29. On Catholic activities see Sister M. Ancilla O'Neill, *Tristão de Athayde and the Catholic Social Movement in Brazil*.

West Indies: The principal political events in this region within the last half century have been the rise of Cuba to independence, the temporary occupation of Haiti by United States troops, violent clashes between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, United States administrative activities in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and certain territorial transactions during the Second World War, too recent for discussion here. The influence of the United States has contributed to the lowering of the illiteracy rate which, however, still remains high—partly because of political disturbances. The three independent states—Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic—send representatives to the Vatican; and all three declared war on Japan soon after the Japanese attack on the United States in December 1941.

Cuba: After the Spanish-American War, the United States retained control of Cuba until order had been completely restored. The Constitutional Convention (1900–1901) provided for religious toleration and for separation of Church and State; an incipient attack upon religion was checked by General Wood, the tactful American representative; compensation was made for the ecclesiastical property seized several years earlier. Recent political changes have had no notable effect upon the religious situation. The majority of the inhabitants are of Spanish descent and most of these are Catholics; and religious orders have at least 100 schools on the island.

Haiti: About fifteen hundred whites reside in Haiti; but the natives are almost all Negroes or mulattoes, following an African way of life and commonly addicted to voodooism. In 1915, after seven presidents had been assassinated within five years and large numbers of political prisoners had been massacred in jail, the United States landed troops—keeping control of the country until 1934. The constitution adopted in 1935 was a conservative victory. The pressure of population in this small state—not much more than 10,000 square miles in area—has become an increasingly serious problem; both the adjoining Dominican Republic and the neighboring island of Cuba have erected barriers against immigration, and in 1937 thousands of Haitians who had crossed the Dominican border were killed.

The concordat of 1860, still effective, recognizes Catholicism as "the religion of the great majority of Haitians." The government supports the clergy and pays the salaries of the bishops, who are nominated by the president and appointed by the Holy See; all religions are tolerated, one-tenth of the religious budget is assigned to Protestants, a civil marriage ceremony is required, and absolute divorce is permitted. In spite of attempts to build up a native clergy with the help of a seminary at Quimper, France, there

were only eight native priests in 1930; and most of the clergy are French. Although Catholic sisters conduct thirty-six schools—rated superior to the public schools—educational progress has been slow, and the rate of illiteracy is still about 85 per cent. A papal nuncio resides at Port-au-Prince. French is the official language.

The Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo): In this state, which occupies the eastern two-thirds of the Island, the population is 40 per cent white; the remainder is of mixed African, Indian, and European blood. The language of the country is Spanish. Illiteracy is high—80 per cent. Catholicism is established by law; and the relationship between Church and State is regulated by the agreement of 1884. The government contributes a pittance to the support of the clergy and insists on reviewing the names of bishops to be appointed. All religions are tolerated. Most of the clergy is of native stock; priests are frequently elected to public office; and in 1912 the office of president of the Republic was for the second time held by a cleric—this time by Archbishop Nouel who resigned office before the end of his two year term. The archbishop of Santo Domingo resides in the capital, which since 1926 is called *Ciudad di Trujillo*. The nuncio to Haiti is also accredited to the Dominican Republic.

American Possessions: Puerto Rico,¹¹⁶ under Spanish rule until 1898, came into the possession of the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War. In 1917 American citizenship was conferred upon the inhabitants; and the island is under the rule of a governor appointed by the president of the United States. Although education is free, more than 40 per cent of the population over ten years of age was illiterate in 1930. Several religious communities are laboring in the island. **The Virgin Islands:**¹¹⁷ Most of this area was purchased from Denmark by the United States in 1917 for the sum of \$25,000,000; and United States citizenship was conferred on the natives by act of Congress in 1927. Redemptorist priests work among the natives, and schools are in charge of the Canonesses of St. Augustine. The population of 22,000—Negro or part Negro, with few exceptions—includes about 5,000 Catholics. **The Canal Zone:**¹¹⁸ This

¹¹⁶ This island, discovered by Columbus in 1493, was colonized by Ponce de León in 1509; and the diocese of San Juan, erected in 1511, was the first see occupied in the New World. The earliest missionaries were Dominicans. Convents and Church property were confiscated as a consequence of civil war in Spain towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

¹¹⁷ The British part of the Virgin Islands contains about six thousand people. The islands are under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of San Juan of Puerto Rico.

¹¹⁸ The Canal Zone (exclusive of the cities of Panama and Colon) was ceded to the United States in 1904 by the Republic of Panama which, with aid from the United States, had revolted from Colombia in 1903. In return, Panama received from the United States a cash payment of \$10,000,000 and a perpetual annuity of \$250,000. By a treaty ratified in 1921 Colombia recognized the independence of Panama and received \$25,000,000 from the United States as indemnity for the territory included in the Canal Zone.

strip of land, five miles wide, on either side of the Panama Canal, lies partly in the archdiocese of Panama and partly in the vicariate apostolic of Darien. Vincentian Fathers from the United States minister to the Catholics in and about the Zone, of whom there are 10,000 colored, 16,000 Indian, and 3,000 white.

British Possessions: This area is under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishop of Port of Spain, the bishop of Roseau, the vicars apostolic of Belize (British Honduras) and Jamaica, and the prefect apostolic of the Bahamas.¹¹⁹ In Trinidad, where Catholics form a majority, the Church retains privileges possessed under Spanish rule previously to 1797. Jamaica, where freedom of worship was extended to Catholics in 1792, has been the residence of a vicar apostolic since 1837 and is under the care of the Jesuits. Schools in this region are conducted by Dominican and Franciscan sisters, the Sisters of Mercy, and the Sisters of Charity of Mount St. Vincent, New York.

French Possessions: The sees of Guadeloupe and Martinique (established in 1850 as suffragan sees of the archdiocese of Bordeaux) are now under the jurisdiction of Propaganda. They are served by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost.

Dutch Possessions: The vicariate apostolic of Curaçao, established in 1842, was assigned to the Dominicans in 1868.

b. British North America

TABLE X

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
Canada	11,000,000	4,500,000	7,000	40
Newfoundland	290,000	94,000	100	3
TOTAL	11,290,000	4,594,000	7,100	43

Canada: The Dominion of Canada—embracing all of British America except Newfoundland—has a population about one-half British (including Irish) and about one-third French in origin. The French, strongly attached to their traditions, form more than 50 per cent of the Catholic body.¹²⁰ Racial and religious rivalries thus overlap.

¹¹⁹ The Bahamas, where no priest resided until 1899, remained under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of New York until 1929 when they became a prefecture apostolic in charge of the Benedictines.

¹²⁰ About 300,000 Ukrainian Greek Catholics who live in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, are cared for by some 100 priests under the jurisdiction of their bishop residing at Winnipeg, a see since 1912.

Of the Protestants who are chiefly Scots, English, and North Irish, more than 2,000,000

As Canadian law allows the provinces to support separate denominational schools in addition to the public schools, some of the provinces provide for Catholic schools; British Columbia and Nova Scotia do not.¹²¹ Dominantly Catholic Quebec supports separate schools for Protestant children, and dominantly Protestant Ontario supports separate schools for Catholic children; but the distribution of support is more equitable in Quebec than in Ontario.¹²²

When the Northwestern Provinces were constituted in 1905, an unsuccessful attempt was made to curtail the privileges of the Catholic schools. In Manitoba, where the total population of one million includes almost twenty non-English-speaking races, about one-fifth of the schools were bilingual a few years ago—more than one hundred being Polish or Ukrainian. In Alberta a number of Ukrainian schools were closed by the government on charges of incompetence.

English-speaking Catholics have reason to be proud of a school of unique excellence, the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto and of the organ of that school, *Mediaeval Studies*, which with good right has been called "an indispensable contribution to the study of Christian thought and civilization." French-speaking Canadians, for their part, may boast of "a copious and truly national literature," not fashioned on European

belong to the United Church and more than 1,500,000 to the Anglican Church. Baptists and Lutherans together number less than 1,000,000. Jews number about 150,000.

¹²¹ Nova Scotia, however, usually appoints Catholic teachers to schools in which Catholic children predominate.

¹²² Disputes over the unfair treatment of Catholics in educational matters have occurred on several occasions; and the situation is complicated by racial antagonisms, which are strong enough to convey the impression "that there is less mutual love between Irish Roman Catholics and French Roman Catholics in Canada than there is between English-speaking Protestants and Roman Catholics." Alfred Leroy Burt, *A Short History of Canada for Americans*, p. 132.

One memorable dispute took place in 1913, after the educational department of Ontario passed a regulation restricting the teaching of French in the public schools. The French protested; but they were not supported by the English-speaking Catholics. Pope Benedict XV wrote a letter to the Canadian bishops, deploring this division among Catholics, affirming the right of the French to preserve their language and counseling charity on all sides. The twelve bishops of Ontario (both the French-speaking and the English-speaking) made an appeal for reasonable consideration of the rights of the bilingual schools. This, together with a more tolerant attitude on the part of non-Catholics, brought about a modification of the objectionable regulation. In *The Evolution of French Canada*, Jean Bracq, a Protestant Frenchman, has attempted to do justice to the French Catholics of Canada.

models. Too little known even in Canada, it includes poetry, history, journalism, fiction, and such periodicals as *Culture*, *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historique* (both of Quebec), *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, and *Le Canada Français* of Montreal.

Newfoundland: The Church has developed rapidly in Newfoundland; and Catholics do not as a rule suffer from intolerance. Denominational schools are recognized; and the government allows a certain sum for each child in attendance. The rate of illiteracy is less than 10 per cent. Among the Eskimo in Labrador, Oblate and Jesuit missionaries were caring for about thirteen hundred converts at the beginning of the century; and in 1901 the Jesuit, Father Barnum, composed an Eskimo grammar and dictionary.

II. THE CHURCH

1. THE PAPACY

During the various national and racial conflicts of this century in which individual Catholics have taken sides according to their own national and racial affiliations, the Holy See has consistently maintained neutrality, restricting its activity to the proclaiming of moral principles, the protesting of attacks upon the Church or upon religion, and the renewing of efforts to prevent or to limit war. Unfortunately for mankind, during the First World War and immediately afterwards, the great powers ignored the papacy as a possible influence for the making of peace and the establishing of justice in international relationships. In later years, however, papal prestige improved in the diplomatic world—witness the eighteen concordats negotiated by Pius XI and the forty-one representatives accredited to the Vatican. The newer concordats, in contrast with those of an earlier day, made less demands upon the Holy See; and some of them allowed the Church a notable degree of freedom, particularly in the field of education.

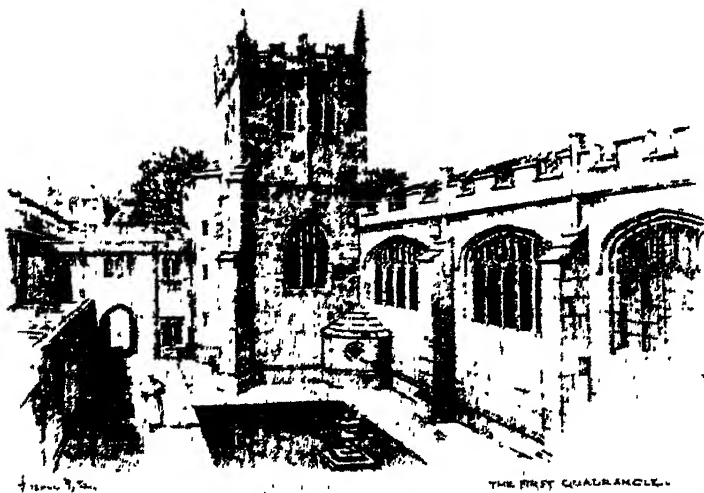
Throughout the world the influence of the papacy is recognized as unique. Episodes quite without precedent in modern



Courtesy of Thomas L. O'Neill, C.S.P.

SANTA SUSANNA

Assigned by Benedict XV to Americans in Rome (1921)



THE FIRST QUADRANGLE.

Courtesy of Urban Nagle, O.P.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE OF BLACKFRIARS, OXFORD

Founded 1221; suppressed 1538; refounded 1921; one of 16 Catholic colleges



Courtesy of the Superior

MARYKNOLL SEMINARY (1912)
Headquarters of the Foreign Mission Society of America



Courtesy of the Superior

BAY ST. LOUIS SEMINARY, LOUISIANA (1920)
Alma Mater of 18 Negro priests

times were the world-wide manifestation of sympathy over the death of Pius XI; the visit of the English Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, to the Vatican in 1939; in the same year, President Roosevelt's appointment of Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to discuss possible plans for world peace with Pius XII. In 1942 representatives to the Vatican were appointed by Japan, by China, and by Finland.¹²³

For some years before the death of Leo XIII at the age of ninety-three, his supervision of affairs had relaxed; and his successor, Pius X (1903-1914)—formerly Cardinal Sarto—a man of sturdy Venetian stock, entered at once upon a vigorous program of necessary practical reforms. Pius suppressed a number of inefficient schools and seminaries, tightened clerical discipline, spread the practice of frequent Communion all over the world—especially among children—and organized commissions to codify the canon law and edit the text of the *Vulgate*. Interference by the French government in ecclesiastical affairs led to a serious break. France suppressed the religious congregations, confiscated their property, and in 1905 abrogated the concordat. When the French bishops, by direction of the pope, refused to accept the proposed reorganization of the Church, all ecclesiastical property was confiscated.

A notable event of this pontificate was the controversy occasioned by Modernism. After having condemned that heresy in the decree, *Lamentabili*, and the encyclical, *Pascendi* (1907), the pope ordered all bishops "to purge their clergy of modernistic infection." Books were banned as unorthodox; teachers were dismissed; in some places priests were excommunicated; a number of defections from the faith occurred. The excitement had scarcely begun to subside when the First World War broke out, and Pius X died August 20, 1914, the very day that the German army entered Brussels.

Cardinal della Chiesa, as Benedict XV (1914-1922), labored strenuously in behalf of peace and was censured by extremists of both sides. In June 1915, he was reported to have orally expressed sympathy for the Central Powers; but he repudiated the alleged interview. Other critics reproached him for his impartiality. On August 1, 1917, he offered to act as mediator between the warring states, proposing as points for discussion: reduction of armaments; compulsory arbitration; freedom of the seas; cancellation of indemnities; restoration of occupied territory; guarantees of Belgium's neutrality; a plebiscite on the disputed boundaries of the Balkan States. His mediation was rejected, and France, Great Britain, and Russia promised Italy to exclude the papacy from all negotiations con-

¹²³ Great Britain and the United States sent protests to the Vatican against the Japanese appointment; and Japan protested the Chinese appointment.

nected with the settlement of the war.¹²⁴ In later years statesmen recognized the wisdom of the pope's proposals; and this recognition helped to increase the diplomatic influence of the Vatican.

The independence of the pope was respected during the war. His mail was never interfered with; cardinals of any nationality were allowed to come and go through Italian territory; and Italy even offered to allow enemy ambassadors to remain in the Vatican. During Benedict's pontificate both France and England resumed diplomatic relations with the Holy See. After the war Pope Benedict's two world-wide appeals, which brought in millions of dollars, saved multitudes from starvation in Central and Eastern Europe. The pope's labors and anxieties during the war and immediately afterwards, in all probability shortened his life.

The conclave of 1922—after fourteen ballots had failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote for any of the cardinals—elected a compromise candidate, Cardinal Ratti (1922-1939), Archbishop of Milan, a scholar of international repute who had been head of the Ambrosian Library and then head of the Vatican Library. He took the title of Pius XI and proved to be a positive and bold ruler. His conciliatory attitude towards the French government resulted in the re-establishing of the nunciature at Paris and gave the Church a legal status in France not possessed since the abrogation of the concordat in 1905; on the other hand, he displeased the French Royalists, and his condemnation of *l'Action Française* was followed by the resignation of Cardinal Billot from the College of Cardinals. Pius XI disapproved of Catholic political bodies; he consistently urged Catholics all over the world to organize lay associations for religious activities under the direction of the hierarchy; and he described this "Catholic Action" as "the apple of his eye."

During the first six years of Mussolini's administration, the Fascist government and the Vatican manifested mutual distrust. Then, on the seventh anniversary of the pope's coronation, February 11, 1929, the Lateran Treaty was signed. By it the Holy See renounced all claim to the Papal States; and the kingdom of Italy accepted the canon law of the Church as valid throughout the Italian jurisdiction. Not long afterwards, however, the pope clashed with Mussolini over the latter's wish to place all organizations under government control. The papal encyclical, *Non abbiamo bisogno*, of June 29, 1931, condemned exaggerated nationalism; to evade Fascist censorship it was rushed through the press and sent out of the country by aeroplane. The situation developed tension for a short period, but no break came; and after Mussolini's personal visit to the pope on February 11, 1932, friction lessened.

¹²⁴ This arrangement was ratified in the Pact of London in April 1915. Had the pope's offer been considered, the war might have been settled much sooner and on a saner basis than that adopted at Versailles.

During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia the pope confined himself to a general denunciation of all violence, cruelty, and injustice. In many quarters he was criticized for not having uttered a more specific condemnation of the war; but his plea for peaceful settlement of international disputes and his comment on the Ethiopian situation in September 1935, were generally regarded as a rebuke to Mussolini. An idea of the vigorous spirit in which Pius XI presided over the Church may be gathered from the wide range of subjects discussed in his thirty encyclicals and from the long list of agreements signed with different governments.

To the scholarly world the modernizing and enlarging of the Vatican Library and the re-creating of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences were among the important achievements of this pontificate.¹²⁵

On February 10, 1939, Pius XI died; and on March 2, 1939, his Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, was elected pope by a conclave which had been in session less than forty-eight hours. The demonstration of universal sorrow on the death of Pius XI was nearly equaled by the acclaim which greeted the new Pope, Pius XII—unmistakable evidence of the prestige possessed by the papacy in the year 1939.

Almost immediately Pius XII made a friendly gesture towards Italy by abolishing the Central Office of Italian Catholic Action which the government had accused of indulging in activities proscribed by the concordat.¹²⁶ In April he broadcast congratulations on victory to Spain and expressed his bitter sorrow "over so many innocent little children removed from their families and taken to strange countries with much danger of apostasy and perversion." In July he lifted the ban on *l'Action Française*, after the directors had expressed their regret for past misconduct and promised to respect the Holy See in future. His encyclical of October 1939, while recognizing the wide extent of the state's legitimate powers, condemned totalitarianism.¹²⁷ A letter to the American bishops in November 1939 (renewing the doctrine of Leo XIII and Pius XI) affirmed that "working-men must receive wages sufficient to maintain themselves and their families"; and that "laborers have a right to the same freedom of association enjoyed by their employers."

On the first Christmas Eve of his pontificate, in an address commonly referred to as the Five Point Peace Plan, Pius XII laid down the indispensable conditions of just and lasting peace—the right of all nations, great

¹²⁵ The Library now contains about 60,000 MSS and some 500,000 volumes including about 9,000 MS books.

¹²⁶ In place of the Central Office, the pope appointed a commission composed of five cardinal archbishops resident in their own dioceses.

¹²⁷ "No prudent sensible man would deny to the civil ruler ample and extraordinary powers to remedy the miseries of the poor," but, on the other hand, "whoever considers the State to be the end towards which all things are directed, to which everyone must bow, is of necessity an enemy of all true and lasting progress," *Summi pontificatus*,

and small, to life and independence; mutually agreed, organic, progressive disarmament; a juridical institution to guarantee, revise, and correct international agreements; friendly examination of the real needs and just demands of nations, populations, and racial minorities; a sense of responsibility for measuring human statutes by the inviolable law of God.

2. CATHOLIC LIFE: DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, PRACTICE

Official Teaching: From 1900 to 1940 seventy-two encyclicals were published, of which twelve came from Leo XIII,¹²⁸ sixteen from Pius X, twelve from Benedict XV, thirty from Pius XI, and two from Pius XII. Conspicuous among the subjects treated were the errors of Modernism in the period preceding the First World War and political and social principles in the later period.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
<i>Leo XIII (1878-1903)</i>		
1901	Decree of the Holy Office	On baptism.
1902	Encyclical	On the Eucharist.
<i>Pius X (1903-1914)</i>		
1904	Encyclical	On the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mediatrix of graces.
1905	Responses of the Biblical Commission ¹²⁹	On implicit quotations and historical statements in Holy Scripture.
1905	Decree of the Congregation of the Council (approved by Pope Pius X on Dec. 20th).	On daily Communion.
1906	Papal decree	On mixed marriages.
1906	Encyclical to France	Condemning the Law of Separation between the French Republic and the Church.
1906	Decree of the Holy Office	On extreme unction.
1906	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the Mosaic authorship of the <i>Pentateuch</i> .
1907	Decree of the Holy Office, <i>Lamentabili</i>	On 65 Modernist errors.
1907	Decree of the Congregation of the Council, <i>Ne temere</i>	On marriage.
1907	Encyclical, <i>Pascendi</i>	On Modernism.

¹²⁸ During his whole pontificate Leo XIII wrote eighty-six encyclicals.

¹²⁹ See *Rome and the Study of Scripture*. St. Meinrad, Indiana: Abbey Press, 1937.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
1907	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the authorship and historical character of the Fourth Gospel.
1907	Papal Pronouncement	On the authority of the decrees of the Biblical Commission.
1908	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the Book of Isaias.
1909	Encyclical	On the relation between philosophy and theology.
1909	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the historical character of the first chapters of Genesis.
1910	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the authorship and date of the Psalms.
1910	Decree, <i>Quam singulari</i>	On the age for First Communion.
1910	Papal Pronouncement	Anti-Modernistic oath.
1910	Letter	On certain errors of the Orientals.
1911	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the Gospel according to St. Matthew.
1912	Responses of the Biblical Commission	On the Second and Third Gospels; on the relationship of the three Synoptic Gospels.
1913	Responses of the Biblical Commission	On the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul.
1914	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Benedict XV (1914-1922)

1915	Response of the Biblical Commission	On the second coming of our Lord.
1916	Response of the Holy Office	On reconciliation of schismatics at death.
1917	Response of the Holy Office	On Spiritism.
1918	Decree of the Holy Office	On the knowledge of Christ.
1919	Response of the Holy Office	On Theosophy.
1919	Letter of Pope Benedict XV, <i>Maximum illud</i>	On native clergy in mission lands.
1919	Encyclical	In aid of the starving children of Europe.
1920	Encyclical	On St. Jerome and the inerrancy of Scripture.

Pius XI (1922-1939)

1922	Encyclical, <i>Ubi arcano Dei</i>	On Church and State.
1923	Encyclical	On Thomas Aquinas.
1924	Bull	On revival of merits.

DATE	SOURCE	SUBJECT
1925	Encyclical	On the reign of Christ and "laicism."
1926	Letter	Against <i>l'Action Française</i> .
1926	Encyclical, <i>Rerum Ecclesiae</i>	On the development of native clergy.
1927	Response of the Penitentiaria	Concerning <i>l'Action Française</i> .
1927	Decree of the Holy Office	Condemning " <i>l'Action Française</i> " et le Vatican.
1927	Response of the Holy Office	On a proposed congress of religions.
1928	Encyclical, <i>Rerum Orientalium</i>	On Oriental studies.
1928	Decree of the Congregation for Oriental Churches	On permission to pass from one rite to another.
1929	Encyclical, <i>Divini illius Magistri</i>	On Catholic education.
1929	Decree of the Holy Office	On sins against purity.
1930	Encyclical, <i>Casti connubii</i>	On Christian marriage.
1931	Encyclical, <i>Quadragesimo anno</i> .	On the social and industrial order.
1931	Decree of the Holy Office	On sex education and eugenics.
1931	Encyclical, <i>Non abbiamo bisogno</i>	In defense of "Catholic Action."
1931	Encyclical	On Mary, Mother of mankind.
1931	Encyclical, <i>Nova impendit</i>	On the economic crisis.
1935	Instruction of Propaganda	On obstetrical training in missions.
1935	Encyclical, <i>Ad Catholicos Sacerdotes</i>	On the Catholic priesthood.
1937	Encyclical, <i>Mit brennender Sorge</i>	On the Church in Germany.
1937	Encyclical, <i>Divini Redemptoris</i>	On atheistic Communism.
<i>Pius XII (1939-)</i>		
1939	Encyclical, <i>Summi pontificatus</i>	On rulers of states.
1939	Encyclical to the American Hierarchy, <i>Sertum laetitiae</i>	On conditions in America.
1939	Christmas Eve Sermon	The Five Point Peace Plan.
1940	Letter of condolence	To the Church in France.
1942	Jubilee broadcast	In behalf of peace.
1944	Christmas message	On democracy

Councils: There have been rumors of a possible reconvening of the Vatican Council (adjourned in 1870), but nothing more definite than that. Among the few conciliar meetings that have taken place are the First Plenary Council of Quebec in 1909 and the Council of the Armenians in Rome, 1911.

Organization: In 1904 Pius X, having announced his intention of making important disciplinary changes, appointed a commission to draft a new code of canon law; and thirteen years later the code (made up of 2,414 canons) was promulgated as

the official law of the Church.¹³⁰ In 1908, Pius X reorganized the Roman Congregations established by Sixtus V three centuries earlier.¹³¹

The Holy See has given special attention to the organizing of mission work. In 1919 Benedict XV published a mission encyclical (*Maximum illud*) in which he urged improvement of missionary methods and emphasized the wisdom of developing a native clergy. Between the years 1919 and 1930 apostolic delegations were set up in Japan, China, Indo-China, South Africa, Belgian Congo, Africa.

As pointed out by Pius XII (*Ubi arcano Dei*, 1922), the Church abstains from purely political activity and resents state interference in religious affairs. Catholic Action was warned to keep out of the political field; but Catholics were urged to participate as individual citizens in the political life of their countries. In December 1945 Pope Pius XII by nominating 32 new cardinals (only four of them Italians) reduced the Italians, for the first time in centuries, to a minority—28 in a college of 70. The Holy See is now in close contact with many governments, some forty of whom have representatives at the Vatican.

Under papal encouragement, Catholic Action has grown into a movement of remarkable potency. The Catholic Youth Organization—fashioned on diocesan lines but developed on an ecumenical scale—promotes the physical, cultural, and spiritual

¹³⁰ The code was published in 1917 to go into effect within a year.

¹³¹ Ecclesiastical affairs were placed under the following departments of the Roman Curia—12 Congregations, 3 Tribunals, 4 Offices and numerous Pontifical Commissions.

Congregations: Of the Holy Office (which took over the activities of the old Congregation of the Index); of the Consistory; of Oriental Affairs; of the Sacraments; of the Council; of Religious Communities; of the Propagation of the Faith; of Sacred Rites; of Ceremonial; of Extraordinary Affairs; of Studies; of St. Peter's.

Tribunals: the Penitentiaria, the Rota, the Segnatura (Appeals).

Offices: The Chancery, the Datary, the Camera, the Secretariate.

Pontifical Commissions include the following: On Biblical Studies; on the Correction of the Vulgate; on the Interpretation of Canon Law; on Russia; on Oriental Canon Law; on Sacred Archaeology.

Among the official documents issued by the Holy See are: Letters (including apostolic, decretal, encyclical, "*motu proprio*," autograph, and simple *epistolae*); Briefs, a less solemn, and Bulls, a more solemn form of document; Constitutions (official, authoritative communications); and Rescripts (replies to questions or requests).

On the present organization of the Church see Donald Attwater *Orbis Catholicus*. The official pronouncements of the Holy See are published periodically in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. Rome: Vatican Press.

development of Catholic youth in conformity with sound religious and moral ideals; calls for an international convention every two years; and helps to check the current governmental tendency to place the young people of a nation under the complete control of a state bureau.

Some Catholic organizations exercise a nation-wide, or even world-wide influence; but a long campaign of education must be carried on before all the available energy can be coördinated and unified. Of itself, a huge membership effects little. In Spain, for example, where Catholic associations had "spread over the whole of Spanish society," an organized minority of anticlericals was able to obtain control of the government and inaugurate a religious persecution. Unity of purpose and coördination are conditions of success. Already, however, the promoting of organized Catholic activity throughout the world has made Catholics everywhere increasingly conscious of the social implications of their religion; and of late they have displayed greater interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of their neighbors. The opening of this field to the laity may well prove to be a turning point in the history of the Church.

Marriage: Catholic theologians still debate the question, Does a Christian who marries a pagan receive the sacrament? They also debate the responsibility of Catholic judges, lawyers, and litigants in suits for civil divorce. They are fairly well agreed that indissolubility is established not by the primary, but by the secondary, law of nature—a theory which accords better with the so-called "Pauline Privilege."¹⁸² At present Catholic marriage is regulated by the Codex of Canon Law promulgated in 1917, made effective in 1918; and the interpretation of the law together with the decision of disputed cases belong to the tribunal of the Rota and to three Congregations (of the Holy Office, of the Propaganda, of the Sacraments) whose decisions appear in the official publication, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. But, with divorce legalized in nearly every country, with "free-love" popularized by the theatre and current literature, with the propaganda of birth control carried on vigorously and successfully, the Catholic

¹⁸² The concession of divorce in certain circumstances, including lack of baptism.

Church is now being called upon to justify the very existence of marriage.¹³³

In the Greco-Russian Church, although theologians present adultery as the sole justification of divorce, canonists recognize many other possible grounds—independently of those which may be regarded as “diriment” or nullifying impediments.¹³⁴

Worship: Catholic devotional life was most favorably affected by Pius X's efforts to multiply the Communions of the laity, particularly of children. In 1905 he urged the practice of daily Communion on all Catholics, pointing out that only two conditions were necessary—the state of grace and the right intention. Five years later came the decree, *Quam singulari*, which laid down the rule that the obligation of paschal Communion—and consequently of First Communion—is incurred as soon as a child attains the use of reason, that is, at approximately seven years. This decree corrected some local laws which previously had fixed the age of First Communion as high as twelve, fourteen, or even fifteen years.

The movement to give the Blessed Sacrament its proper place in devotional life has been vigorous and persistent; and in this movement Père Eymard's Congregation of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament plays a leading part. The practice of nocturnal adoration by laymen has spread steadily. There have been numerous Eucharistic Congresses, national and international.¹³⁵

¹³³ The percentage of divorces has been increasing steadily. In Germany during the first thirty years of the century the rate almost doubled. In the United States—where every state except South Carolina grants divorce, sometimes for comparatively light reasons—about one-quarter of a million divorces occur annually, and more than sixteen out of every hundred marriages end in divorce.

¹³⁴ At least nine are discussed by the Russian canonist Sokolov in his “Grounds of Divorce in Byzantium from the IXth to the XVth Century.” Vacant-Mangenot, *op. cit.*, s.v. “Marriage,” IX, col. 2326.

¹³⁵ The first International Eucharistic Congress assembled at Lille, France, in 1881. The thirteenth was held at Angers, in 1901; and since then there have been twenty-one other Congresses, one in London (1908)—the first in the English-speaking world—one at Chicago (1926), one at Manila, P.I. (1937). The thirty-fifth International Congress was scheduled for Nice in 1940.

At Metz in 1907 the German government dispensed with the law of 1870 which forbade the solemn procession of the Blessed Sacrament. At London, because of the vigorous protest made by the Protestant Alliance, Cardinal Bourne, at the request of Prime Minister Asquith, canceled the public procession. However, the London Congress brought together a notable assemblage of priests and bishops; and Pius XI declared to the archbishop of Westminster that this Congress was the greatest of all.

Of no little interest is the growing use of the missal by the laity when assisting at daily Mass. Another custom which has become popular among the laity is that of reading divine office at least in part—a practice made more easy by the vernacular translations of the breviary now obtainable.¹³⁶ Still another laudable custom that has grown common in recent years—largely at first through the diligence of the Jesuit Fathers—is that of laymen's retreats.

Communities: The present canonical organization of the religious life divides communities into two chief groups: "orders" properly so called, whose members are bound by solemn vows; and "congregations," whose members are bound by simple vows. The first group includes canons regular, monks, friars, clerks regular, and nuns.¹³⁷ The second group includes a vast number of communities, divided in many cases into choir members and lay members; it includes also numerous lay institutes devoted to various works of mercy. In addition to the religious communities belonging to the Latin rite, there are also communities in the various Eastern rites. Recently, in order to facilitate the work of reuniting Eastern schismatics with Rome, Eastern rite branches have been organized by a number of Latin rite communities, e.g., the Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Vincentians, and Brothers of the Christian Schools.

A number of states have curtailed the freedom of religious communities and have even cruelly persecuted them.¹³⁸ In France the religious were all banished. In Germany they were oppressed and in many cases imprisoned. In Mexico some were killed and

¹³⁶ To encourage this movement the League of the Divine Office was established at St. John's Benedictine Abbey, Collegeville, Minn. The same monastery is headquarters of a liturgical movement which publishes an official organ, *Orate Fratres*.

The books of the Roman Liturgy—Missal, Pontifical, Breviary, Ritual, Episcopal Ceremonial, Memorial Rituum, and Martyrology—have undergone revision within recent years, notably the Breviary and the Martyrology. The liturgies at present in use in one or another part of Christendom—excluding, of course, the various modern compilations and selections made by reformers and incorporated in Protestant prayer books—represent varieties of four great liturgical families. Five trace their origin to Antioch, two to Alexandria, four to Rome, three to the Gallican Rite. See Adrian Fortescue, s.v. "Liturgy," *Cath. Encyc.*, IX, 306-13.

¹³⁷ For example, canonically speaking the Augustinians are canons regular; the Benedictines, Carthusians, and Cistercians are monks; the Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans are friars; the Barnabites and Jesuits are clerks regular.

¹³⁸ For example, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Finland, Norway, and Switzerland in Europe; Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico in America.

others dispersed. In Russia and in so-called "Loyalist" Spain they were all but exterminated. Almost invariably movements of this sort have been bolstered up by propaganda about the great wealth of the religious orders. France circulated the story of "the billion dollar congregations" in 1901; and a similar myth was invented about the fabulous riches of the religious orders in Spain. The hostility of the various governments—especially France—had the effect of causing a great number of religious to settle in other countries where they contributed greatly to spiritual and cultural development and attracted favorable notice from the public.

The majority of the religious orders are occupied with educational work. Most conspicuous in this field is the Society of Jesus (also the largest numerically, with a total of some 26,000 members) which directs nearly 400 schools, excluding Jesuit houses of study, located in 51 countries. The influence of the Jesuits is heightened by the fact that they have charge of numerous ecclesiastical seminaries and, directly or indirectly, assist in the intellectual and spiritual guidance of many of the teaching communities.¹³⁹

Next to the teaching orders comes the group engaged in foreign missions. Many others are occupied in various forms of social service, either in institutions or in the homes of the poor. Vocations to the religious life have been abundant in the present century; nevertheless the field of activity has expanded to such an extent that the demand for recruits is always greater than the supply.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The 32 major and 62 minor ecclesiastical seminaries, under the direction of the Jesuits, include several important institutions in Rome—the Gregorian University, the Pontifical Biblical Institute (with a branch in Jerusalem), the Pontifical Oriental Institute, the German-Hungarian, South American, Brazilian, Maronite, and Russian colleges. Twenty-two of their minor and 13 of their major seminaries are devoted to the training of native clergy in Asia and Africa. In America they have 25 colleges and 32 high schools and more than 50,000 students; and two of their colleges, Boston and Holy Cross, include among the alumni, more than 2,600 priests and over 30 members of the hierarchy.

¹⁴⁰ In 1941 orders and congregations under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of Religious (excluding those under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of the Oriental Church and the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith) included 874 institutions with more than 789,000 members of whom over 575,000 were women.

Saints: It is a matter of common knowledge that many saintly persons, both religious and lay, have lived in the twentieth century. Well known examples are Matt Talbot, the Dublin laborer, Charles de Foucauld, the French hermit-martyr and Brother André of Montreal. As yet, however, none of these has been officially canonized, although Pius XI named so many modern saints that he was called "the canonizing pope."¹⁴¹

The list of persons beatified in the present century includes three foundresses of religious orders, raised to the rank of "Blessed" in November 1938: Benedicta Rossello, Domenica Mazzarello, and Frances Xavier Cabrini. Mother Cabrini, a native of northern Italy who had labored in America for years before her death on December 22, 1917, was the first citizen of the United States to receive the honor of beatification. Among the *beati* also are three Jesuits slain in the South American "Reductions" in 1628 (Rocco Gonzáles, Juan de Castillo, and Alonzo Rodríguez); Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, hanged at Tyburn in 1681; twenty-two natives of Uganda, martyred in 1886;¹⁴² one hundred thirty-six men and women martyred in England between 1541 and 1680;¹⁴³ and the fourteenth-century mystic, John Ruysbroeck.

From time to time the Roman Congregation of Rites publishes the names of persons whose lives are being scrutinized with a view to their possible canonization. Among those recently named are Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann of Philadelphia (d. 1860), the Vincentian, Father Peter de Andreis, missionary in North America (d. 1820), and the Indian girl, Kateri Tekakwitha (d. 1680), "Lily of the Mohawks," whose claim to the practice of heroic virtue was recognized after due examination in September 1943.

Education: The code of canon law—supplemented by the papal encyclical on the Christian Education of Youth (1929)—

¹⁴¹ Saints recently canonized are the Jesuit martyrs of North America (Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, and six companions) martyred between 1642 and 1649 and canonized in 1930; and also Albertus Magnus, John Fisher, Thomas More, Peter Canisius, John Eudes, Robert Bellarmine, Jean Baptiste de Vianney, Louise de Marillac, John Bosco, Bernadette, Thérèse of the Child Jesus.

¹⁴² Beatified by Pope Benedict XV in 1920.

¹⁴³ Beatified by Pope Pius XI in 1929.

sets forth an ideal which may be summarized as follows: Parents are bound to provide Christian education for their children; appropriate religious instruction must be given in schools of all grades; attendance at non-Catholic, secular or mixed schools is unlawful, unless such attendance is tolerated by the bishop; boys and girls are not to be educated as though they were in all respects identical; instruction in matters of sex is to be imparted most carefully.

On several occasions the Holy See has taken steps to extend and improve religious training. In 1905 Pius X decreed the canonical establishment of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in every diocese and in every parish of the Catholic Church; and in 1917 this decree was incorporated in the new code of canon law.¹⁴⁴ Improvements in the method of religious instruction have been due largely to the so-called Munich School, to the Salesian followers of Don Bosco, and to the promoters of catechetical congresses in various countries.

During the early part of the century enthusiasm for formal school training grew intense; and some governments made serious attempts to eliminate illiteracy entirely, with the aid of compulsory attendance laws. The state exercised more complete jurisdiction over education than before; the number of children enrolled, as well as the amount of money spent, reached new high levels; religion was excluded more strictly from the curriculum. With regard to religious schools, the attitude of the government has differed greatly from state to state. In some countries Catholic schools have been suppressed; in some they have been hampered and even persecuted; in some they have received a little help; in some they have been put on an even footing with the public schools, or even favored.¹⁴⁵

The Catholic school system expanded notably during the first quarter of the present century, especially in the English-speaking countries. As to the comparative efficiency of Catholic schools and state schools, it is impossible to make a general statement,

¹⁴⁴ Canon 711, 2.

¹⁴⁵ A number of governments recognize the right of the Church to conduct schools; others include religious instruction in the curriculum of the state schools. The subject of education appears in several of the concordats negotiated by Pius XI.

because conditions vary greatly from place to place. Yet the value of Catholic education has been widely recognized; and pupils of Catholic schools have attained notable success in examinations open to all students.

One factor which favors the Catholic schools is their relatively conservative character, which discourages the introduction of fads and experiments. The better type of Catholic school gives the student all the advantages possessed by pupils of other schools; and, in addition, imparts sound moral and religious training. On the other hand, it may happen that equipment is comparatively poor, that classes are overcrowded, that teachers have been inadequately trained. The enormous increase of subsidies to state schools and the general decline of private incomes inevitably force Catholic schools to fall farther and farther behind in providing buildings, equipment, and teachers. The outlook is especially serious in the field of secondary education.

Having focussed attention upon formal training almost exclusively for a long period, educators recently began to appreciate the value of the extra-curricular elements of education—news-papers, magazines, popular literature, the stage, the cinema, the radio, and the prevalent opinions and customs of a given environment. Governments soon perceived the importance of these elements and in some countries took complete control of them. On the ground that the formation of young people is the exclusive right of the state, dictators have even undertaken to regulate all youth organizations and have suppressed religious confraternities and clubs. This issue has occasioned conflicts between Church and State, especially in Russia, Mexico, and Germany.

An educational factor now recognized as possessing prime importance is propaganda. Its latest development—due in part to the extraordinary growth of advertising devices—comes largely from the object lessons given by bureaus of propaganda during the First World War. Commercial and industrial groups, political parties, and municipalities, all display feverish activity in their campaigns to “educate” the people. The state, too, has become active here; and official control of the machinery of propa-

ganda has gone so far that thinking people fear a government monopoly of all sources of information. The dictatorships ruling several of the great states unblushingly suppress all news not perfectly acceptable to the administration; and some extend their censorship to schools and textbooks, to private correspondence, to church pulpits. The effect of this policy in the field of religious education is not to be overlooked.

Writers: We find an abundance of literature on both sides of the Atlantic, although, naturally, writers of genius are rare. Publications in every department, from theology to fiction, include both works of contemporary authors and older works translated or republished. A number of Catholics have been admitted to the French Academy. Catholic writers of England, of Germany, of Scandinavia, of America are highly rated throughout the civilized world. Especially noteworthy is the periodical literature—dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies—which multiplies outlets for the expression of religious sentiment and provides younger writers with a school of literary training.¹⁴⁶

The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, completed in 1914, marked a long step forward. Other dictionaries and encyclopedias, completed or unfinished, aid students of history, archaeology, theology, liturgy, Scripture, spiritual doctrine. In apologetics we have countless monographs and pamphlets; and Conway's *Question Box*, now in its third million, has been translated into French, German, Spanish, and Flemish. Two Catholic Universities—at Louvain and at Washington—working in collaboration, have published 115 volumes of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic texts, with Latin translations.)

Among the better known Catholic authors who have written in English, Chesterton and Belloc stand out in letters; Von Hügel in the philosophy of religion; Francis Thompson, and Gerard Man-

¹⁴⁶ Catholics have published a good many works of reference in foreign languages which are largely unknown in the English-speaking world. See Father Brown's *Introduction to Catholic Booklore* (chs. VI and VII), and the indications given in the same volume with regard to bibliographies of the religious orders and of the Catholic universities. A description of Catholic periodical literature at the present time would have to add many titles to those contained in the 28 page article which the *Catholic Encyclopedia* published in 1911. Among those published in the English language would be *The Clergy Review*, *Studies*, *Mediaeval Studies*, *The Catholic Historical Review*, *Theological Studies*.

ley Hopkins in poetry. As for the French, Gilson and Maritain in philosophy, La Grange in Scripture, Brémond and Claudel in literature have won renown. The Germans, Denifle and Grisar, the Pole, Przywara; the Dane, Jorgensen; the Norwegian, Sigrid Undset, are read universally.

In the field of historical writing, zeal for painstaking analysis of sources and for precisely logical deductions, together with the cataloguing of archives and collections, and the collaboration of specialists in different parts of the world have made historiography a science bewildering in its complexity, but priceless in value. In connection with this development several points of particular interest to the Church are to be noted: the general insistence upon objective representation of the past has dissipated erroneous notions about Catholicism; it has also moved Catholics themselves to rewrite various chapters of Church history; Catholic scholars hold honorable rank in the field of historical research; with impressive frequency the new evaluation of the past has led historians to abandon Protestantism for Catholicism. By way of exemplifying these various points, it may be noted: that the Cambridge University review, *History*, calls the correction of conventional errors the primary obligation of the present day historian, and devotes a section of each issue to "Revisions"; that under the inspiration of the Jesuit general, Luis Martin (1892-1906), and of the Jesuit Cardinal Ehrle, librarian of the Vatican, scholars in many countries have been collecting and sifting an enormous mass of data for the rewriting of the Society's history; ¹⁴⁷ that studies carried on by the Medieval Academy of America brought forth Lunt's objective presentation of the financial relations of the papacy with England; that among those who have entered the Catholic Church through the door of history are Christopher Dawson of Oxford, Hayes and Moon of Columbia, Lord of Harvard, Bell of Wesleyan, Kinsman of the New York General Seminary (later Episcopal bishop of Delaware), and Ross Hoffman of New York University. It should be noted too, that the present generation of scholars, although

¹⁴⁷ Gilbert J. Garraghan describes the work done in this field in his essay "The Jesuit Quadricentennial, 1940" *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVI (Oct. 1940), 295 ff.

often trained in a defective method, has come quite generally to realize that history should not only set down facts and transcribe records faithfully, but should also understand and interpret men and movements; and historical science has emancipated itself, at least in some measure, from positivist influence and has begun to seek a sane and balanced philosophy of history. It is partly because of the Church's unique ability to satisfy this need, that she has won such respect among contemporary historians.

3. OPPOSITION

Church and State: State absolutism now appears in two distinct patterns—Communism, seeking to establish world-wide collectivism under proletarian dictatorship, and Fascism, seeking to establish the dictatorship of a single political party.¹⁴⁸ Both, in their extreme form, proclaim the doctrine of totalitarianism—that the state is answerable to no authority whatever. They regard every governmental decision as final; they recognize no legitimate opposition; they allow no appeal. They differ chiefly in the details of their economic programs. Communism, aiming at world control, is pledged to a program excluding private property, production for profit, individual rights, and belief in God. Fascism, professedly national or racial in scope, undertakes to promote the welfare of the country which it rules by whatever means may seem expedient to the party in power; it varies therefore in form from country to country.

Communism: The printed program of the Communist party repudiates not only the old political and economic institutions, but also Christianity and even theism.¹⁴⁹ For years the leaders openly advocated a policy of violence and urged Communists all over the world to foment disturbances by utilizing "progressive" movements and then, at the proper moment, to "liquidate" their own allies. They wrought havoc with the existing religious order in Russia, in Mexico, and in Spain; and elsewhere they attempted

¹⁴⁸ "Fascism" is here taken to mean national absolutism.

¹⁴⁹ "We stand without any reservations for education that will root out belief in the supernatural." Earl Browder, *What Is Communism?* New York: Vanguard Press, 1936, p. 191.

to repeat these achievements. In the year 1935,¹⁵⁰ at Moscow, the Seventh Congress of the Third International (Comintern)—made up of four hundred delegates from fifty countries—adopted a new method, “the United Front,” which involved two important changes in official strategy: first, Communist parties in other countries were freed from the obligation of strict adherence to the methods used in Russia; secondly, local organizations were directed to oppose Fascism by forming a “United Front” with the groups previously regarded as natural enemies, that is to say, the socialist, laborite, liberal, bourgeois, Christian, and even Catholic parties. This change of method was occasioned in part by the resentment which several powerful governments had displayed at open Communistic propaganda, and partly by events in Germany which had revealed Fascism as a much more dangerous foe of Communism than bourgeois democracy. By way of offsetting the new strategy, Pius XI in his encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris*, in March 1937, instructed Catholics all over the world to refrain from coöperation with the Communists even in social and political activities.

Fascism: This movement became prominent first in Italy, where Mussolini's claim to absolute power brought him into conflict with Pope Pius XI. The pope, in his encyclical of June 1931, *Non abbiamo bisogno*, denounced the fascist ideology as a “real pagan worship of the state” irreconcilable with Catholic doctrine and with the natural rights of the family. The encyclical aroused so much feeling that Mussolini compromised the chief issues under dispute.

In Germany a Fascist movement (called National-Socialist or “Nazi”) gained the upper hand in the year 1933 and entered upon a campaign of terrorism directed first against the Communists, and then against all opponents of whatever party. Communist papers and nearly all Socialist papers were suppressed; Jews were subjected to savage persecution; and the government undertook to bring all religious organizations, both Catholic and

¹⁵⁰ To lessen the danger arising from international disputes in several countries, meetings of the Congress had been suspended since 1928.

Protestant, under the complete control of the state and to destroy the Catholic school system.¹⁵¹

Heresies: Protestantism. The tendencies noted as characteristic of nineteenth-century Protestantism continued into the twentieth. The number of nominal Protestants in the world is probably as great at present as ever before; but the drift away from supernatural faith is marked. As a body, Protestants hold no common doctrine; and they retain little of their religious tradition, except the claim to private judgment in matters of religion and the antagonism to the authoritative system of the Catholic Church. An increasing number proclaim their dislike of dogma and their belief that religion consists of good conduct and social service. The cleavage between Fundamentalists and Modernists has affected almost all Protestant churches.¹⁵²

Protestants now form a small minority of the religious population in the Latin countries, but a majority in Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and all English-speaking countries, except Ireland. Several attempts have been made to effect a reunion, or at least a working alliance of the various Protestant denominations. One such effort in 1908 brought twenty-eight Protestant churches into the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; similar reunions have taken place in Canada, England, and Scotland; the Faith and Order Movement (of Anglican origin) held two World Conferences, at Lausanne in 1927 and at Edinburgh in 1937; the Life and Works Movement (of Protestant Evangelical origin) held two universal conferences, at Stockholm in 1925 and at Oxford in 1937. The unification of these movements—and ultimately the reunion of all Christian churches—is the aim of the Pan-Christian movement. Among the efforts made to secure Catholic coöperation was an invitation to Benedict XV in 1919 to send delegates to a Faith and Order Conference. In declining the invitation Benedict pointed out that the assumptions of the congress were incompatible with the Catholic doctrine of Church unity; and in the same year the Holy See published a decree prohibiting Catholics from taking part in conferences organized by non-Catholics for

¹⁵¹ See *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich; Facts and Documents*, Part II, Chaps. III–IV. See also Pius XI's encyclical, of March 14, 1937, *Mit brennender Sorge* against the Nazis.

¹⁵² "Recent religious thinking makes it evident that contemporary efforts to effect a reconciliation between Protestantism and 'the modern mind' have been less than successful. . . . The result has been a Protestantism which was neither sufficiently Protestant nor sincerely modern." Joseph Haroutunian, "Modern Protestantism: Neither Modern nor Protestant," *The American Scholar*, VIII (Autumn 1939), 479.

the promotion of union among Christian bodies.¹⁵⁸ To correct the notion that the decree was merely disciplinary and not a statement of doctrine, Pius XI in 1928 published the encyclical, *Mortalium animos*, in which he unequivocally condemned the aims set forth in the Pan-Christian movement; and no official invitation was issued to the Catholic Church by the conferences of 1937 at Oxford and Edinburgh.

Modernism: In addition to the perennial controversy with different forms of Protestantism, the Church was called upon to deal with the movement known as Modernism early in the present century. Noticed first in Italy among the younger clergy, it was denounced by several bishops in the years 1905 and 1906; and it was formally condemned by the decree of the Holy Office, *Lamentabili*, in July 1907, and by the papal encyclical, *Pascendi*, in September of the same year. Most of the persons affected by the condemnation submitted to the authority of the Church; but Loisy in France, Tyrrell in England, Minocchi and Murri in Italy, and others refused to conform.

As described by Pope Pius X, Modernism is a collection of heresies destructive not only of Catholicism, but of all supernatural religion and even of theism. It implies an independence of dogma and of authority quite irreconcilable with fundamental Catholic principles. If accepted, it would destroy Catholic teaching in every department—philosophy, theology, Scripture, and the history of religion.

In 1910 Pope Pius X condemned *Le Sillon* of France and a little later the Italian *Società Editrice Romana*, two organizations which, like others in Germany and Austria, advocated social action on lines common to persons of all religions or no religion—a policy sometimes described as "Social Modernism."

Other Disputes: The present century has brought no great domestic theological controversies, although discussions have taken place concerning the essence of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Mystical Body of Christ, pacifism, and certain political and social theories which involve moral principles. One dispute affected the relationship between Catholics and Anglicans.

¹⁵⁸ See Leonard Bacigalupo, "The Pan-Christian Movement," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVII (October 1941), 316-31.

Anglican Orders: After Leo XIII's bull of 1896, Anglican clergymen who became Catholic priests were unconditionally ordained. The question was reopened in 1910 and 1912 by T. A. Lacey and Lord Halifax, who were answered by Dom (afterwards Cardinal) Gasquet and Canon Moyes of Westminster; and later discussion led to the celebrated Malines Conversations (1922-1923), in which, at the suggestion of Lord Halifax and Cardinal Mercier, a group of Anglican, French and Belgian scholars privately discussed the possibility of corporate reunion between the Anglican and the Catholic Church. The project encountered a heartier welcome among French and Belgian than among English Catholics; and the conferences ceased on the death of Cardinal Mercier.¹⁵⁴

Freemasonry: Freemasonry, which has been accepted as a substitute for religion by an increasing number of Protestants, includes two groups: One is composed of militant anti-Catholics, usually members of the Scottish Rite or of the Grand Orient, the two chief Masonic organizations of Europe.¹⁵⁵ The other group is best represented by the American business man who takes a friendly, good-natured attitude towards his Catholic fellow-citizens.¹⁵⁶

Masonry is much less exclusive than formerly. The Grand Orient, now strongly supported by Jews, has allied itself with the Communistic Popular Front in many countries and claims to have manipulated successful anti-Catholic agitation in Spain, Mexico, South America, and the Philippines. It has suffered from

¹⁵⁴ Bishop David Mathew makes the following comment, "The attitude of the Holy See seems throughout balanced and consistent and Archbishop Davidson acted with a generosity which was the more notable in view of his prudent temper of mind and the rooted Protestant feeling in England. The whole affair emphasized Lord Halifax's chivalry. It appears, however, that Cardinal Mercier had an inadequate perception of the background of Catholicism in this country. . . . It is difficult to imagine that an Abbé Portal or any other enterprising Frenchman will ever be able to explain the English to one another." *Catholicism in England 1535-1935*, pp. 253-54. See also "Theological Discussion and Final Condemnation of Anglican Orders" in E. C. Messenger's *The Reformation, the Mass and the Priesthood*. For a summary account with references see G. Constant's *The Reformation in England*, II, Appendix V, pp. 338-47.

¹⁵⁵ The president of the Grand Orient in 1902 claimed that the organization of Masonry coincided with the beginning of the rapid disintegration of the "Roman Church founded on the Galilean myth." The Grand Orient has been especially active in the Liberal political parties of France, Italy, Spain, and Belgium.

¹⁵⁶ Twelve of the thirty-two presidents of the United States have been Masons.

the hostility of the Fascist despotisms, from the rift between Communists and Socialists, from the split of the Communists into Stalinites and Trotskyites. At present Masonry is supposed to include about four million members—three-quarters of them in the United States.

The Moslems: Of the two hundred fifty million Mohammedans in the world, some five million dwell in southeastern Europe, upwards of fifty million in Africa, and the rest in Asia and Oceania. India has approximately eighty million. Turkey, combined with Irak, Iran (Persia), and Afghanistan, would represent more than forty million.

Mohammedans, as a rule, display fierce antagonism towards Christians; and Christian minorities in Mohammedan countries have frequently suffered physical violence. Within recent years, Islam has carried on a vigorous and successful propaganda in different parts of the world, notably in Africa. In the Arabian Peninsula, Iban Saud undertook to organize approximately five million people in neighboring Mohammedan states "on the basis of Moslem and Arab brotherhood." The spread of interest in Mohammedan solidarity is reinforced by the deepening dislike of European infiltration into Mohammedan countries.¹⁵⁷ Another sentiment, Moslem distrust of Hindus made it impossible for England to secure India as an ally in 1942 in the Second World War.

The Jews: Of the fifteen million Jews in the world, almost two-thirds dwell in Europe and almost one-third in North America. The United States contains a larger Jewish population than any other country in the world—approximately four and a half million. Next in order come Poland, Russia, and Rumania. Asia and Africa contain about one-half million each.

The present century has witnessed a marked growth of anti-Semitism—manifested sometimes in the press, sometimes in outbreaks of mob violence, sometimes in official persecution. The

¹⁵⁷ The refusal of the Moslem world to unite in a "Holy War" in 1914 showed that Pan-Islamic unification was not yet a reality. But repeated explosions of anti-European feeling occurred throughout the Moslem countries; and the hostile sentiment generated among Moslems by the Versailles Conference enabled the Turk, Mustapha Kemal, to seize Constantinople and to deport more than a million Christian Greeks out of Asia Minor, in exchange for Moslem minorities taken from under Greek rule.

Jews are accused of conspiring to get financial control of the world, of undermining Christian morality through literature and the drama, of aiming to set up a Jewish state on the ruins of the existing political order. Soon after the end of the First World War, wide circulation was given to a pamphlet, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*—a plan to attain the ends just described—which purported to be a message from certain Jewish leaders to the heads of Freemasonry. For a while it was accepted as genuine; it is now generally recognized as spurious.

It is commonly charged against the Jews that they form a nation within a nation, that whenever possible they establish Jewish monopolies, that they give offensive expression to their sense of superiority. Many persons, too, are stirred to resentment by the belief that Jews predominate in Communistic and atheistic movements. Whatever truth there may be in these charges, it is probable that the characteristic defects of the Jews are traceable chiefly to basic tendencies of human nature plus the long and unhappy experience of persecution to which the Jewish race has been subjected. In a period of racial or economic rivalry, the solidarity of the Jews makes them a ready target for the mob; and religious differences are—most irrationally—converted into an excuse for brutal injustice.¹⁵⁸

A surprising number of countries have persecuted their Jewish citizens. In 1909 the Czarist government ordered the expulsion from Russia and Poland of some five million Jews—about one-third of the total Jewish population of the world.¹⁵⁹ The Nazi government has carried out savage persecution in Germany and (since the *Anschluss*) in Austria. In the Republic of Poland, after the First World War, where Jews numbered three million—nearly 10 per cent of the population—they suffered from anti-Semitic mobs and (until 1931) from the government's failure to enact proper legislation. In Rumania fanatics publicly advocated the literal extermination of the Jews; and in 1937, under pressure from Goga's National Christian Party, the government en-

¹⁵⁸ See "An Analysis of Jewish Culture" in *Jews in a Gentile World*, edited by Isaacque Graeber and Steuart Henderson Britt, New York: Macmillan, 1942, pp. 243-63.

¹⁵⁹ This expulsion followed a series of pogroms (semi-official massacres) in which nearly seven hundred towns were attacked and almost one thousand persons killed.

acted several anti-Jewish decrees. Italy, too, in 1938 deprived the Jews of certain civil rights.

In Soviet Russia—where the Jews number three million—they possess civil equality; and any person participating in a pogrom is liable to punishment by imprisonment or death, although Judaism, like other religions, is subject to restrictive laws.¹⁶⁰ In England, which contains about three hundred thousand Jews, anti-Semitic agitation occurs from time to time; but the Jews are free and influential. The plan to establish a home for the Jews in Palestine, under a British mandate, became effective in 1923; but the four hundred thousand Jews who settled there encountered the hostility of the Arabs, and many lives were lost in the resulting riots. The threefold "Partition" proposed by the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937 occasioned an increase rather than a diminution of violence; and it was abandoned in 1938.¹⁶¹

In the United States, although the Jews enjoy complete legal equality, they have suffered at times from more or less veiled discrimination; and a few years ago the Ku Klux Klan bracketed them with Catholics and Negroes as a triple threat to the welfare of the country. Jewish leaders attributed the marked increase of anti-Semitism to Nazi influence. In 1938 Father Coughlin, the "radio priest" of Detroit, caused nationwide excitement by his declaration that Jews were especially energetic in anti-social and subversive movements all over the world, and that good Jews and good Gentiles should unite in opposing "bad Jews."

Persecution of the Jews, of course, has resulted in an increase of general suspicion and hostility between Jews and Christians. On the whole, Jews have encountered less antagonism from Catholics than from others. The Church has promoted efforts to bring about the conversion of the Jews; Catholics are rep-

¹⁶⁰ The Jewish colony established by the U.S.S.R. in the extreme east became an autonomous territory in 1934. The population consists of about 10,000 Jews and 40,000 Russians and Koreans.

¹⁶¹ In 1936 the total population of Palestine (over 1,300,000) included also 800,000 Moslems and more than 100,000 Christians. The Partition proposed to divide the country into an Arab kingdom of 25,000 square miles; a Jewish state of 25,000 square miles; and a British Mandate of 500 square miles enclosing Jerusalem.

resented in the National Conference of Jews and Christians which aims to lessen misunderstanding by means of conventions, publications, and lecture courses. On September 24, 1938, Pius XI declared "it is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism."

4. MISSIONS ¹⁶²

Encouraging phenomena in the mission field have been better organization; vigorous modern methods of propaganda; the increasing number of native clergy; ¹⁶³ the participation of more religious orders, including many communities of women; the growth of mission auxiliaries.¹⁶⁴ Within recent years many missionaries have settled in countries such as India, China, and Japan, where a century ago there were few priests or none at all. In Africa native Christians have grown from a handful to about six million, although the missions are scattered over an enormous area and the tribes speak many different languages. Mission work in Oceania has been notably successful. In Latin America, despite the handicap of incessant political troubles, a million Indian converts have been added to the Church.

But these gains have been made at a high cost of health and life, and in the face of two formidable obstacles: human nature's reluctance to accept the burdens imposed by Christian faith and

¹⁶² Approximately one billion human beings—half of the human race—are pagans. The vast majority of this billion dwell in Asia, and the three largest religious groups—Chinese, Hindu, and Buddhist—have a membership of three hundred fifty, two hundred fifty, and one hundred fifty millions respectively. Of the other billion, Christians form nearly three-quarters and Mohammedans about one-quarter. Jews number about sixteen million.

¹⁶³ For some years the Holy See has followed the practice of dividing mission areas into vicariates and prefectures and of building up a native hierarchy wherever possible. Native vocations to the priesthood are more numerous. In addition to two Negroes appointed to sees in Uganda and Madagascar, there are some 40 native bishops in India, China, Indo-China, Japan; and native priests in these countries number more than 7,000 (India, 3,000; China, 2,000; Indo-China, 1,400; Japanese Empire, 240; Africa, 400). Native catechists and teachers in the foreign missions number more than 150,000.

¹⁶⁴ Memorable events were the founding of the Missiological Institute at Münster in 1911, and the growth of the Missionary Exhibit of 1925 into the Lateran Museum. Before the First World War, mission societies attained a total membership of nearly 10,000,000 and contributed as much as \$12,000,000 annually. In the total personnel directed by the Roman Congregation of the Propaganda there are over 20,000 priests, nearly 9,000 brothers, of whom 3,000 are natives; and 50,000 sisters, of whom more than 23,000 are natives. See Theodore Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, St. Louis: B. Herder, 1942.

the instinctive aversion of non-Europeans for certain European characteristics. When measured with a critical eye, the net result of our vast effort seems disappointingly small—some five hundred thousand converts yearly to offset an annual increase by birth of over twenty million non-Christians.¹⁶⁵

Below is given a description of the chief missionary countries.¹⁶⁶

Asia

Asia comprises almost one-third of the land area of the earth; and its population amounts approximately to one billion. Buddhism and the Chinese religions account for about five hundred million persons; Hinduism and Mohammedanism account for another four hundred million. Orthodox Christians number twenty million and Catholics ten million.

In Asia the Catholic missionary is sometimes welcomed, sometimes tolerated, sometimes persecuted. Generally speaking, his liberty depends upon the way in which Catholicism is supposed to affect racial and national interests. As a rule, the English

¹⁶⁵ Protestant churches—active in the mission field since the eighteenth century—support some twenty thousand missionaries at an annual cost of more than \$50,000,000. Although this is a much larger sum than that spent by the Catholic Church, the resulting conversions are not proportionately more numerous. Schmidlin, quoting a Protestant authority, places the total conversions of the Evangelical missions at 6,329,600, exclusive of Negroes, and the total conversions of the Catholic missions at 6,722,636. *Op. cit.*, p. 715.

Before the First World War the Russian empire followed the policy of financing politico-missionary work in the East, but as a rule, the schismatic churches have displayed little missionary zeal. Mohammedans, however, carry on an active propaganda in the mission countries. So do the Communists.

¹⁶⁶ A modern feature of missionary life is the scientific study of primitive religions; and in this field eminence has been attained by members of missionary orders laboring in Africa—for instance, by Monsignor Le Roy, Bishop of Gaboon (1891) and superior general of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost (1896), and by Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., professor at the university of Vienna. Le Roy's work, *The Religion of the Primitives*, was translated into English in 1922 and Schmidt's, *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, was translated in 1931.

It may be mentioned here that the religion of a large proportion of Africans is a form of "animism" (which distinguishes between matter and spirit), but there is also, especially in western Africa, a more superstitious "fetishism" which attributes a mysterious influence to material objects. The relationship between the two forms is very obscure.

Different sections of Schmidlin's *Catholic Mission History* give clues to an enormous mass of missionary data still largely unworked; see for example, pp. 2, 6, 248 ff., 352, 460 ff., 579 ff., 685.

rulers of India have coöperated with the missionaries; the Japanese have been friendly; the Chinese have been tolerant but changeable; the Dutch have permitted only a limited measure of freedom. Missionaries have been excluded from practically all northern and central Asia. In Tibet, Afghanistan, Russia, Arabia, and several smaller countries, there are approximately three hundred million people to whom Catholic priests are not allowed to preach.

TABLE XI

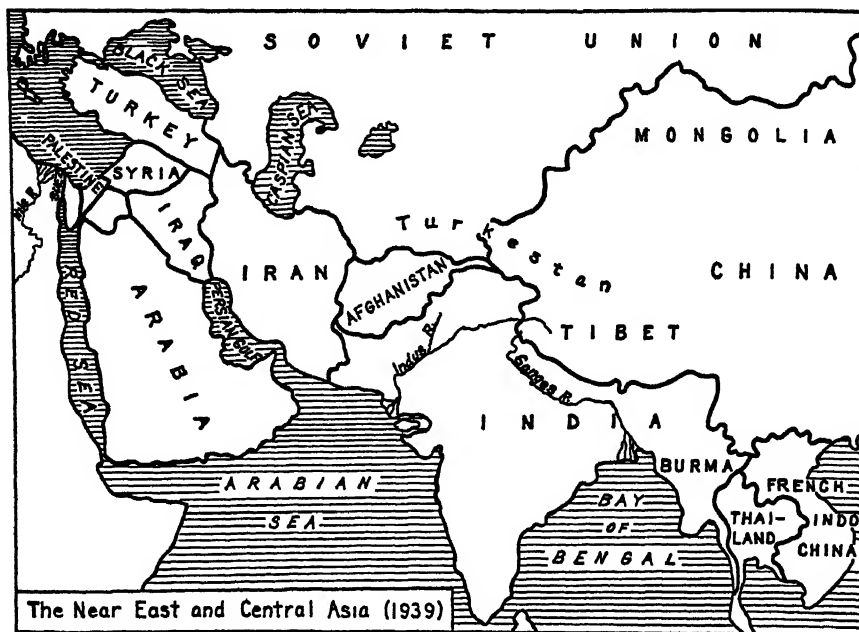
	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
NEAR EAST				
Turkey	16,000,000	60,000	70	5
Iraq	3,000,000	170,000	30	8
Iran	15,000,000	8,000	12	4
Palestine	1,300,000	50,000	130	3
Syria	3,500,000	500,000	250	27
MIDDLE EAST				
India	350,000,000	4,000,000	4,580	47
FAR EAST				
China	460,000,000	3,000,000	5,000	1
Japanese Empire ¹⁸⁷	105,000,000	400,000	680	5
Indo-China	30,000,000	2,000,000	1,800	V.A.
Netherlands Indies	67,000,000	600,000	600	V.A.
TOTAL	1,050,800,000	10,788,000	13,152	100

The Near East: Early in the century about 200,000 Catholics were living under Turkish rule: but territorial readjustments,¹⁸⁸ after the Balkan war of 1912 and the First World War, placed most of them in the jurisdiction of neighboring states. Asiatic Turkey contains hardly any Christians; but some 60,000 Catholics (of whom 10,000 are Orientals) live under an apostolic delegate at Istanbul (Constantinople). Although there is no established religion, the revival of Turkish nationalism has greatly retarded the progress of Christianity. Clerical garb may not be worn except in places of worship.

In the kingdom of Iraq (Mesopotamia), where Islam is the established religion, Catholics form about 5 per cent of the population. The patriarch of Babylon, with jurisdiction over Catholics of the Chaldean rite in the whole world, has two cathedrals, one at Mosul, where he resides, and one at Baghdad.

¹⁸⁷ Including Formosa (4,000,000), Korea (21,000,000), and Manchukuo (37,000,000).

¹⁸⁸ Part of Armenia adopted a Soviet government. Syria became a mandate of France, Palestine a mandate of Britain, Mesopotamia the kingdom of Iraq, Arabia the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.



In Iran (Persia) a small minority of Catholics, mostly foreigners, are distributed among three rites, Chaldean, Armenian, and Latin. The law provides for freedom of worship; but subjects of the shah are forbidden to attend primary schools conducted by foreign organizations. .

In the Mandate of Palestine all religions are on an equal footing. Conversions to the faith are few. Twenty-five thousand Catholics of the Latin rite are under the patriarch of Jerusalem; and Byzantine Catholics, somewhat more numerous, are under the Melchite patriarch of Antioch. Two small groups, whose total number amounts to less than one thousand, belong to the Syrian and Armenian rites.

In Syria—made up of four independent states, Syria, Lebanon, Jebel Druze, and Latakia—the population is three-quarters Mohammedan. Catholics belong to six different rites and are under four different patriarchs—three resident at Antioch and one at Cilicia. More than half the Catholics are Maronites. Beirut is the home of a Jesuit university and a Maronite seminary.

The Middle East: Hindus form about 70 per cent and Mohammedans over 20 per cent of the vast population distributed through the provinces and the native states of British India.¹⁶⁹ All faiths are equal before the law.

¹⁶⁹ Politically, British India includes Burma and British Malaya, with a population of almost twenty million, of whom less than 2 per cent are Catholics. French India, consisting of five provinces with capital at Pondicherry, contains nearly 300,000 of whom about 85 per cent are Catholics.

In addition to the native clergy, European missionaries of various orders labor in this field; but the work of conversion moves slowly. The First World War crippled the missions both by cutting off financial aid and by necessitating the departure of priests recalled to Europe for military service or excluded as enemies. Rivalry between different missionary organizations has been another obstacle to progress. Moreover, in some places, missionaries have been too busy with the baptized to give adequate attention to the pagans. An apostolic delegate resides at Bangalore. The archbishop of Cranganore has the title of "Patriarch of the East Indies." Catholics (including almost 700,000 of the Syro-Malabar rite) form about 60 per cent of the Christian population.

The fact that aspirations for political freedom go hand in hand with anti-European and anti-Christian sentiment makes the religious future of India very uncertain. At present the two hundred million Hindus who follow Gandhi are balanced by two other groups—fifty million Untouchables and eighty million Moslems. But if the three should ever unite, religious fanaticism might combine with racial hatred to effect the destruction of Christianity. These conditions make the development of a native clergy a matter of great importance. As a result of the policy recently introduced, India contains more than three thousand native priests. In 1942 the English administration was confronted with a difficult problem when the All India Congress, under Gandhi's leadership, demanded immediate independence and began a campaign of civil disobedience, while the Moslems, on the other hand, threatened to revolt if the granting of independence should involve their subjection to the Hindu majority.

The Far East: In China, the largest and most important of the mission countries, nearly all the people accept an amalgam of Taoism (7th century B.C.), Confucianism (6th century B.C.), and Buddhism (3rd century B.C.). Two outstanding features of the Chinese religions are ancestor worship and the use of magical rites to placate evil spirits. Since the beginning of the century more than ten new missionary organizations, most of them from America and Ireland, have been assigned to missionary work in China.¹⁷⁰ The Catholic missions have suffered from banditry and war, from scarcity of missionary recruits, from poverty, and from the lack of Catholic schools, indispensable to progress among the educated classes.¹⁷¹ At the time of the First World War large numbers of French missionaries returned to France—a serious blow, since in about half of the vicariates

¹⁷⁰ There are two native orders of men. The Catholic press includes one weekly and two monthly publications in Chinese.

¹⁷¹ In 1912 the Chinese government offered to the Catholic bishop of Peiping (Peking) an advanced school for mandarins and engineers; but, as he was unable to accept the offer, the school was handed over to the Protestant missionaries. In 1925 American Benedictines founded a Catholic university at Peiping; and at Shanghai the Jesuits conduct Aurora University and a widely known astronomical and seismological laboratory.

the missionaries were nearly all French. After the war a papal delegation was established; in 1926 the Holy See appointed six Chinese bishops. Native members of the hierarchy are now about three times that number.¹⁷² In June 1942 the Chinese government at Chungking appointed Cheou-Kang Sie minister to the Vatican; and the Holy See accepted him.

In Japan the Church has grown slowly. At the beginning of World War II, Christians were only one-third as numerous as in 1600, by reason of official restrictions, tight state control of education, and the strongly nationalistic mentality of the people, which makes them look upon Catholicism, and indeed, on Christianity, as foreign. However, the Japanese, once converted, make loyal and fervent Christians. Nagasaki—as of old the great Christian center—was destroyed by an atomic bomb in 1945.

The constitution provides for general religious freedom. Within recent years several notable events have occurred. In 1937 the Holy See decided that the ceremonial rites known as "Shinto," which reverence ancestors and national heroes, are in essence patriotic rather than religious, and therefore need not be shunned by Catholics.¹⁷³ In 1940 the Religious Organization Law, gave official recognition to Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity, and required that the highest representative of each religious body should be a Japanese.¹⁷⁴ The Church in Japan has about 240 native priests, and about 900 native nuns. A delegate apostolic resides at Tokyo. On several occasions, beginning in 1922, the Japanese government discussed with the Holy See the project of sending a representative to the Vatican; but the Japanese diet failed to ratify an agreement until 1942, when Ken Harada, a pagan with a Catholic wife, was appointed special envoy to the Vatican with the rank of minister.

Missions prospered more in the eastern than in the western part of Indo-China which includes French Indo-China and Thailand (Siam).¹⁷⁵ In

¹⁷² In the last 90 years the Catholics of China have increased from 330,000 to more than 3,250,000, and native priests from less than 250 to about 2,000; of over 6,000 nuns in China, more than one-half are native Chinese. A recent statement lists 111,747 adult baptisms for the year 1941—the highest total in the history of China—and reports more than 650,000 adults under instruction. China has one see at Macao, suffragan to Goa; the country is divided into about 125 vicariates and prefectures most of which are served by foreign missionaries. An apostolic delegate resides at Peiping.

¹⁷³ The practice of Shinto ("the Way of the Higher Beings"), which is an obligatory exercise in all Japanese schools, has been classified by certain native intellectuals as a decadent religious survival. Before 1937 some Catholics regarded it as an unlawful superstition.

¹⁷⁴ Archbishop Peter Tatsuo Doi of Tokyo became the official representative of the Catholic Church in Japan; and, in order to cooperate further with the spirit of the law, the non-Japanese ordinaries resigned, and their posts were filled by native administrators apostolic. The Protestants were divided in their opinion of the new law, some regarding it as an effort to Shinto-ize both Christianity and Buddhism, whereas others rejoiced that Christianity was at last "becoming indigenous." See Harold E. Fey, in *Christian Century*, LVII (1940), 1142, 1244 ff.

¹⁷⁵ Geographically it includes also Burma, the Malay States and the Straits Settlements which politically are attached to British India.

French Indo-China (which corresponds roughly to the former kingdom of Annam) more than three quarters of the twenty-three million inhabitants are Annamites; and Catholics number nearly one and a half million. There are several communities of native nuns (established more than two centuries ago); and a large proportion of the clergy are natives. Missionary work—carried on by members of the Foreign Missionary Society of Paris and by Dominicans—has been made extremely difficult by Buddhist opposition. In the kingdom of Siam, where Buddhism is the principal religion, the population of fifteen million includes only 40,000 Catholics, served by Salesians and members of the Foreign Missionary Society of Paris.

Numerous islands lying close to the Equator, with a total area of more than 700,000 square miles make up the Netherlands Indies (Dutch East Indies) which is divided into eleven apostolic vicariates and five prefectures and is served by missionaries of six or seven different orders.¹⁷⁶ The vast majority of the population—about 93 per cent illiterate—are Mohammedans; about one million are Buddhists. The missionaries laboring in this region have been hampered by lack of schools and sometimes by the unfriendly attitude of the Calvinist Dutch officials.

Oceania

TABLE XII

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
The Philippines	16,000,000	12,800,000	1,400	12
Pacific Islands	2,180,000	400,000	350	V.A.
Australia ¹⁷⁷	7,000,000	1,500,000	1,450	27
New Zealand ¹⁷⁸	1,700,000	200,000	300	5
TOTAL	26,880,000	14,900,000	3,500	44

The Philippines: After the treaty that ended the Spanish-American War had transferred the Philippines to the United States, the new government adopted a generous policy toward the islands, undertook to aid in the material, commercial, and intellectual development of the people, introduced the policy of bestowing official posts on native Filipinos, and agreed to

¹⁷⁶ Catholics form one-quarter of 1 per cent of the population in Java; one-third of 1 per cent in Sumatra and Borneo; one-half of 1 per cent in Celebes. New Guinea has a much higher proportion of Catholics. The Propagation of the Faith reports in the Dutch East Indies, 1 Javanese bishop, 16 native priests, nearly 300 seminarians (major and minor), 65 native brothers and over 200 native sisters.

¹⁷⁷ Australia contains about 60,000 natives, including 6,000 Catholics.

¹⁷⁸ New Zealand contains 80,000 Maoris, including 10,000 Catholics.



inaugurate Philippine independence in 1946. From a spiritual point of view the American occupation was less helpful. The United States re-admitted the friars, compensated them for their property losses, and established an extensive public school system; yet the atmosphere of earlier days was not restored. The new schools, while reducing illiteracy, also secularized education; ¹⁷⁹ American prestige redounded to the credit of Protes-

¹⁷⁹ "Accustomed to identify his religion and his government, the step towards concluding that the American Government must be a Protestant Government was an easy one for the young Filipino. Further, as the secondary schools are only situated in the provincial capitals, the students leave home to live in the capital of their province. It is among these young people particularly that the American Protestant

tantism; the investigations conducted by the Taft Commission helped to circulate anti-Catholic propaganda, not only in the Islands but also throughout the United States.¹⁸⁰

In 1902 a native priest, Aglipay, organized the Independent Philippine National Church, with himself as archbishop, nominated twenty assistant bishops, secured a considerable following of native priests, and, aided by American money, drew away an undetermined number of baptized Catholics.¹⁸¹ The Islands had experienced a serious moral and religious decline when in 1903 Bishop (now Cardinal) Dougherty was appointed to the see of Nueva Segovia; and the Catholics of the United States began to realize their obligation to assist in the spiritual rehabilitation of the Philippines. Improvement was rapid. A provincial council met at Manila in 1907; new dioceses were founded; parish schools were built; religious orders resumed and extended their former activities. The Eucharistic Congress which convened at Manila in 1937 was by common agreement one of the most impressive ever held.

Some sixteen communities of priests and as many communities of sisters are at work in the Islands; missions to the pagans are conducted by the older orders and also by younger congregations, among whom the Maryknoll Fathers, the Society of the Divine Word, the Mill Hill Missionaries, and the Scheutveld Congregation are conspicuous. In Manila the Dominicans have the University of Santo Tomás (oldest university under the American flag) and the College of San Juan; the Jesuits have the Ateneo College and the Seminary of San José, as well as the Manila Observatory; the Vincentians have charge of the diocesan seminary with more than fifty seminarians; nuns conduct nine colleges for women and a training school

missionary works. Even though he does not make the student a member of this or that particular sect, a spirit of indifferentism is generated which does not bode well for the future of the country, temporally or spiritually. A nation that is only three centuries distant from habits of idolatry and savagery cannot be removed from daily religious education and still be expected to prosper." Philip M. Finegan, S.J., of the Catholic Ateneo, Manila (writing in the *Cath. Encyc.*, XII, 17, s.v. "Philippine Islands").

¹⁸⁰ According to one source, the evidence given before the Commission (appointed in 1900) and published by the government at Washington was taken chiefly from anti-clericals and consisted of filthy and slanderous lies. "This extraordinary compilation as much as any other agency has prejudiced public opinion on a question so very momentous to the Catholic Church and the religious orders. The sole redeeming feature of the publication is the evidence of the Bishops and the heads of the religious orders, clear, concise, conclusive and diametrically the opposite to that given by the other side." Ambrose Coleman, O.P., "Do the Filipinos Really Hate the Spanish Friars?" *American Cath. Quarterly Review*, XXX (1905), 451.

¹⁸¹ The Church property seized by the Aglipayans was restored to the Catholic hierarchy by order of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1906-1907. Aglipay's claim of over 3,000,000 followers and the figure of 4,000,000 given in popular reference books are exaggerations. In 1939 Aglipayans numbered less than 1,600,000. See *The Commercial and Industrial Manual of the Philippines*, 1941. Aglipay died—reconciled to the Church—in September 1940.

for teachers, as well as several academies for girls. Six of the twelve bishops, nine hundred of the fourteen hundred priests, and half of the two thousand sisters in the Islands are native Filipinos.¹⁸²

Pacific Islands: This area includes British, Dutch, French, American, and Japanese possessions. Ecclesiastically, the region is divided into more than twenty apostolic vicariates and prefectures. Mission work is carried on by Capuchin, Issoudun missionaries (of the Sacred Heart of Jesus), Picpus missionaries (of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary), the Society of the Divine Word, Marists, and Jesuits.¹⁸³

Australia, which has dominion status in the British Commonwealth of Nations, includes six states and two territories.¹⁸⁴ Although the government withdrew financial aid from denominational schools in 1882, the Catholic school system developed so satisfactorily that within forty years there were over 150,000 children on the rolls. The Church of England contains about 40 per cent of the population; and the whole Protestant body is four times as large as the Catholic body. Nevertheless the Catholic Church has acquired considerable power through its influence in the trades unions and in the Labour Party. The Catholic bishops have pursued a vigorous social policy. Sunday, May 4, 1941, was observed as "Social Justice Day" in all the Catholic churches; and a pamphlet issued by the bishops declared "There will be no social justice until recognition of the principle that 'family wages' come before dividends."¹⁸⁵ There has been

¹⁸² Protestant organizations carry on an active and successful propaganda—directly by missions and indirectly through welfare and educational institutions. Protestant hospitals exist in most of the provincial capitals; the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have been established in the Islands since the beginning of the century; the American Bible Society (which replaced the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1899) had distributed more than 3,600,000 volumes by 1938. In addition to the prosperous Philippine Women's University, the Union Theological Seminary (established by the Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, United Brethren, Disciples of Christ, and Congregational churches) in Manila and the Central Philippine College of the Baptists in Iloilo, there exists the Presbyterian Silliman University founded in 1901 on the island of Negros, which has a thousand students, is organized on American college lines, and dominates a whole system of schools either frankly Protestant or nonsectarian. Free literature is abundant, lectures, and student activities on the campus are common features. Protestant missionaries have recorded about a quarter of a million native converts in the Islands. This description applies to the year 1941.

¹⁸³ In the British possessions (including New Guinea), Catholics form about 15 per cent of a population of 1,500,000. In the French islands the population of about 80,000 is approximately 50 per cent Catholic. The American possessions (Guam, Samoa, and the Hawaiian Islands) contain some 140,000 Catholics, about one-third of the population. In the Japanese mandates the Catholics form 22 per cent of a population of less than 100,000.

¹⁸⁴ New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, Tasmania, Northern Territory, and Federal Territory.

¹⁸⁵ After advocating the formation of industrial councils to determine wages, fix prices, limit dividends, and in general regulate the policy and development of each industry, subordinate only to the ultimate authority of the state, the bishops went on to affirm: "The wage system in itself is not unjust. But, if its actual working proves

agitation in recent years to "Keep Australia White," that is, specifically, to exclude Japanese immigrants.

New Zealand has a lower percentage of Catholics than Australia. In both countries all religions are equal before the law; and in both the bishops depend on the Congregation of the Propaganda.

Africa

TABLE XIII

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Sees</i>
Northeast	33,920,000	220,000	452	V.A.
Northwest	62,757,000	1,690,000	1,294	5
Central	41,981,000	1,431,000	1,224	1
South	8,268,000	244,000	476	V.A.
Islands	5,690,000	1,742,000	1,104	V.A.
TOTAL	152,616,000	5,327,000	4,550	6

Despite unhealthy climate, vigorous Mohammedan opposition, and occasional interference by colonial governors, the conversion of the pagans has progressed.¹⁸⁶ Mission territories comprise more than 100 dioceses, vicariates, and prefectures on the Continent and seventeen in the Islands.¹⁸⁷ The steady growth of the Church and the rapid recovery of the missions after the setback of the First World War are regarded by some observers as justifying "most sanguine hopes" of Africa's religious future.

On the borders of the Red Sea, Egypt—with Islam as the state religion and a population of 15,000,000 (over 90 per cent Mohammedan)—contains more than 160,000 Catholics.¹⁸⁸ To the west, along the shores of the Mediterranean, nearly 600 secular priests and about 100 Franciscans care for

incompatible with social justice, the co-operative working of industry, giving the workers an adequate share in the profits, management, and control of industry, may have to be substituted." C. Hartley Grattan, *Introducing Australia*, p. 284.

¹⁸⁶ Catholics number over 5,000,000 in a total population of approximately 150,000,000 which includes 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 pagans; about 75,000,000 Mohammedans; over 8,000,000 schismatics, less than 3,000,000 Protestants. Catholics are divided almost equally between the Latin and Oriental rites. Except for 6,000,000 living in the partly independent Mohammedan states of Egypt and Morocco, and the Black Republic of Liberia, the people of Africa are governed by England, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy.

¹⁸⁷ The total number of sisters, brothers, teachers and catechists is more than 50,000; and there are more than one half million pupils in the 7,000 schools.

¹⁸⁸ Egypt has also over a million schismatical Copts,

more than a million Catholics in the archdioceses of Carthage and Algiers, the dioceses of Constantine and Oran, the vicariates of Tripoli and Morocco.¹⁸⁹

Twenty-five missions now divide the six thousand miles of coast which was under the vicar apostolic in Gaboon less than one hundred years ago,¹⁹⁰ and from the Ivory and the Gold Coasts on the Atlantic across the continent to Zanzibar and Somaliland on the Indian Ocean, at least fifty mission territories lie within ten degrees of the equator, north or south.¹⁹¹

In South Africa the transfer of political control from the Calvinist Boers to the British brought greater liberty to Catholics. Yet mission work remained comparatively sluggish until (under the newly appointed apostolic delegate resident at Bloemfontein), the bishops formulated a program of missionary and social action to offset the propaganda of the Communists. The Union of South Africa now contains about 300,000 Catholics, of whom about 90,000 are Europeans.¹⁹²

In the African islands (which include the Madeiras in the northwest and Madagascar in the southeast), Catholics form nearly half the total population; Réunion and Mauritius are almost entirely Catholic.

Among the significant episodes of the past forty years in the history of the African church have been: the reopening in 1903 of the mission of Liberia, where the Lyons Society now cares for some 7,000 Catholics; the display of hostility by French civil officials after the disestablishment of the

¹⁸⁹ Carthage has 200,000 Catholics in a population of over 2,000,000; Algiers 300,000 in less than 2,000,000; Constantine 150,000 in 2,000,000; Oran 365,000 in 1,300,000; Tripoli 16,000 in more than 500,000, Morocco 63,000 in 1,300,000. This region includes also a number of other missions.

¹⁹⁰ Gaboon—a district where two hundred missionaries died—is cared for by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, an order which includes 37 bishops or apostolic prefects, over 1,400 priests, nearly 900 brothers, more than 3,000 aspirants. In its native personnel are 65 priests, 51 brothers, 700 nuns, nearly 900 seminarians, and more than 13,000 catechists. The area assigned to the congregation in Africa and America (inhabited by about 25,000,000 people of whom more than 2,000,000 are Catholic) includes Dakar and Sierra Leone—made suddenly famous in the Second World War. It seems worthy of note that Christian traditions handed down from the days of the old missions were still current in Sierra Leone when missionaries re-entered less than a century ago. Catholics in Sierra Leone number less than 10,000 in a total population of 1,500,000. Coubango contains nearly 380,000 Catholics and catechumens. See *Atlas Missionnaire des Pères du Saint Esprit*, Paris. Another very successful mission, conducted by the White Fathers in Uganda, has more than 275,000 Catholics, more than 100 priests (including 31 natives), more than 200 sisters, 15 brothers, and over 30,000 children in the mission schools.

¹⁹¹ One is a diocese (Angola and Congo or Loanda) with 50 secular priests; the others are vicariates and prefectures, served by missionary orders.

¹⁹² The Union of South Africa—a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations since 1910—includes four former colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and (as a mandate) former German Southwest Africa. The population of 10,000,000 is about one quarter European.

Church in France; ¹⁹³ the disparaging of the Congo *fermes chapelles*; ¹⁹⁴ the attempt to blame Catholic missionaries for "the Congo Atrocities"; ¹⁹⁵ the calling of missionaries home during the First World War and the imprisonment or banishment of priests who were aliens; the extension of Italy's colonial empire into Libya and Ethiopia and its subsequent shrinking.¹⁹⁶

America

In the western world the most extensive foreign mission field lies in South America where numerous vicariates and prefectures have been established. The inhabitants of these missionary districts—less than four million in all—are almost equally divided into Catholic and pagan; and the missions are served by upwards of five hundred priests, two hundred brothers, eight hundred sisters. The mission schools have more than thirty thousand pupils. Recently the Holy See has taken steps to have religious communities of the United States send reinforcements to the missionaries in this area.

Alaska ¹⁹⁷—with an area of six hundred thousand square miles and a population of about sixty thousand, of whom nearly half are white and the rest Mongolian—was erected into a vicariate apostolic in 1916 in charge of the Jesuit Fathers, and twenty-four priests assist the bishop. The Catholic population is over ten thousand, almost equally divided between natives and whites.

¹⁹³ The governor of Madagascar (1905-1909) promoted the spread of atheism and forbade the use of chapels for school purposes.

¹⁹⁴ In the *fermes chapelles* the young Congolese are taught agriculture under the direction of the missionaries, forming a sort of community in the neighborhood of a little chapel and ranking as free tenants on the communal or chief's land. In 1908 four hundred *fermes chapelles* were being conducted by the Jesuits and more than eighty by the Fathers of the Sacred Heart and the Redemptorists. They were criticized by Protestants and socialists and defended by the Jesuits.

¹⁹⁵ The missionaries established their complete innocence. In 1905 an official commission reported on the charges and called for the correction of certain evils for which the authorities of the Congo Free State were responsible—forced labor, insecure wages, official exploitation of communal land. New legislation brought about so thorough an improvement that the Congo colony was recognized as entitled to "a foremost place among enlightened and progressive colonial administrations." It should be remembered that Presbyterians and Episcopalians officially abstained from taking part in the anti-Congolese campaign in the United States. See Eyre, *op. cit.*, VII, 402, 415.

¹⁹⁶ At the beginning of the Second World War Libya and Ethiopia combined had a population of some 7,000,000, including approximately 100,000 Catholics, one-third of whom belonged to the Ethiopic rite. Nearly half of the population is Monophysite and there is a large percentage of Mohammedans.

¹⁹⁷ Alaska became a territory of the United States in 1867 by purchase from Russia.

III. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TABLE XIV
GROWTH BY DECADES

DECADE ENDING	Population	Foreign Born	Negroes	Jews	Catholics	Priests	Sees
1910	91,972,000	13,516,000	9,828,000	2,044,000	16,363,000	16,550	95
1920	105,711,000	13,921,000	10,463,000	3,605,000	19,298,000	21,019	102
1930	122,775,000	14,204,000	11,891,000	4,029,000	20,215,000	26,925	106
1940	131,669,000	11,419,000	12,866,000	4,622,000	22,293,000	33,912	114

TABLE XV
REGIONAL ORIGIN OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

REGIONS	DECADE ENDING			
	1910	1920	1930	1940
Northwest	1,568,000	853,000	871,000	90,000
Central	2,486,000	1,050,000	854,000	165,000
Eastern	1,769,000	1,012,000	163,000	6,000
Southern	2,310,000	1,452,000	565,000	84,000
Other Areas	600	8,000	22,000	4,000
TOTAL	8,133,600	4,375,000	2,475,000	349,000

By the beginning of the twentieth century the test of time had answered two questions posed in the early stages of the American experiment: (1) the form of government established by the Federal Constitution proved to be admirably adapted to national development; (2) the Catholic Church, in complete separation from the state, thrived amazingly. Church and nation had now attained full stature; both were powerful, intensely active, materially prosperous; both were exercising a world-wide influence, one in the political, the other in the ecclesiastical order. With the new era came fresh problems.

a. The Nation

As already stated, in the years which closed the old and opened the new century marked changes in the racial composition and the volume of immigration affected the very bone and fibre of

the American citizenry.¹⁹⁸ Notable also about this time was the spread of "birth control" among the native stock—a national ill to which Theodore Roosevelt attracted startled attention, by denouncing it as "race suicide." Significant too, were the growing numerical importance of the Negro race, the extension of their opportunities for education, and their new interest in organized action. One could well anticipate that in a country affected by these diverse influences, variations would soon be perceptible.¹⁹⁹

Economics: Factors which had dominated economic life during the period of great expansion²⁰⁰ were replaced about the beginning of the century by mass production, the formation of mammoth trusts, rising plutocracy; subsequent years witnessed an unprecedented orgy of moneymaking.²⁰¹ The workingman, whose labor was an indispensable element in the production of wealth, was not always able to secure a living wage; and moreover, he had to face the competition of immigrants accustomed to a low standard of living. With the possibility of escaping to free land now shut off, he turned more and more willingly towards organized activities and bolder methods. Within a score of years of the closing of the frontier, took place the great coal

¹⁹⁸ During the decade ending in 1890, Northwestern and Central Europe sent nearly 90 per cent of the total immigration, whereas twenty years later the immigration from those regions dropped to one-half of the total. Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, which in the earlier decade had formed only 12 per cent, rose to be fully one-half of the largest total immigration ever recorded in this country. See Marcus L. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*; and *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*.

¹⁹⁹ Of significance also were the contrasts in the birth rate of different groups, the greater proportion of weaklings kept alive, and the longer expectancy of life attained by improved health methods.

²⁰⁰ A bulletin issued by the Superintendent of the Census, for 1890, noted that later reports would not make mention of "the frontier"—the outer boundary of that settled area which had a population density of two or more to a square mile. Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, in a memorable address to the American Historical Association in 1893, affirmed that the closing of the frontier ended the first period of American history, during which the American intellect had received its striking characteristics from the influence of the fringe of land between civilization and the wilderness—an exaggeration which, however, drew attention to a factor of American history not sufficiently stressed by earlier historians.

²⁰¹ The annual income of Andrew Carnegie rose to more than 25 millions; Rockefeller's income was rumored to be even greater. The Morgan and Rockefeller interests amassed more than 22 billions; twelve persons had the entire business of the United States under their control. Meanwhile employees in manufacturing and technical occupations became nearly four times as many as the five million engaged in agriculture. See James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, p. 344 ff.

strike of 1902 and other serious economic conflicts. The American Federation of Labor, more politically aggressive than before, now secured recognition as the dominant labor party.²⁰²

To curb the centering of national resources in the hands of a small group, President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1908) headed an assault upon "malefactors of great wealth." Demands came for popular election of senators, for an inheritance tax, for a graduated income tax bearing heavily upon the rich. In 1910 Congress admitted its first Socialist member, Victor Berger of Milwaukee. Slowing down under President Taft (1908-1912), economic reform started up again with the election of President Wilson (1912-1920); but orderly evolution was interrupted by the First World War, the "Boom Era," the financial crash of 1929, and the subsequent great depression. Four times elected President—in departure from an American tradition—Franklin D. Roosevelt (1932-1945) concentrated power in his own hands and labored persistently during his long term of office to make the rich less rich and the poor less poor, effecting a profound alteration in the American scene.²⁰³ Whether or not his policy wrote the doom of capitalism, whether or not he made this country practically insolvent, were issues much debated during the months that preceded and followed the beginning of his third term—issues never to be settled, for they became inextricably complicated after America's involvement in the Second World War.

Education: Among outstanding phenomena during recent years, none is more striking than the growth of the American educational system—universal, expensive, and aggressively secular. The illiteracy rate for native white persons fell to less than 2 per cent; in 1938 over twenty-two million children (5 to 17

²⁰² Its dominance was not challenged until 1937, when the Committee for Industrial Organization (set up in the previous year) made a bid for leadership. In 1942, the Department of Labor reported a membership of 5,000,000 in the C.I.O.; a membership of 5,300,000 in the A.F. of L.; and a membership of about 800,000 in unions unaffiliated with the C.I.O. or the A.F. of L. In other words, about one-third of the 33,000,000 wage earners in this country are now unionized.

²⁰³ The trend of the times was indicated by proposals to impose increasingly heavier taxes on incomes in the higher brackets.

years) were being educated in public schools at an annual cost of almost two and a quarter billions; nearly sixteen hundred colleges and higher institutions, with an annual income of more than three-quarters of a billion, had more than one and one-quarter million students. Nevertheless, a distinguished educator found the country moving towards "a state of cynicism, vulgarity, brutality, and malignity" because of the "cheap, superficial, mechanistic materialism which has characterized the last two decades."²⁰⁴

Religion: Americans still manifest a disposition to multiply sects and show a considerable although not a proportionate increase of total church membership.²⁰⁵ The present generation has witnessed a decline of doctrinal orthodoxy among non-Catholics, accompanied by a growing tendency towards Church federation; and displays of religious intolerance have alternated with at-

²⁰⁴ Dr. James R. Angell, President Emeritus of Yale, quoted in the *New York Times*, November 14, 1939.

To the point is a charge made by Mortimer J. Adler: "I say that the most serious threat to Democracy is the positivism of the professors, which dominates every aspect of modern education and is the central corruption of modern culture. . . . It is they who have made American education what it is, both in content and method: in content, an indoctrination of positivism and naturalism; in method, an exhibition of anarchic individualism, masquerading as the democratic manner." See *Science, Philosophy and Religion*. A symposium, New York 1941, pp. 128, 137.

In the movement to substitute the secularistic view of life for Christian faith and morality in the minds of the younger generation, it would be difficult to find another institution so conspicuous as Teachers College in New York City, or to name another group of men so successful as the faculty of that school. Outstanding leaders in a systematic, outspoken effort to uproot Christian faith and moral values have been John Dewey, sometimes described as the most influential thinker in America; William Heard Kilpatrick, chief popularizer of Dewey and also important in his own right; Edward Lee Thorndike, whose insistence upon the application of physical measurements has revolutionized educational technique; and Harold Rugg, listed among the "Moulders of the American Mind," and also charged with subtle propaganda in favor of Soviet Russia. All four hold that in progressive education there is no place for God; and none of them accepts the authority of the Christian moral code. Dewey and Kilpatrick are credited with the authorship of the two most widely circulated textbooks of education now in use; teachers trained by these men and by their colleagues have exercised a dominant influence in the field of American education; it is probably safe to say that no school child in the country has entirely escaped their influence, direct or indirect. See *Naturalism in American Education*, by Geoffrey O'Connell, and *Man and Modern Secularism*, by various authors, National Catholic Alumni Federation, New York, 1940.

²⁰⁵ Religious bodies numbered 256 in 1936, as compared with 213 in 1926. In 1939 the "inclusive membership" of the 42 larger Protestant bodies amounted to nearly 36,000,000; of the Catholic Church, to more than 21,000,000; of Jewish congregations, to over 4,000,000. *Year Book of American Churches*, 1939 edition, pp. 6-7.

tempts to effect a better understanding among the three leading religious groups, Protestants, Catholics, Jews.²⁰⁶

National attention has often been directed towards the Catholic Church and on several occasions the government has been in official relationship with Catholic ecclesiastical authorities.²⁰⁷ President Theodore Roosevelt and his successor, President Taft (who had been the first governor of the Philippines) showed a friendly spirit. Among those who received important appointments about this time was Edward D. White, first Catholic to be named chief justice of the United States Supreme Court since Roger Taney's nomination seventy-five years earlier. President Wilson (1912-1920) was none too sympathetic to the Church, as his Mexican policy showed; but, when the Catholic hierarchy at the outbreak of the First World War, placed their resources at the disposal of the government, he recognized the National Catholic War Council as one of the seven official national agencies. The war contributed indirectly to the popular prestige of the Church, for many Protestants, thrown into close contact with their Catholic fellow citizens for the first time, learned to regard them with new respect.

In the long-drawn-out agitation over prohibition—from the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1918 until its repeal in 1933—Catholic principles became a common topic of discussion; and, although extremists on both sides were irritated by

²⁰⁶ The National Conference of Jews and Christians has assembled representatives of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths for discussion of religious differences. At the request of the Conference, the Institute of Social and Religious Research undertook a study the results of which were published in 1934 in a good-sized volume by Claris Edwin Silcox and Galen M. Fisher, *Catholics, Jews and Protestants*. See also *The Religions of Democracy*, by Finkelstein, Ross and Brown.

²⁰⁷ In conformity with a decision of the Hague Tribunal in 1902, Mexico began to make annual payments of \$43,000 to the government of the United States for the benefit of the Catholic Church in California—these payments representing the accrued interest on the Mission property and the Pious Fund confiscated by the Mexican government in 1833 and 1842.

Serious problems with regard to civil marriage, the confiscation of Church property, and the secularization of cemeteries confronted the government after the occupation of Cuba. "It was fortunate for the Church that an American, and a non-Catholic, had the authority to check a ruthless attack on the Church. To General Leonard Wood (Military Governor) much credit is due for the successful solution of the religious question in Cuba. If the same wise restraint had been applied in other Latin-American countries vexatious religious problems would never have arisen." J. Lloyd Mechem, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

the balanced ethical system of the Church, the moderate majority was favorably impressed. Nevertheless, the twenties saw an unhappy display of prejudice when a contest, first for nomination to the presidency in 1924, and then for election in 1928, cut across political affiliations and divided the country along religious lines.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, President Roosevelt named at least four Catholics to cabinet posts (out of a total of nine such appointments to date in the history of the country); and not infrequently he consulted Catholics in the framing of New Deal legislation.

During the thirties Catholics were involved more or less indirectly, but nevertheless conspicuously, in several highly emotional situations. Labor disputes called forth a medley of conflicting plans and philosophies presented by aggrieved workingmen, idealists, professional agitators, subversive aliens, militant atheists. At times "progressive" programs received support from Catholic organizations, writers, priests, bishops.²⁰⁹ Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit, whose radio talks on social justice evoked both hearty approval and fierce denunciation, was admonished by his archbishop in 1937 for having used unbecoming language in his comments on President Roosevelt. After an apology, he resumed his campaign for a more equitable distribution of the country's wealth; and in 1938 he again created a nation-wide furor by attacks on Jewish Communists and Jewish bankers. In 1942, *Social Justice*, which Father Coughlin had founded—and for which, although not the legal owner, he accepted indirect responsibility—suspended publication, after having been barred from the mails for its comments on the war.

A phenomenon that distressed many observers was the attitude of those American "intellectuals" who eulogized the Russian Soviet and the "Loyalist" government of Madrid as promoters of democracy. To several prominent writers disillusion came

²⁰⁸ When Alfred E. Smith became the Democratic candidate—the first Catholic ever nominated for the presidency by a major party—bigots undertook to prove that the election of a Catholic would mean the domination of this country by the pope and the death of American institutions. Nevertheless, Smith secured fifteen million votes—against twenty-one million given to Hoover, the successful candidate.

²⁰⁹ Note in particular Dr. John A. Ryan's presentation of Pius XI's plan as the basis of a new order which "would be the antithesis of collectivism no less than of capitalism." *A Better Economic Order*, p. 177.

quickly; and their announcement of a change of view on Communism entailed serious loss of prestige in the American literary world.²¹⁰

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 found Catholics on both sides of heated discussions with regard to the justice and the expediency of the conflict, and also with regard to the morality of fighting side by side with Russia. When the United States entered the war, however, the bishops promised to marshal the spiritual forces at their disposal "to render secure our God-given blessings of freedom" and pledged "wholehearted cooperation."

b. The Church

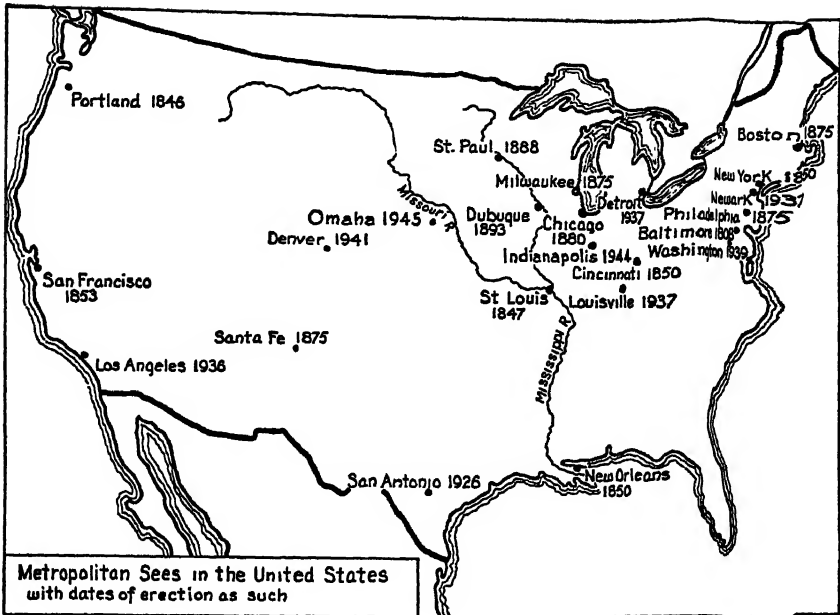
The American Church, with over 23,000,000 members and about 38,000 priests distributed through 20 provinces and nearly 120 sees, now presents a startling contrast to the body of which Bishop John Carroll took charge 150 years ago.²¹¹ The *Testem benevolentiae* of 1899 settled the controversy—especially fierce in France—about the harmony of American institutions and Catholic faith. During subsequent years Leo XIII and his successors displayed high approval for the way of life followed by American Catholics. No more outspoken expression of esteem could be desired than Pope Pius XII's encyclical letter to the American hierarchy (on the 150th anniversary of their establishment) which testified to his "regard and good will for the American race, so young, so sturdy, so glorious," and also bore witness to the edification received in the course of his visit to the United States a few months before his election to the papacy.²¹²

Towards the end of the preceding century a visitor from France had asked: When the Church could no longer count

²¹⁰ On this situation, see William H. Chamberlin, *op. cit.*; also Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935), and *The Red Decade, The Stalinist Penetration of America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1941).

²¹¹ Some estimates place the number of Catholics as high as 35,000,000. In a total of nearly 19,000 churches, those with resident pastors number over 15,000.

²¹² The Holy Father added a warning to the American Church not to be lulled into idleness and relaxation by the contemplation of victories hitherto won; and he emphasized especially the perils involved in education without religion. *Sertum laetitiae*, November 1939.



upon large annual reinforcements of European Catholics, would Catholicism find new sources of strength in secular-minded America? ²¹³ With nation and Church at last mature, with the hierarchy unfettered by political restrictions here or by ecclesiastical distrust abroad, and with immigration cut down to a small fraction of its previous size, history has already begun to provide a factual answer to that query. According to some highly intelligent observers, the answer is, the Church has not been measuring up to her opportunities. ²¹⁴ To what extent that opinion is justified, the following pages should help us to decide.

Catholics have been unquestionably active in the field of organized activity; lay societies have multiplied even to the point where proper unification becomes a problem, because of the vast extent of our country and other factors. ²¹⁵ But serious prob-

²¹³ Max Leclerc, *Choses d'Amérique*, Paris, 1891.

²¹⁴ Abbé Lugan, for example, in his book, *Le Catholicisme aux États Unis* (Paris, 1930) pointed out (sympathetically) some of the shortcomings of the American Church.

²¹⁵ Catholic organizations, both religious and lay, are numerous. There are nearly 90 religious orders of men including some 20 orders of brothers. The priests in the Jesuit, Franciscan, Benedictine, Redemptorist, and Dominican orders make up a total of nearly 8,000; the Passionists and Vincentians total over 1,000. Brothers of the Christian Schools number over 1,500; the Brothers of Christian Instruction and the Xavieraux

lems confronting the Church revolve around: education (widely interpreted); race (with all its numerous by-products of resentments and rivalries within and without the fold); the unconverted majority.

Education: Perennial misunderstanding springs from the opposed views of Catholics and their fellow citizens on this subject. The Catholic holds that unless religion is taught in school, it will not be properly absorbed by the child, and hence that (when the public school system does not provide religious training) parents should as a matter of conscience, build and maintain a school system of their own.²¹⁶ On the other hand, to the average non-Catholic (who does not share this point of view) the sight of a religious body entrenched behind its doctrinal peculiarities, its mode of life, even its independent school system, appears odious; it suggests an alien mentality; it seems to indicate the possibility of a semi-foreign political bloc. The Protestant is quite likely to regard the state as overgenerous in tolerating so serious an obstacle to national unity as the existence of a dual school system. It is not surprising, then, that attempts to secure

Brothers have a membership of approximately 500 each. Over 150,000 nuns are distributed through more than 200 orders. The diocesan communities known as the Sisters of St. Joseph and Sisters of Mercy (two groups) have upwards of 12,000 members each; the School Sisters of Notre Dame, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, have a membership of 5,000 or more each. About 40 different communities have a membership of at least 1,000 each.

Among the largest national lay organizations are the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, and the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The National Catholic Welfare Conference—originally founded by the hierarchy in 1917 as a War Conference—has a bishop at the head of each of its six departments: Executive, Education, Press, Social Action, Legal, Lay Organizations. The Department of Lay Organizations includes two branches, the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women.

²¹⁶ To the Catholic, education in the broad sense involves the necessity of defining the Catholic ideal; requires the instructing and training of adults as well as children both in matters of faith and matters of practice; implies schooling in the science of leadership. It entails the construction of a Catholic school system from kindergarten to university—no light burden; and the creation of a Catholic literature.

The Catholic finds an additional motive for the maintaining of separate schools in the propaganda of irreligion often conducted in tax-supported institutions and in the veiled attacks upon Catholic principles condoned, or even promoted, by school officials. Fearing new interference from the national bureau, American Catholics as a rule do not favor extension of federal control over education, and it is largely as a result of Catholic opposition that up to the present the principle of state autonomy has been preserved. However, bills have been repeatedly introduced into Congress for the purpose of establishing a Federal Department of Education with wide powers over all schools; and the federal government may soon obtain the right to intervene in local educational issues.

state aid—direct or indirect—for Catholic schools have been unsuccessful, except in a very minor degree.

Although the devoted service of underpaid religious communities achieves amazing results,²¹⁷ the burden of salaries and equipment makes it increasingly difficult for Catholic schools to compete with public schools. About half of the Catholic children remain outside the system; and for them the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has organized an extra-mural course of religious instruction. Many clerical seminaries include a course of catechetics in their curriculum; seminarians are often assigned to catechetical field work during vacation; and several publications are devoted, more or less exclusively, to the subject.²¹⁸

The Church faces a special problem in country districts, for some two million Catholic children of school age live in the 5000 parishes which lack Catholic schools. One of two evils may result—children will be lost to the faith through lack of Catholic education; or families will move from rural to urban districts in order to be near a Catholic school. The trend cityward has grave disadvantages; for the urban population is failing even

²¹⁷ Catholic elementary parish schools (more than 7,700 in number) contain over 2,000,000 pupils; Catholic schools of all other grades contain over 500,000 students. Catholic Colleges for women number more than 100, and Catholic colleges for men, more than 140. The annual expenditure on Catholic education amounts to at least \$100,000,000.

At the head of the school system is the Catholic University of America, opened in 1889, under the direction of the bishops of the United States, whose authority is delegated to a Board of Trustees comprising the archbishops of the country, the chancellor and the rector, in addition to thirty (or less) other elected members who may be bishops, priests, or laymen. Seminaries and houses of study affiliated with the university number 54.

According to the *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools* for 1938, the order having the largest number of men's colleges and universities was the Society of Jesus, with 24 institutions. The Benedictine Fathers had 12 colleges; the Brothers of the Christian Schools, 5; the Vincentian Fathers, 3; the Congregation of Holy Cross, 3; 7 colleges were diocesan.

The Sisters of St. Joseph and the Sisters of Mercy each conduct 13 Catholic women's colleges; Sisters of St. Dominic, 10; Ursulines, 9; Sisters of Charity, 6; Benedictine Sisters, 6; Society of the Sacred Heart, 5.

²¹⁸ The tendency of Catholic schools to adjust themselves to the standards established by secular institutions has occasioned reproach from distinguished educators who urge a return to the classical Catholic tradition. "You Catholics have done little more than imitate the worst features of secular education": such, in substance, was the accusation leveled against American Catholic education by President Hutchins of Chicago University in a speech delivered before a group of midwestern Catholic educators." Alfred Schnepf, S.M. "Catholic Leadership in Education," *Catholic World*, 146 (Oct. 1937), 22.

to reproduce itself, and, at the present rate of decline, will suffer a two-thirds loss in the course of a century. In fact the tendency of Catholic immigrants, notably the Irish, to congregate in cities has already had a serious effect upon the growth of the Church. To solve the problem some Catholic leaders advocate colonization schemes, which would transport large numbers of Catholic immigrants into farming districts and organize Catholic communities there.²¹⁹ Others look upon these plans as dangerous experiments. Attempts at a partial solution of the problem are being made by the Catholic Rural Life Conference and by the Rural Life Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. These bureaus conduct religious correspondence schools and establish religious vacation schools in needy places.

Another special problem is presented by the Catholics—tens of thousands of them—scattered among the immense body of students at non-Catholic colleges and universities.²²⁰ Largely cut off from the spiritual and intellectual influences required for a thoroughly Catholic formation, they are nevertheless destined to supply a considerable proportion of the country's future leaders. No plan has yet been devised to provide this group of young people with all the helps they need. But meanwhile, the N.C.W.C. maintains an office and director for Newman Club work among Catholic students in the non-Catholic universities throughout the country.

Among important events in the intellectual field were the founding of the National Catholic Educational Association, which held its thirty-ninth annual meeting in 1942; the founding of the American Catholic Philosophical Association; the establishing of several periodicals.²²¹ In the field of history, the

²¹⁹ Government attempts to attract people back to the land have had no great success; and city dwellers, who formed only 10 per cent of the population in 1780, became 40 per cent in 1900 and 56 per cent in 1930.

²²⁰ The total number of college and university students in the United States in 1938 was 1,350,000.

²²¹ Among those worthy of special note are *Thought* (Fordham University quarterly), and *The Thomist* (a speculative quarterly review, edited by the Dominican Fathers). In *A Companion to the Summa* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1941), the Dominican, Walter Farrell, has made the substance of the Thomistic system intelligible to serious minded but non-technical readers. As a practical aid in the education of the general public,

older American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia with its *Records*, was joined by the American Catholic Historical Association (1919), with its literally indispensable organ, *The Catholic Historical Review* and its series of studies in American Church history, more than thirty of which have appeared in the last twenty years. We have also the valuable *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, *Historical Bulletin* of St. Louis, *Mid America* of Chicago, *Franciscan Studies* and *Round Table of Franciscan Research*.

Catholic scholars have shown much concern over the lack of a definitive history of the American Church; and forty years ago Bishop Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America, indicated the making of a general bibliography as the "greatest need of our ecclesiastical history." In 1922 Monsignor Guilday announced that the beginning of a guide to all printed documents, books and periodical material on the subject, from 1492 onward, had already been made; but as yet no complete history has even been planned; and the difficulties involved are enormous. As for other parts of this continent, the new lively interest in Latin America has helped to open approaches to a working knowledge of the history of the Church in these countries where ecclesiastical life is so closely intertwined with political history.

Race: ²²² A minor division of this subject has to do with the Indian tribes who had dwindled to about a quarter of a million by the early years of the twentieth century. In the third decade, however, while the total population was increasing by one-sixth, the Indian population increased by more than a third; and in 1940 the United States contained about 340,000 Indians, nearly one-third Catholics, one-third Protestants, one-third still pagan.

the National Council of Catholic Men sponsors a weekly national broadcast, "The Catholic Hour," in which addresses have been given by a number of well known speakers—notably by Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University of America, author of *Philosophy of Science*, etc., and Father James M. Gillis, editor of the *Catholic World*, author of *False Prophets*, etc.

²²² Always a major factor in life and in history, race has been made an acute controversial issue by the rise of anti-Semitism; and it has been burned into the consciousness of the whole world by the theories and activities of Nazi Germany. In this country the matter of race possesses several particular aspects which do not at once meet the eye. See *Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem*, by H. S. Jennings and others, a volume exposing theological and scientific fallacies of anti-Semitism.

The Indian missions are served now by some 200 priests and by nearly 500 sisters; several Indians have been ordained to the priesthood.

Of the 13,000,000 Negroes in this country, about 40 per cent are Protestant (usually Methodists or Baptists) and less than 3 per cent (about 300,000) are Catholics; the rest are religiously unaffiliated.²²³ These conditions have brought sharp criticisms from European Catholics. Of late there has been a notable increase of missionary zeal in this field; and priests at work among the Negroes report a percentage of conversions ten times as high as that reported by priests laboring among white people.²²⁴

Attention has already been drawn to a shift in the leading racial groups of the American Church. For a long time the Irish element dominated, and up to date the majority of bishops have been of Irish race.²²⁵ The Irish stock, however, has been steadily dwindling, not only by reason of diminished immigration, but also because of its high mortality rate and low birth rate. In the older immigration the Germans ranked next to the Irish; within recent years both have been passed, first by the Italians and then by the Poles. Inevitably, these changes will be reflected in the characteristics of coming generations.

A special problem has been created by the non-English-

²²³ The illiteracy rate of Negroes in the United States is approximately 16 per cent. A report presented to the International Negro Workers Conference at Hamburg in 1930 showed that the Communist International was especially active among the Negroes of the United States.

²²⁴ The Society of St. Joseph (nearly 150 priests) is exclusively devoted to Negro work; the Society of the Divine Word conducts a Catholic Negro Seminary at Bay St. Louis, Miss.; the Society of African Missions of Lyons has charge of the entire state of Georgia; the Fathers of the Holy Ghost and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate are at work in different parts of the country. To the list of communities working among the Negroes should be added Passionists, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Benedictines—and Jesuits, who entered the field in Maryland three hundred years ago. More than 630 priests minister to Indians and colored persons in the United States. Forty-four communities of women taking part in this work include four communities of colored nuns (with a combined membership of 400). Of particular importance for more than half a century has been the work of Mother Katherine Drexel, who founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People in 1891. Mother Drexel also established Xavier University, New Orleans—our one Catholic university for colored people—an institution empowered to confer degrees in 1918, and approved by the Association of American Colleges.

²²⁵ Dr. Code gives the following list of foreign-born members of the American hierarchy, distributed according to country of origin, up to and including the year 1940: Austria, 12; Belgium, 12; Canada, 7; France, 43; Germany, 27; Ireland, 100; Italy, 10; other countries less than 10 each. *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*.

speaking immigrant. Finding no priest able to understand him, bewildered by the unaccustomed variety of religious denominations, resenting the American usage of supporting the Church by voluntary contributions, he has given a good opening to Protestant propagandists, who sometimes also exploited his poverty. Conditions such as these have helped to swell the volume of leakage from the Church.²²⁶

In 1913 the Holy See erected the Ukrainian Greek Catholic diocese (headquarters at Philadelphia, seminary at Stamford 300,000 members, 90 priests). In 1924 came the diocese of Pittsburgh for Greek Catholics of Rusin, Magyar and Croatian nationalities (headquarters at Mullhall, Pa., 260,000 members, 40 priests). Since 1929 a Ukrainian bishop in Canada has presided over 300,000 Greek Ruthenians and more than 100 priests.

Schismatical bodies²²⁷ include the Eastern Orthodox and the Armenian Apostolic, and two new groups (total membership, 66,000): the Polish National Church (Scranton, Pa., 1904), which abolished clerical celibacy, adopted a vernacular liturgy, and decreed memorial days for John Hus, Peter Waldo, Savonarola; and the Lithuanian National Catholic Church (1924).

Conversions: Over 90,000 converts entered the Catholic Church in this country during 1943; but for every individual thus subtracted from the non-Catholic body, over twenty others are added by birth. The work of conversion proceeds slowly for a variety of reasons which have already been enumerated—on the part of Catholics lack of apostolic zeal, imperfect organization, disedifying conduct, and on the part of non-Catholics inherited prejudice, misunderstanding of Catholic teaching, reluctance to conform to the Church's uncompromising moral standards. And

²²⁶ Among other contributory causes of leakage are the influence of mixed marriages, the spread of intemperance and consequent poverty, the social and commercial discrimination sometimes exercised against Catholics, the scarcity of priests and of Catholic schools in sparsely settled districts, and, perhaps most of all, the adverse effect of non-Catholic public opinion upon weaker types of character.

²²⁷ A group known as "Old Catholics" includes the American Old Catholic Church, which derives its orders from the Jansenists; the North American Old Roman Catholic Church, with headquarters in Chicago; and the Evangelical Catholic Church. This group, with a combined membership of forty to fifty thousand, accepts substantially the creed of the Catholic Church, but uses a vernacular liturgy and possesses a married clergy.

Catholicism is notably out of tune with the judgment of the average American on a number of practical issues which bear directly or indirectly upon sexual morality—divorce and birth control in particular.²²⁸

Bigotry breaks out now and then, usually in the less cultured classes, but sometimes, surprisingly, among the highly educated. The A.P.A. disappeared before the beginning of the century; yet its spirit lingered on and several episodes helped to revive it. In 1908 the celebration of the centenary of the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore received country-wide publicity; about the same time the first American Missionary Congress gathered an impressive assemblage of bishops, priests, laity, in Chicago; two new American cardinals were created; the Catholic ban against mixed marriages was made more rigorous; ²²⁹ the slogan, "Make America Catholic," resounded through the country; a widely advertised statement drew attention to the fact that Catholics, who twenty years before had possessed a plurality of the Christian body in thirteen states, now possessed a plurality in eighteen states. Partly as a result of all this a wave of Protestant apprehension, set in motion by the "Guardians of Liberty" and furthered by a scurrilous newspaper, *The Menace*, spread over the South. Senator Watson of Georgia in 1910 published a savage attack on the Church entitled *The Roman Catholic Hierarchy*; and, although three times indicted on charges of libel, he was never convicted. The spirit of intolerance subsided during the First World War; but it reappeared shortly afterwards, and the

²²⁸ Note the steady rise of American divorces which, amounting to less than 8 per cent of marriages in 1900, passed 16 per cent in 1935; and note the ever louder public demand for the legitimizing of birth control propaganda. Euthanasia presents another issue; for Catholics necessarily oppose the startling number of Americans (including a large group of Protestant clergymen) who publicly declare that in their opinion voluntary euthanasia in the case of people suffering from incurable, fatal, or painful disease "should not be regarded as contrary to the teachings of Christ or to the principles of Christianity." See the statement published by the Euthanasia Society of America, which conducted a questionnaire on the subject in May 1941.

²²⁹ Previously (that is, before the United States had been placed under the common law of the Church) the Church recognized as valid a marriage contracted before a Protestant minister or a civil magistrate; but, after 1908, in accord with the decree of the Council of Trent, a Catholic could contract a valid marriage only in the presence of a priest and two witnesses. This change affected the validity of many mixed marriages.

Ku Klux Klan carried on a vigorous campaign against Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and aliens.²³⁰

An encouraging circumstance is the general increase of apostolic zeal; almost universally both clergy and laity recognize their obligation to help non-Catholics towards the faith. Recent years have brought the publication of much literature particularly fitted for the instruction of non-Catholics—some of it worthy of high rating; and many conversions are traceable to Catholic newspapers, pamphlets, and books now being circulated by the million.

An important factor in the growth of the Church has been the development of the Catholic press. One may find almost every type of good literature scattered through nearly two hundred periodicals and more than one hundred newspapers.²³¹

SUMMARY

Soon after the century opened came the outbreak of Modernism, condemned in the encyclical, *Pascendi*. Trouble developed with several Latin governments; France and Portugal abrogated their concordats; Spain recalled her ambassador from the Vatican. On the other hand, England deleted an offensive clause from the Coronation Oath. During the opening decade the Holy See placed the United States and England under the common law of the Church and consecrated the first Ruthenian bishop for America. A little later Rome inaugurated a new procedure in the selection of American bishops.

²³⁰ Among the spurious documents circulated for the purpose of arousing fear and dislike of Catholics occurs the forged "Jesuit" or "Cardinal" oath dating from the seventeenth century which was altered into the "Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus Oath" in 1912. The *Congressional Record* (February 15, 1913) printed a Congressional committee's condemnation of the oath as false and libelous. See Michael Williams, *The Shadow of the Pope*, pp. 300-01.

²³¹ In connection with contemporary Catholic literature, mention should be made of dissertations published by Catholic candidates for degrees in graduate schools. An idea of the numerous books available for the general reader may be gathered from Father Conway's *Ten Thousand Books and Pamphlets*.

Many events of ecclesiastical importance occurred in connection with the First World War—the sending of Dutch and English diplomats to the Vatican; Benedict XV's peace plan; United States recognition of the National Catholic War Council; the Bolshevik revolution in Russia; the arrest of the Patriarch of Moscow. In the third decade Ireland obtained political freedom; France renewed relations with the Holy See; Catholics suffered martyrdom in Mexico; Pius XI signed the Lateran Treaty. In America a Catholic candidate for the presidency received fifteen million votes. Significant episodes in mission history were the founding of Maryknoll; Benedict XV's insistence on a native clergy; the consecration of native bishops for Japan and China; the founding of a seminary for Negro priests in Mississippi; the setting up of several apostolic delegations in the Far East and in Africa (1919–1930).

The fourth decade of the century brought the martyrdom of twelve bishops and thousands of priests and nuns in Spain; systematic oppression in Nazi Germany; an unprecedented demonstration of world sympathy on the death of Pius XI; Roosevelt's sending of a personal representative to the Vatican; the outbreak of the Second World War.

TIME CHART

ECCLESIASTICAL

MISCELLANEOUS

1905 <i>Non expedit</i> modified French concordat abrogated	1905 Czar's Edict of Toleration
1907 Encyclical on Modernism	1907 Triple Entente; Hague Conference
1908 U.S. and England under common law of Church	1908 Austria takes Bosnia
1910 <i>Pius X</i> on First Communion Portuguese concordat abrogated Spain breaks with Vatican First Ruthenian bp. for America	1909 General Strike in Barcelona 1910 English Coronation Oath amended United States Chief Justice White
1911 Maryknoll Missionary Society	1911-13 Balkan wars 1913 Bilingual disputes in Canada 1914 Panama Canal opened 1914-18 First World War
1915 Dutch and English representation at Vatican	
1916 New Code of Canon Law	
1917 <i>Benedict XV's</i> peace plan U.S. National Catholic War Council	1917 Bolshevism in Russia
1919 <i>Benedict XV</i> recommends native clergy U.S. seminary for Negro priests <i>Non expedit</i> abolished in Italy	1918 Poland independent 1919 Versailles Congress
1919-30 Seven apostolic delegations in the Far East and Africa	
1922 France renews relations with Holy See	1922 Irish Free State
1926 Native bishop in Japan Mexico persecutes Catholics	1923 Arrest of Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow 1926 Portugal a corporative state
1927 Rumanian concordat Native bishops in China	1928 Alfred E. Smith, presidential candidate
1929 Encyclical on Christian education <i>Pius XI</i> signs Lateran Treaty Concordat with Portugal	
1931 Encyclical, <i>Quadragesimo anno</i>	1931 Spain a republic 1933 Nazis supreme in Germany 1934 Russia enters League of Nations
1935 Northern Ireland persecutes Catholics	
1936 Spain persecutes Catholics	1936 Spanish civil war
1937 Germany persecutes Catholics	
1938 Concordat quarrel in Yugoslavia <i>Pius XI</i> condemns anti-Semitism	1938 Germany annexes Austria
1939 Accession of <i>Pius XII</i> Roosevelt's envoy at Vatican	1939 Second World War
1941 American bishops condemn anti-Semitism	1941 United States enters war
1942 Catholics in U. S. 22,000,000	

EPILOGUE

CHRISTENDOM AT PRESENT

Christians now number over 700,000,000, comprising three main groups: Catholics in communion with Rome; Schismatics out of communion with Rome; many lesser denominations. Of the total number of Christians, Catholics form approximately one-half; Schismatics are a little more than one-fifth; the rest are usually classed as Protestants. This division of Christianity into irreconcilable groups dates from two calamitous events in history—one in 1054, when the Eastern Church separated from the Western; the other in 1517, when Luther's revolt began the break-up of Western Christendom into Catholic and Protestant.

Catholics: Of the 375,000,000 Catholics in the world,²³² about 50,000,000 inhabit English-speaking countries—and the majority of these live in the British Empire. The bishops of the Catholic Church number over 1,200²³³ and priests more than 300,000—an increase of 100,000 in the last half century. Religious communities of women have a membership of over 575,000 and religious communities of brothers have a membership of over 30,000.

Schismatics: Schismatical Christians number somewhat less than 150,000,000 and most of them are Orientals.²³⁴ The efforts of the Holy See to reunite the separated Orientals to the Catholic Church have up to the present attained no great success, although early in the eighteenth century the patriarch of Antioch and many of his subjects returned to Catholic unity.

²³² Europe contains about 215,000,000 Catholics; Asia and Oceania about 25,000,000, Africa about 5,000,000; and the Americas about 130,000,000.

²³³ Residential sees numbered 1,223 in 1941.

²³⁴ Constantinople, which possessed the leadership of the Oriental churches, made an official and final break with Rome after the Council of Florence in 1472. Under Turkish rule, Constantinople lost prestige; and the religious leadership passed to Moscow. After the First World War it passed to Rumania. Excluding almost ten million in communion with Rome and another ten million who are heretics, Oriental Christians are distributed among the different Orthodox Churches.

Protestants: The Protestants of the world number over 200,000,000; ²³⁵ but it should be noted that a large percentage of persons classified as "Protestants" have no definite dogmatic belief. In England and America there is a fairly steady movement of converts from Protestantism to Catholicism amounting to nearly 100,000 annually.

RETROSPECT

With this glance at the present extension of Christianity, we bring the history of the Church to a close. From the small beginnings in and around Jerusalem the divine organization has spread, first through the Roman Empire, then into the territory occupied by the Germanic nations, and later into the remote regions discovered in East and West; so that the Gospel has now been preached in every tongue and Catholicism established in every land. The nineteen centuries of Church history make a long story of difficulties encountered and dangers survived—whispered calumny, literary attacks, schism, heresy, bloody persecution. Over and over again students pondering this story have found persuasive evidence of the Church's divinity in the fact that she still exists—convinced that none but a supernatural entity could thus repeatedly rise out of seeming death-agony into fuller life.

OUTLOOK

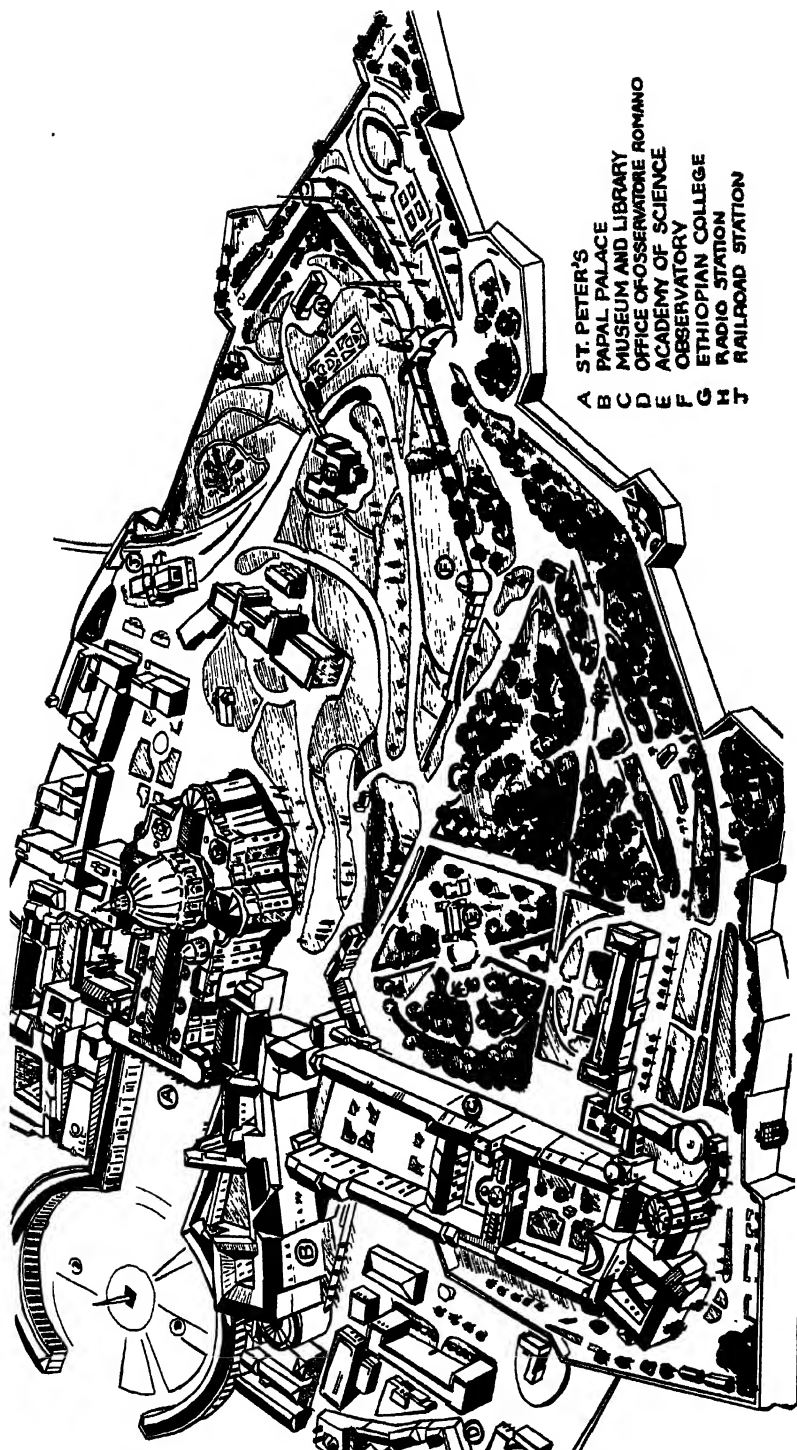
The reader of this book is in possession of evidence—accumulated through all these centuries, not lightly therefore to be brushed aside—which makes it comparatively easy to believe that the only Society which has lived thus long will live forever; that the Teacher who has never taught falsehood yet, will never teach falsehood in the future; in a word, that the Church which links Pius XII with Peter the Apostle is the Church of God.

Christ has not told us how many centuries the Church will live, nor what vicissitudes she will experience, nor what epochs of per-

²³⁵ They are distributed geographically as follows: North America 75,000,000; South America 1,000,000; Europe 115,000,000; Asia 7,000,000; Africa 3,000,000; Oceania 6,000,000.

secution she may still have to endure. He has promised only that the divine life begun on Pentecost will not cease until the end of time. He who has fulfilled His promise in the centuries gone by, will again fulfill it in those still to be; and the certainty of this establishes a sure ground of hope no matter what disaster may befall. Recent European history shows how easily a state may force a quarrel over such issues as the Church's claim to function as an independent society, her title to freedom of worship and organization, the rights of parents in education—and over such issues as those which occur in the province of sexual morality, for example, marriage, divorce, birth control, sterilization. We know that Catholics may again be called upon to suffer persecutions as violent as in the early ages, and that great sections of the Catholic world may again fall away as in the eleventh century and the sixteenth. The fluctuations of history warn us against forecasting. Yet the divine guarantee assures us that the Church will never perish and will never teach falsehood in the name of Christ. For the rest, her history will depend upon the correspondence of individuals with the grace bestowed by God. Anyone who chooses to speculate concerning the next chapter of the Church's life would do well to recall the warning uttered by the American bishops: "Christianity faces today its most serious crisis since the Church came out of the Catacombs."

As a revelation of the elusive nature of earthly wealth and power the Second World War has left little to the imagination. It has forced mankind to face the grimmest aspects of reality. Now, if ever, man will realize the indissoluble connection of peace and justice, the inevitable punishment of selfishness, individual or collective. Thus perhaps, out of the experience of his own helplessness, he may providentially be led to a sense of the necessary connection between faith and human wellbeing—perhaps even to a realization that to remain unshaken, faith must rest upon an immovable Church.



- A ST. PETER'S
- B PAPAL PALACE
- C MUSEUM AND LIBRARY
- D OFFICE OF OSSERVATORE ROMANO
- E ACADEMY OF SCIENCE
- F OBSERVATORY
- G ETHIOPIAN COLLEGE
- H RADIO STATION
- J RAILROAD STATION

VATICAN CITY

A sovereign state (less than one-seventh square mile in area) established after the Italo-Vatican (Lateran) Treaty, February 11, 1929.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

With the needs and resources of the average student in view, the list below—merely suggestive of the vast amount of literature available—names a limited number of works, most of them by Catholic authors, most of them already mentioned in the preceding pages, and nearly all of them in English. More extensive lists can easily be found elsewhere—for example, in Hughes's *A History of the Church*, which names Catholic writers almost exclusively and also indicates useful readings; or in Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, which gives a series of comprehensive bibliographies, with brief appreciations from a friendly, although fundamentally Protestant, point of view. Still other lists are available in Eyre's *European Civilization*, in Mourret-Thompson's *History of the Catholic Church*, in Poulet-Raemer's *Church History*, in the thirty-three volumes of the *Cambridge History* (Ancient, Medieval and Modern). With the aid of the *Historical Bulletin* of St. Louis University, now in its twentieth volume, these lists may be enlarged from current publications.¹

Valuable suggestions as to the spirit and method in which Church history should be studied are contained in Guilday's *Introduction*. Sound philosophical views may be obtained from *The Catholic Philosophy of History*, edited by Guilday; from Ross Hoffman's "Catholicism and Historicism," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXV; from Peter Wust's *Crisis in the West*; and, in profusion, from Dawson's writings. Diagrammatic outlines of the milieu in which the Church has lived are presented by Reinhardt for the ancient era, Hoffman for the medieval, Clough for the modern.

Christian beginnings may be studied in Grandmaison, or Fillion, or Fouard, according to opportunity—also in Batiffol's *Primitive Christianity* and in Duchesne's *Early History*, which, as Father Hughes says, although on the Index, "cannot but be of the very highest service to all students of Church history," if placed in the right hands and critically studied. Prat

¹ An idea of the recent immense growth of historical literature may be gathered from Gustave Krüger's comment in the *Harvard Theological Review* in 1933. He had previously (1921-1925) contributed reviews of current publications on Church history; but in 1933 he limited himself to the field of patrology on the ground that the output of material on Church history had become too enormous for any single scholar to handle—more than 2,000 works within six years. Another illustration of the same fact may be drawn from the report of Father McAvoy, archivist of Notre Dame University, who tells us that his Index on American Catholic history at present contains over 225,000 items.

analyzes the theological teaching of the New Testament; Felder specializes in the doctrine of the Divinity of Jesus.

For an introduction to the chief theological sources we have Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, with its list of the authorities upon which it depends; Kirch's *Enchiridion Fontium*, with its generous selection from documents bearing on the history of the first eight centuries; de Journal's *Enchiridion Patristicum*, which gives passages from the Latin and Greek Fathers. Migne publishes the original text of the Fathers; but, for the forming of a first acquaintance, one may use Labriolle, or the easily accessible English translations of the Ante-Nicene, Nicene, and Post-Nicene writers, and, in connection with them, the *Patrology* of Bardenhewer, or Tixeront, or—best of all—Cayré. On the Eastern Churches, there are Fortescue's and Attwater's books; on missions, Schmidlin's unique *Catholic Mission History*, with its almost countless references, and Streit's (now partly obsolete) *Catholic World Atlas*. The Roman Missal, a priceless item of ecclesiastical literature, sums up so much history and so much theology that a study of it is indispensable to an adequate idea of the Church's life; and that study may well follow the lines of Schuster's *The Sacramentary*.

Raab sketches briefly all twenty of the Ecumenical Councils; Schroeder's two books give text and translation (with commentaries) of the decrees of the first nineteen. The reader will find brief accounts of Trent and the Vatican in Cristiani's study of the Reformation (Eyre, vol. IV) and in Butler-Ullathorne's *Vatican Council*, both of which provide adequate references to sources in Latin, German, Italian, and French. On the history of the councils, Hefele's work is available in an English translation which, however, is less satisfactory than the French version (Hefele-Leclercq, Paris, 1907).

Mann and Pastor cover the history of the popes from the seventh to the eighteenth century; they may be supplemented—especially before and after the period mentioned—by many valuable, if unequal, articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and by the Loomis translation of part of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Students familiar with French may consult Marchal's translation of Schmidlin's *Papstgeschichte* and the scholarly monographs contained in the *Dictionnaires*. Because much knowledge can be absorbed from biographies, it is well also to become familiar with the lives of many of the outstanding popes, prelates, and saints named by Brown and by Conway.²

² For example, in the First Period: Ambrose, Athanasius, Augustine, Cyprian, Jerome, Patrick; Second Period: Bede, Benedict, Boniface, Columba, Columbanus, Eulogius, Gregory I, Nicholas I; Third Period: Albertus Magnus, Catherine of Siena, Francis of Assisi, Gregory VII, Innocent III, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer, Ximenes; Fourth Period: Claude, Cardinal of Lorraine, English Martyrs, Francis de Sales, Francis Xavier, Ignatius Loyola, Irish Martyrs, John Fisher, Manning, Newman, Oliver Plunket, Thomas More, Vincent de Paul, Welsh Martyrs, Wiseman.

Reading on the earlier medieval period may include Duchesne's *Temporal Sovereignty*, Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, Healy's *Ireland's Schools and Scholars*, Ryan's *Irish Monasticism*, Maitland's *Dark Ages*, and the collection entitled *Church and State*. Useful for the later period are DeWulf's *Medieval Philosophy*, Gilson's *Reason and Revelation*, Hull's *Medieval Theories of the Papacy*, Vacandard's *Inquisition*, Knowles on the Benedictines, Gemelli on the Franciscans, Jarrett on St. Dominic, Gwynn on the Augustinians, Moore on Gothic architecture, Gasquet on parish life, Rashdall and d'Irsay on the universities, Curtis on Ireland. Acquaintance with many original sources may be gained from *Records of Civilization*, published at Columbia University, and *Translations and Reprints*, published at the University of Pennsylvania; and the Catholic University of America has a small but helpful list of *Studies in Medieval History*.

In the literature of the fourth period, so embarrassingly rich, we find an array of informative biographies—to mention but a few, *Luther* by Denifle and *Luther* by Grisar, Brodrick's *Robert Bellarmine* and *Peter Canisius*, Capecelatro's *Philip Neri*, Evennett's *Cardinal of Lorraine*, Hay's *James II*, Walsh's *Philip II*, Piette's *Wesley*. Many features of the sixteenth century are reflected in the books listed under the name of Constant, Gasquet, Messenger, Meyer, Pollen; Harney describes the Jesuits during their four hundred years of existence and gives numerous references. For the interval between the Reformation and the nineteenth century, Eckhardt and MacCaffrey supplement each other. The available literature on the last one hundred fifty years includes works by MacCaffrey and by Corrigan, and the essays on *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe* edited by Guilday. On England we have Bernard Ward, Wilfrid Ward, Leslie, Gwynn, Mathew; on France, Brogan's *France Under the Republic*; on Italy, Hughes's *Catholic Revival*; on Germany, Foerster and Gurian, and *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich*.

A critical essay on the sources of American Church history will be found in Chapter XL of Guilday's *Life of Carroll*; other information is given in a guide to the sources of American Catholic history by John P. Cadden, O.S.B., to be printed by the Catholic University of America Press in the near future. Pending development of still unworked material, one may find considerable literature at hand: Purcell outlines the general history of the United States; O'Gorman summarizes the ecclesiastical history; Maynard gives us a popular narrative of American Catholicism; Guilday's indispensable biographies supplement Shea's volumes. Important essays on the history of the Church in this country have been published in *The Catholic Historical Review*, official organ of the American Catholic Historical Association; in *Researches and Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia; in *Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York; in the publications of the Illinois

Catholic Historical Society and the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society; in *Acta et Dicta* of St. Paul, Minnesota. On the particular topic of religious disputes, Billington, Ray, and Williams are useful; on American education, Geoffrey O'Connell and Zybura. Information on some of the religious orders of priests will be found in the books of Duchaussois, Engelhardt, Fitzgerald, Gillard, Gillis, Herbermann, Hughes, Knowles, O'Daniel, Powers, Easterly, Stebbings, Ward; and Code gives information on sixteen of the religious orders of women. On Latin America we have Edwin Ryan, Kirkpatrick, Mecham; scattered articles in *The Catholic Historical Review* and the *Hispanic American Historical Review*; pamphlets issued by the Pan-American organizations in Washington; the *Inter-American Historical Series* (University of North Carolina); the annual *Handbook of Latin-American Studies* (Harvard); the Ibero-American Institute (Catholic University of America); the Catholic Association for International Peace (Washington, D.C.).

In that very important department which deals with the correcting of misinterpretations and of conventional misstatements, periodical literature plays a leading part; and, although Catholic scholars have done much of their work in foreign languages, yet many enlightening studies are contained in the files of our English language magazines^{*}—files that have been made somewhat more accessible of late by the Catholic Periodical Index (unfortunately limited in scope) and also by the *Readers' Guide*, *Poole's Index*, and other publications, which cover a small number of Catholic periodicals. Moreover, many pamphlets by competent historians are listed in Willging's *Index to American Catholic Pamphlets*.

A selection of the books mentioned in the text is given below, with some additions. The student should become familiar with the works listed as "General"; the other lists name a limited number of useful books.

When titles are repeated they are abbreviated and marked with an asterisk (*).

^{*} To name here even the most important articles and monographs is not practical. The student would do well to make himself familiar with the files of *The Catholic Historical Review*, *The Downside Review*, *The Dublin Review*, *The Historical Bulletin*, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, *Mid-America*. Other very useful files are those of *The American Catholic Quarterly*, *Blackfriars*, *The Catholic World*, *The Clergy Review*, *The Ecclesiastical Review*, *The London Tablet*, *Mediaeval Studies*, *The Month*, *Studies*, *Thought*. Of magazines not published under Catholic auspices, especially helpful are *The American Historical Review*, *The English Historical Review*, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, *The Church Quarterly*. Very valuable periodicals in foreign languages are of course numerous.

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These works will serve as an introduction to types of books that contain, or comment upon, source material.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF POPES¹

	A.D.		A.D.
(1) St. Peter	c. 42-67	(38) St. Siricius	384-398
(2) St. Linus	c. 67-c. 79	(39) St. Anastasius I	398-401
(3) St. Anacletus	c. 79-c. 90	(40) St. Innocent I	402-417
(4) St. Clement I	c. 90-c. 99	(41) St. Zosimus	417-418
(5) St. Evaristus	99-107	(42) St. Boniface I	418-422
(6) St. Alexander I	107-116	<i>Eulalius</i>	418-419
(7) St. Sixtus I	116-125	(43) St. Celestine I	422-432
(8) St. Telesphorus	125-136	(44) St. Sixtus III	432-440
(9) St. Hyginus	136-140	(45) St. Leo I	440-461
(10) St. Pius I	140-145	(46) St. Hilary (or Hilarius)	461-468
(11) St. Anicetus	c. 155-c. 166	(47) St. Simplicius	468-483
(12) St. Soter	c. 166-174	(48) St. Felix II (III) ²	483-492
(13) St. Eleutherius	174-189	(49) St. Gelasius I	492-496
(14) St. Victor I	189-198	(50) St. Anastasius II	496-498
(15) St. Zephyrinus	198-217	(51) St. Symmachus	498-514
(16) St. Callistus I	217-222	<i>Lawrence</i>	489-505
<i>St. Hippolytus</i>	217-235	(52) St. Hormisdas	514-523
(17) St. Urban I	222-230	(53) St. John I	523-526
(18) St. Pontian	230-235	(54) St. Felix III (IV)	526-530
(19) St. Anterus	235-236	(55) Boniface II	530-532
(20) St. Fabian	236-250	<i>Dioscurus</i>	530
(21) St. Cornelius	251-253	(56) John II	533-535
<i>Novatian</i>	251-258	(57) St. Agapetus I	535-536
(22) St. Lucius I	253-254	(58) St. Silverius	536-537
(23) St. Stephen I	254-257	(59) Vigilius	537-555
(24) St. Sixtus II	257-258	(60) Pelagius I	556-561
(25) St. Dionysius	259-268	(61) John III	561-574
(26) St. Felix I	269-274	(62) Benedict I	575-579
(27) St. Eutychian	275-283	(63) Pelagius II	579-590
(28) St. Caius	283-296	(64) St. Gregory I	590-604
(29) St. Marcellinus	296-304	(65) Sabinian	604-606
(30) St. Marcellus I	308-309	(66) Boniface III	607
(31) St. Eusebius	309 or 310	(67) St. Boniface IV	608-615
(32) St. Miltiades (or Melchi- ades)	311-314	(68) St. Deusdedit	615-618
(33) St. Sylvester I	314-335	(69) Boniface V	619-625
(34) St. Mark	336	(70) Honorius I	625-638
(35) St. Julius I	337-352	(71) Severinus	640
(36) St. Liberius	352-366	(72) John IV	640-642
<i>Felix II</i>	355-358	(73) Theodore I	642-649
(37) St. Damasus I	366-384	(74) St. Martin I	649-654(?)
<i>Ursinus</i>	366-384	(75) St. Eugene I	654-657
		(76) St. Vitalian	657-672

¹ The names of anti-popes are in italics.

² So numbered because Felix II, an antipope, had occupied the papal throne, 355-358.

	A.D.		A.D.
(159) Gelasius II	1118-1119		
Gregory VIII	1118-1121		
(160) Callistus II	1119-1124		
Celestine II (abdicated im-			
mediately)	1124		
(161) Honorius II	1124-1130		
(162) Innocent II	1130-1143		
Anacletus II	1130-1138		
Victor IV	1138		
(163) Celestine II	1143-1144		
(164) Lucius II	1144-1145		
(165) Eugene III	1145-1153		
(166) Anastasius IV	1153-1154		
(167) Adrian IV	1154-1159		
(168) Alexander III	1159-1181		
Victor IV	1159-1164		
Paschal III	1164-1168		
Callistus III	1168-1178		
Innocent III	1179-1180		
(169) Lucius III	1181-1185		
(170) Urban III	1185-1187		
(171) Gregory VIII	1187		
(172) Clement III	1187-1191		
(173) Celestine III	1191-1198		
(174) Innocent III	1198-1216		
(175) Honorius III	1216-1227		
(176) Gregory IX	1227-1241		
(177) Celestine IV	1241		
(178) Innocent IV	1243-1254		
(179) Alexander IV	1254-1261		
(180) Urban IV	1261-1264		
(181) Clement IV	1265-1268		
(182) St. Gregory X	1271-1276		
(183) Innocent V	1276		
(184) Adrian V	1276		
(185) John XXI (XX)	1276-1277		
(186) Nicholas III	1277-1280		
(187) Martin IV	1281-1285		
(188) Honorius IV	1285-1287		
(189) Nicholas IV	1288-1292		
(190) St. Celestine V	1294		
(191) Boniface VIII	1294-1303		
(192) Benedict XI	1303-1304		
(193) Clement V	1305-1314		
(194) John XXII	1316-1334		
Nicholas V	1328-1330		
(195) Benedict XII	1334-1342		
(196) Clement VI	1342-1352		
(197) Innocent VI	1352-1362		
(198) Urban V	1362-1370		
(199) Gregory XI	1370-1378		
(200) Urban VI	1378-1389		
Clement VII	1378-1394		
(201) Boniface IX	1389-1404		
Benedict XIII	1394-1424		
		DURING THE SCHISM	
		(202) Innocent VII (Rome)	1404-1406
		(203) Gregory XII (Rome)	1406-1415
		(204) Alexander V (Pisa)	1409-1410
		(205) John XXIII (Pisa)	1410-1415
		AFTER THE SCHISM	
		(206) Martin V	1417-1431
		Clement VIII	1423-1429
		Benedict XIV	1424
		(207) Eugene IV	1431-1447
		Felix V	1439-1449
		(208) Nicholas V	1447-1455
		(209) Callistus III	1455-1458
		(210) Pius II	1458-1464
		(211) Paul II	1464-1471
		(212) Sixtus IV	1471-1484
		(213) Innocent VIII	1484-1492
		(214) Alexander VI	1492-1503
		(215) Pius III	1503
		(216) Julius II	1503-1513
		(217) Leo X	1513-1521
		(218) Adrian VI	1522-1523
		(219) Clement VII	1523-1534
		(220) Paul III	1534-1549
		(221) Julius III	1550-1555
		(222) Marcellus II	1555
		(223) Paul IV	1555-1559
		(224) Pius IV	1559-1565
		(225) St. Pius V	1566-1572
		(226) Gregory XIII	1572-1585
		(227) Sixtus V	1585-1590
		(228) Urban VII	1590
		(229) Gregory XIV	1590-1591
		(230) Innocent IX	1591
		(231) Clement VIII	1592-1605
		(232) Leo XI	1605
		(233) Paul V	1605-1621
		(234) Gregory XV	1621-1623
		(235) Urban VIII	1623-1644
		(236) Innocent X	1644-1655
		(237) Alexander VII	1655-1667
		(238) Clement IX	1667-1669
		(239) Clement X	1670-1676
		(240) Innocent XI	1676-1689
		(241) Alexander VIII	1689-1691
		(242) Innocent XII	1691-1700
		(243) Clement XI	1700-1721
		(244) Innocent XIII	1721-1724
		(245) Benedict XIII	1724-1730
		(246) Clement XII	1730-1740
		(247) Benedict XIV	1740-1758
		(248) Clement XIII	1758-1769

A.D.				A.D.			
(249)	Clement XIV	. . . .	1769-1774	(255)	Pius IX	. . . .	1846-1878
(250)	Pius VI	. . . .	1775-1799	(256)	Leo XIII	. . . .	1878-1903
(251)	Pius VII	. . . .	1800-1823	(257)	Pius X	. . . .	1903-1914
(252)	Leo XII	. . . .	1823-1829	(258)	Benedict XV	. . . .	1914-1922
(253)	Pius VIII	. . . .	1829-1830	(259)	Pius XI	. . . .	1922-1939
(254)	Gregory XVI	. . . .	1831-1846	(260)	Pius XII	. . . .	1939-

APPENDIX II

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

No.	Place	Date	Pope	Activities
I.	Nicaea (I)	325	St. Sylvester I	Arianism condemned. The Son is "consubstantial" with the Father.
II.	Constantinople (I)	381	St. Damasus I	Macedonians condemned. Consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost.
III.	Ephesus	431	St. Celestine I	Nestorians and Pelagians condemned. The divine maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
IV.	Chalcedon	451	St. Leo I	Monophysitism (of Eutyches) condemned.
V.	Constantinople (II)	553	Vigilius	Condemnation of the <i>Three Chapters</i> .
VI.	Constantinople (III)	680	St. Agatho	Monothelitism condemned. Censure of Honorius.
VII.	Nicaea (II)	787	Adrian I	Iconoclasm condemned.
VIII.	Constantinople (IV)	869	Adrian II	The Greek schism ended. Photius deposed.
IX.	Lateran (I)	1123	Callistus II	Decrees on simony, celibacy, and lay investiture. Confirmation of Concordat of Worms.
X.	Lateran (II)	1139	Innocent II	Ending of the papal schism. Reforms enacted.
XI.	Lateran (III)	1179	Alexander III	Condemnation of Albigenses and Waldenses. Papal elections regulated.
XII.	Lateran IV)	1215	Innocent III	A crusade planned. Annual Communion. Albigenses condemned. Disciplinary reforms.
XIII.	Lyons (I)	1245	Innocent IV	Frederick II deposed. A crusade planned.
XIV.	Lyons (II)	1274	Gregory X	Reunion of the Greeks. Disciplinary reforms.
XV.	Vienne	1311-12	Clement V	Knights Templars abolished. Reforms enacted.
XVI.	Constance	1414-18	Martin V	The Great Schism ended. Hus condemned.
XVII.	{ Basle Ferrara Florence	1431-45	Eugene IV	Union of Greeks. Reforms enacted.
XVIII.	Lateran (V)	1512-17	Leo X	Neo-Aristotelians. Reforms enacted.
XIX.	Trent	1545-63	{ Paul III Julius III Pius IV	Protestantism condemned. Reforms enacted.
XX.	Vatican	1869-70	Pius IX	Errors condemned. Papal infallibility defined.

Memory Verse

Ni-co-eph, Chal-co-co, Ni-co, La-la-la-la
Li-li-vi, Co-ba-la, Tri-vat.

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